

Where Dreams May Come

Volume I

Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

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Where Dreams May Come

Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World

VOLUME I

By

Gil H. Renberg



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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*Dedicated to my parents,
Dalia and Werner Renberg*



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Author's Introduction and Acknowledgments

I did not originally plan to write this book. Within a year of finishing my dissertation *"Commanded by the Gods": An Epigraphical Study of Dreams and Visions in Greek and Roman Religious Life* I had begun the process of revising it as two separate but related books: one an epigraphical catalog devoted to the 1300 dedicatory texts recording dreams or divine communications received through other media, and the other a broad study of the role of dreams in ancient religion. For a reason I can no longer recall I decided to begin the latter by jumping to the sixth chapter, on incubation. Perhaps that seemed the simplest way to start, as incubation was a well-worn topic that could be dealt with relatively quickly, enabling me to turn to more challenging subjects. That soon proved not to be the case, however, as I kept coming up with questions about the material that turned out not to have been addressed adequately (if at all), so that what was intended to be a twenty-page chapter had grown to twice that length and was continuing to expand. At this point, I decided to split off my discussion of incubation in the Latin West, where I had found the evidence for the phenomenon to be negligible and much of the scholarship unreliable, and to publish that as a separate article which appeared in 2006. Even with this large portion of the chapter removed and my focus now limited to the Greek East, the rapid growth of the chapter continued until I finally decided to produce an entirely separate book devoted solely to incubation in the ancient world. Early in this project I decided that one could not discuss incubation among the Greeks without looking at Greco-Roman Egypt (particularly the Demotic sources), and this required looking further back to Pharaonic Egypt as well; similarly, hunting for the possible origins of Greek incubation required examining the phenomenon among the Sumerians, Babylonians, Hittites, and other peoples of the ancient Near East, and I also found myself exploring the related subject of "Christian incubation," using the eighth century as my approximate cut-off point. This book, therefore, is an accidental byproduct of ongoing work on a more general book on dreams in antiquity, maintaining as its focus the act of receiving dreams at holy sites while paying relatively little attention to god-sent dreams received in other contexts.

An accidental book, but not an unnecessary one. Over the decades, incubation beyond the cult of Asklepios had received little attention, with the only book-length treatments of its practice in multiple cults dating to 1900 and 1906 and little else of substance having been written over the ensuing century, other than a very good but too often overlooked 1997 encyclopedia entry. Moreover, it was clear, especially from studying the claims regarding incubation in the

Latin West, that too many scholars were too often treating sources unskeptically and thus reaching questionable conclusions, or unquestioningly relying on the authority of others whose work displayed this flaw—with the end result that numerous sanctuaries were linked to incubation with little or no justification. It also has not been uncommon for scholars to rely on old and outdated works, undermining the validity of their conclusions: in particular, this has been a problem for scholars in other disciplines who when writing of dreams in the ancient Near East or Pharaonic Egypt and looking for parallels in the classical world have depended too much on obsolete treatments of Greek incubation; conversely, of course, scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity have not always taken advantage of the important studies of dreams among these more ancient civilizations that have appeared in recent decades. The ultimate purpose of this book is to rectify such problems, so that scholars of all disciplines touching on the ancient world will have a single, up-to-date work on which to rely. To that end, my goal has not been simply to write a book about incubation and how it functioned, but to engage in an analysis of every single source that has been cited as evidence for incubation in order to determine both how reliable it is and what it can tell us about the practice. The value of such an undertaking seems quite clear: scholars cannot properly discuss incubation without having a full appreciation of the quality of the sources, and for the first time there will be a work serving as a common denominator that can be consulted by scholars of Greek religion, Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic Egypt, the ancient Near East, early Judaism and early Christianity, and members of other disciplines, permitting them all to have equally current information regarding the evidence for incubation in each culture. (Writing a book aimed at several different audiences does come with a cost: I have found it necessary to explain numerous rather basic aspects of life in the Hellenic world that are common knowledge among classicists but might not be known to most scholars in other fields, and to translate Greek and Latin words that normally would be left untranslated in a study aimed only at scholars of Greece and Rome. Likewise, many concepts considered basic knowledge among other disciplines are explained or translated for the benefit of classicists and other outsiders.)

For all of these reasons, therefore, I have not written a short work that avoids or minimizes technical discussion out of fear that the reader may lose the thread of argument, but rather a comprehensive work that I consider both “Herodotean” and “Mephistophelean”: Herodotean, in that it is wide-ranging and full of investigative digressions, and Mephistophelean in that my scholarly approach of trying to find every possible flaw in the interpretation of a source before accepting its validity can be summarized by the famous words of Mephistopheles in Goethe’s *Faust*, “Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint!”

(Of course, there is already a term for taking a scientific and suitably skeptical approach to one's sources, and it is "positivism," but shifting intellectual values in recent decades have made this something of a dirty word, so it is arguably wiser in academic circles to align oneself with the Devil.) It is thus by design that this book is composed in a manner that goes text by text, structure by structure, relief by relief, and seeks to determine any questions or problems associated with it—*i.e.*, what that text, structure or object does not tell us for certain—in addition to exploring what it does reveal about incubation at a particular site or in general, and whether it presents novel information or reinforces what is known from other sources. Characteristic of this approach, for example, is that the discussions of Aelius Aristides's *Sacred Tales* and the collection of testimonies of miraculous cures inscribed at Epidauros (the so-called "*Iamata*"), each rich and colorful enough to be the focus of a chapter if not a whole book, are limited to just a few paragraphs: since these represent indisputable evidence for incubation having been practiced at the *Asklepieia* of Pergamon and Epidauros, respectively, there is no need to question their relevance or significance, and thus they can be mined freely for specific details regarding the practice, as is to be seen in the dozens of references to them scattered throughout this work.

• • •

The organization of this book is essentially straightforward: Part 1 is introductory in nature (Chapters 1–2), Part 2 covers Greek cults (Chapters 3–5), Part 3 explores incubation in Greco-Roman Egypt (Chapters 6–9), and a series of thematic studies as well as a catalog (Appendices 1–XVII) supplement the preceding chapters by addressing a range of issues pertaining to the study of incubation among the various civilizations discussed earlier in the book. Chapter 1 addresses a range of basic issues, including the terminology associated with incubation and incubation structures, the religious context of this practice, certain elements of broad importance for understanding this religious phenomenon, the history of scholarship on the subject, and the goals of this work. The following chapter assesses the earliest evidence for incubation among the peoples of the ancient Near East, Egypt, Greece, and other lands, exploring the problems of the ritual's origins and possible spread from one ancient civilization to another. Chapter 3 is wholly devoted to the cult of Asklepios, first looking at the full range of evidence for incubation having been practiced at numerous *Asklepieia*—literary sources, inscriptions, reliefs, and architectural remains—and then detailing what is known about the process of engaging in incubation at these sites and the nature of the experiences of those who did so.

Chapters 4 and 5, separately discussing therapeutic and divinatory incubation in other Greek cults, each begin with studies of the cult of Amphiaraos, the foremost example of a Greek divinity called upon for both healing and oracular dreams, and then turn to the less prominent cult sites linked to incubation in Greece, the Greek Islands, Asia Minor, and Italy. The remaining chapters shift focus to Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian cults in Ptolemaic and Roman times: in the case of Sarapis and Isis, who both came to be worshiped throughout the Mediterranean world, the evidence from both Egypt and beyond is examined, while in the case of the other cults native to Egypt the pertinent sources primarily or entirely come from one or a small number of cult sites. Thus Chapter 6 evaluates the sources for incubation at *Sarapieia* and *Isieia* both in Egypt and overseas, while Chapter 7 focuses on the various cults of Saqqâra's temple complexes (primarily Osorapis, Isis, Imhotep, and Thoth), Chapter 8 is devoted to the rock-cut sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari in western Thebes, and Chapter 9 surveys eight other cults for which the evidence of incubation is more limited (and in some cases more ambiguous).

The guiding principle behind the inclusion of the various appendices, for which there are only a few exceptions, is that they generally address issues applying to multiple cults or cult sites, such as what is known regarding the nature of pre-incubatory prayer or the evidence for "fertility incubation," and thus are relevant to more than one chapter. Those appendices that are devoted to a single cult—Amphiaraos in the case of Appendix x, Asklepios in the case of Appendices xi and xii—do not primarily pertain to the practice of incubation in that cult and thus complement discussions of these gods in earlier chapters. Eight of the appendices are of particular note: Appendix i, the "ghosts" appendix, is the first study that collects problematic claims and suggestions regarding incubation having been practiced at certain sites and shows why these should no longer be considered incubation sanctuaries (or, in some cases, should instead be recognized as *possible* incubation sanctuaries); Appendix ii studies the limited evidence for other divinatory practices in Greek religion, most notably at the Lebadeia *Trophonion*, that involved some form of direct contact with the god, before delving into the first detailed challenge to the often repeated belief that at certain temples in Egypt oracles would be deceptively issued by priests simulating divine voices (a perceived phenomenon sometimes associated with incubation in the scholarly literature, but one for which there turns out to be no reliable evidence); Appendix viii provides the fullest catalog of incubation reliefs from the cults of both Asklepios and Amphiaraos available, and draws on important recent work by the late Georgios Despinis that is not widely available; Appendix x presents the most detailed treatment to date of the origin and spread of the cult of

Amphiaraios, an issue central to the development of incubation in that cult; Appendix XII gives Libanius long overdue recognition as an important source for the worship of (and reliance on) Asklepios, second only to Aelius Aristides among ancient authors; Appendices XIV and XV feature the first studies of the links between incubation and Egyptian dream interpreters and festivals, respectively; and, Appendix XVI, building in part on recent scholarship that raises questions regarding the widespread belief that "Christian incubation" evolved directly from earlier practices among the Greeks and Romans, challenges in detail how the sources for it have commonly been interpreted.

• • •

In composing a book of this length and multidisciplinary scope I have had to make a number of decisions regarding style, format, and other matters, some of which are rather idiosyncratic. Several of these should be noted, and in some cases explained:

- All dates for the reigns of ancient rulers other than those of Greece and Rome come from Walter Eder & Johannes Renger, *Chronologies of the Ancient World: Names, Dates and Dynasties* (New Pauly Suppl. 1; Leiden & Boston, 2007), with the exception of the kings of Isin, who are absent from the volume.
- For the abbreviations of Greek and Roman authors' names and works I have used those provided by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, supplementing it with some from the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Authors and Texts* (New Pauly Suppl. 2; Leiden & Boston, 2009), and devising many of my own where necessary. For works belonging to other ancient cultures I have attempted to employ the standard abbreviations of the associated disciplines, though I have at times introduced my own.
- The spellings of place names are taken from the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000).
- For Greek words and names I normally use the Greek spelling rather than a Latinized one, except in those cases when a native reader of English would find this jarring or artificial: thus "Thucydides" is used rather than "Thukydidēs," but "Semos of Delos" rather than "Semus."
- For gods whose worship crossed cultural boundaries certain decisions had to be made regarding how to refer to them. Osorapis and Sarapis are typically treated as distinct Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian gods, but when discussing an Egyptian site at which both native and foreign worshipers would be venerating the god under one name or the other "Osorapis/

Sarapis" is used; similarly, at Deir el-Bahari, where Imhotep was worshiped by Egyptian visitors but Greek visitors appear to have considered the god to be Asklepios, "Imhotep/Asklepios" is employed. In contrast, however, at Abydos the purely Egyptian Osiris came to be called Sarapis and therefore this god is referred to as "Osiris-Sarapis," while in the Memphis area Imhotep appears to have been commonly referred to in Greek by his transliterated name "Imouthes" rather than by the foreign "Asklepios," and thus "Imhotep/Imouthes" is used. In addition, "Asklepios" is used for the Greek god, but when his cult in the Latin West is discussed the Roman spelling "Aesculapius" is employed.

- Greek, Latin and Demotic texts are always provided instead of just translations, but not hieroglyphics of the Pharaonic Period or languages of the ancient Near East (including Hebrew), since the chief focus of this book is the Greco-Roman world; Arabic, Coptic and Syriac, though belonging to that world, have not been reproduced simply for the sake of expediency.
- As I have no expertise in this area, I have not attempted to homogenize the Demotic texts so that they all end up transliterated with the same approach. Nor was there any need to do so: Egyptologists know the different schools of thought on transliterating Demotic and can work with any of them, while those who cannot read Demotic would be in the dark either way. Translations of Demotic, too, are generally unchanged from the work in which they appear, with the few exceptions noted (though there have been occasional modifications for style).
- For translations of texts from the ancient Near East I have made no attempt to change the styles used by the original scholars (*e.g.*, in terms of showing damaged or missing letters). The one change I have consistently made was to convert 'sh' to 'š' (hence "Ištar" rather than "Ishtar").
- The foundational study of Asklepios is that of Emma and Ludwig Edelstein, since it features a nearly exhaustive collection of testimonies—with translations—for every aspect of the god's myth and cult. The entries for these testimonies are cited only for more obscure literary sources that might be difficult to find as well as for certain inscriptions that the Edelsteins included, and not for passages from Aristides, Aristophanes, and other easily accessible works.
- I am knowingly using "cf." in an improper manner, not to signal that a work of scholarship has a contrary viewpoint, but that it is of tertiary importance: thus "see" and then "see also" are for more important studies, while "cf." is for those that also should be cited but for one reason or another are less in need of consultation.

- Although well aware of the concern some scholars of Greek religion have over the problematic nature of the traditional term “*lex sacra*” and the methodological concerns it raises, I have opted to continue using it throughout this work, sometimes instead employing “cult regulation” for stylistic variety, rather than switching to the newer term “ritual norms,” because I have reservations about this more exclusionary approach, and prefer to employ the original and more inclusive term for documents governing any activities at a cult site, whether ritual or non-ritual.

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A work with as broad and multidisciplinary a focus as this could not have been achieved without help from a very large number of professional colleagues, whose contributions ranged from discussing a particular issue to reading part or all of the manuscript and commenting on it, and from certain others. Well over half of these individuals I had not previously known, and there are still many whom I have yet to meet, and this makes their generosity with their time all the more noteworthy. Somewhat unconventionally, I wish to thank all of those who helped me in a way that reflects the nature of their role in improving the final product, and this involves dividing them into three groups:

- I would like to express my deepest gratitude to those scholars who not only read the full draft or very substantial portions of it, but also further gave of their time on numerous occasions by responding to questions on specific matters, or providing crucial support in general: Laurent Bricault, Angelos Chaniotis, Alice Mouton, Franziska Naether, Scott B. Noegel, Joachim F. Quack, Kent J. Rigsby, Kasia Szpakowska, Jesper Tae Jensen, Dorothy J. Thompson, Terry Wilfong, and the late Heinz-Josef Thissen and Joan G. Westenholz.
- I am very grateful as well to those who read one or two chapters or appendices, in each case also providing their insights on other occasions as well: Sue Davies and Harry S. Smith, Andreas Effland, Stephanos Efthymiadis, Frances Flannery-Dailey, Jean Gasco, Christian Habicht, Christopher P. Jones, Adam Łajtar, Jack M. Sasson, H. Alan Shapiro, Heinrich von Staden, Raymond Van Dam, and Robert Wiśniewski.
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Without the generosity of those listed this would have been a badly flawed and lesser work.

While I am grateful to everyone named here, I must single out a few individuals. Roughly half of this book is devoted to incubation and other aspects of dream-divination in Egypt, and since I have not been trained in reading either hieroglyphics or Demotic it would have been impossible for me to discuss this subject competently without receiving an enormous amount of help from several very patient Egyptologists. Franziska Naether, Joachim F. Quack, Kasia Szpakowska, and Terry Wilfong in addition to reading portions or even all of this book have assisted me countless times on a broad range of issues pertaining to specific texts as well as various aspects of Egyptian religion. Naether in particular deserves recognition because there is no one person

who helped more to ensure the reliability of my treatments of Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian religion, or did so in more ways. Quack also merits very special thanks, since in addition to providing feedback on the full draft he has offered numerous new readings of and corrections to published Demotic texts, permitting me to publish these improvements when he could easily have opted to do so himself. Indeed, Quack made so many specific contributions to my treatments of religion in Egypt and the documents shedding light on it that I had to limit the number of times I expressed my gratitude to him in the footnotes simply to avoid its becoming an ever-present refrain. Other Egyptologists who on several occasions helped me to understand certain Egyptian texts and associated issues include Richard Jasnow, Klaus Peter Kuhlmann, Rita Lucarelli, Brian P. Muhs, Luigi Prada, Kim Ryholt, Robert K. Ritner, and Heinz-Josef Thissen. In the case of Thissen, a towering figure in his field who passed away in 2014, I was the beneficiary of his expertise as well as his hospitality; moreover, he generously permitted me to discuss a tremendously important unpublished *ostrakon* in Krakow in both my 2013 article on a Deir el-Bahari *dipinto* and the present volume, enriching my discussions of both that site and Karnak. Regrettably, Thissen never had an opportunity to read a draft of this book as he and I had planned—and as anyone acquainted with him and his work will know, this final product would have been greatly improved had he been able to do so. Consultation with experts on the ancient Near East has also been crucial, five of whom deserve particular credit. Like Thissen, Joan G. Westenholz passed away before this book was completed, in 2013, but made an enormously important contribution: two years earlier, when we were both working on our respective projects at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, I had the valuable opportunity to consult her on a number of issues pertaining to dreams and incubation in the ancient Near East and to receive detailed feedback from her on the relevant parts of my draft. Alice Mouton and Scott B. Noegel likewise read the pertinent portions, while fielding a stream of questions from me over the years concerning not just dreams and dream-divination in the ancient Near East, but also about more basic issues regarding the presentation of the relevant materials. Without the help of these three, as well as that of Frances Flannery-Dailey and Jack M. Sasson, who also read my discussions of incubation in the ancient Near East and responded generously to my queries, my treatments of this subject would undoubtedly have been filled with errors.

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Certain institutions, too, should be recognized for their support of this project, whether intentionally or unintentionally given. I have not received any fellowship funding for it, but over the past decade have received a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, a Margo Tytus Fellowship at the University of Cincinnati, a Membership at the Institute for Advanced Study, and a "*Stipend*" from the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung to engage in research at the University of Cologne's Historisches Institut (Abt. Alte Geschichte), each of which was provided to support work on the two related books devoted to dreams mentioned above. In each case, while making significant progress on those books I also was able to advance this project on incubation—partly a function of overlapping sources—and therefore these institutions deserve recognition and my gratitude. No less deserving of

both sentiments is the Department of Classical Studies of the University of Michigan, where on three different occasions I have had the privilege of conducting my research as a Visiting Scholar, greatly benefitting from the university's resources, most notably the Papyrology Collection's outstanding library, as well as the presence of colleagues with whom I could discuss my work. At these and other places I have received valuable support from a number of librarians, but wish to single out Marcia Tucker and Kirstie Venanzi of the Institute for Advanced Study for being especially generous with their assistance. Finally, in addition to wishing to recognize Harvard University's Department of the Classics for playing Delos to my Leto and serving as the place where I could finally deliver this book (*i.e.*, to my publisher) after years of wandering from institution to institution, I must note that some of the illustrations in this volume were obtained with money from the Loeb Classical Library Foundation Classical Projects fund, received via the department.

For a project that has been in preparation off and on for a decade, this study has undergone relatively little field-testing: in 2007 I gave a paper on incubation at Saqqâra for the 25th International Congress of Papyrology in Ann Arbor (published as an expanded article in the 2010 conference volume but now rendered completely obsolete by Chapter 7 of this book); in 2010 I delivered a paper on Isis as a healing goddess at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association in Anaheim, sharing some of my findings from Chapter 6; later that year I participated in the "Magic and Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt" conference of the Midwestern Consortium on Ancient Religions Meeting in Ann Arbor by delivering a paper on dreams and Egyptian festivals, a subject explored in Appendix xv; in 2011 I spoke on the origins of incubation as part of the Ancient Studies Seminar of the Institute for Advanced Study, summarizing some of my work for Chapter 2; and, in 2016 I discussed the value of Egyptian literary narratives as sources for incubation at the "Cult Practices in Ancient Literatures: Egyptian, Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Narratives in a Cross-Cultural Perspective" interdisciplinary workshop at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World. At each of these venues I received valuable—and sometimes crucial—feedback, and am grateful to those who attended these presentations and participated in the discussions.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their support, perhaps even for their constant words of encouragement (a euphemism for "nagging"). As I was growing up both of my parents and my brother became published authors, and I am proud finally to join them in having my own ISBN.

Gil H. Renberg

Cambridge, Mass., June 2016

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Museums and Collections

A.	[Indicates registration number of text found in Mari]
Alexandria	Alexandria, Alexandria National Museum
Antalya	Antalya, Antalya Museum
Argos	Archaeological Museum of Argos
Ashm.	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
Athens, A.M.	Athens, Acropolis Museum
Athens, E.M.	Athens, Epigraphical Museum
Athens, H.L.	Athens, Hadrian's Library
Athens, N.M.	Athens, National Archaeological Museum
Berlin, ÄM	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum
Berlin, Staatl. Mus.	Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung
Berlin, Staatl. Mus., VAT	Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Ton Tafeln
Bologna	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico
Borg.	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, collection of the former Museo Borgiano Veliterno
Boston, M.F.A.	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Brit.Mus.	London, British Museum
Brook.	New York City, Brooklyn Museum
Budapest, Fine Arts Mus.	Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts
Cairo	Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities
Cairo JE	Cairo, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, "Journal d'Entrée"
Carlsberg	Copenhagen, Carlsberg Papyrus Collection
Chantilly	Chantilly, Musée Condé
Chicago, O.I.	Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
Colon.	Cologne, Universität Köln, Papyrussammlung
Copenhagen, N.M.	Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg	Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek
Corinth Mus.	Corinth, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth
CtYBR	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

Cyrene Arch. Mus.	Shahhat, Archaeological Museum of Cyrene
Delos	Delos, Archaeological Museum of Delos
Duke	Durham, N.C., Duke University, Duke Papyrus Archive
Dumbarton Oaks	Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Museum
Ferrara, M.A.N.	Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
Florence, M.A.	Florence, Museo Archeologico
Garstang	[<i>Private collection</i>]
Getty	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum
Giessen	Giessen, Universität Gießen, Papyrussammlung
H	[<i>Indicates number of stele found at Harran</i>]
Heidelberg	Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie
Hermitage	St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum
I.M.	Baghdad, National Museum of Iraq
Istanbul, A.M.	Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
Istanbul, M.A.O.	Istanbul, Museum of the Ancient Orient
Izmir	Izmir, Izmir Archaeology Museum
Jena	Jena, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Papyrussammlung
Kassel, Staatl. Mus.	Kassel, Staatliche Museen
Morgan Library	New York City, Morgan Library & Museum
Konya	Konya Archaeology Museum
Kos	Kos, Archaeological Museum of Kos
Krakow, M.N.	Krakow, National Museum
Leiden	Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Papyrologisch Instituut
Lips.	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung
Liverpool SAOS	Liverpool, University of Liverpool, School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies
Louvre	Paris, Musée du Louvre
Museo Maffeiano	Verona, Museo Maffeiano
Naples, M.A.N.	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
Nicholson	University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum
Oropos Mus.	Oropos, <i>Amphiareion</i> Museum
Padua	Padua, Museo Civico
Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Paros Mus.	Paros, Archaeological Museum of Paros
Patras	Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras
Peiraeus Mus.	Piraeus, Archaeological Museum of Piraeus
Pergamon	Bergama, Pergamon Archaeological Museum
Philadelphia	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum

PSI	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Papiri della Società Italiana
Pushkin Mus.	Moscow, Pushkin Museum
Rhodes Mus.	Rhodes, Archaeological Museum of Rhodes
Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano
R.S.	[Indicates registration number of text found in Ras Shamra]
Salzburg	Salzburg, Salzburg Museum
Saq.	[Indicates registration number of text found in Saqqâra]
Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat.	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire
T.H.	[Indicates registration number of text found in Tell Hariri]
Thessaloniki	Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki
U.L.C.	Cambridge, University Library
Vatican	Vatican City, Musei Vaticani
Vienna	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung
Vienna, KHM	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Y.B.C.	New Haven, Yale University, Babylonian Collection
Yale, N.B.C.	New Haven, Yale University, James B. Nies Babylonian Collection

Journal and Series Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
AA.SS.	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AbhBerlin, Phil.-hist. Klasse	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
AbhLeip	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AcOr	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
ActaAnthung	<i>Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ActaArchHung	<i>Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄOP	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfP	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i>

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AntWelt</i>	<i>Antike Welt</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>ArchCl</i>	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
<i>ArchDelt</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
<i>ArchEph</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
<i>ArchVer</i>	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsche Archäologische Institut, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>ASMA</i>	<i>Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity</i>
<i>ASP</i>	<i>American Studies in Papyrology</i>
<i>AthMitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AulOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
<i>AvP</i>	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i>
<i>BAAH</i>	<i>Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας</i>
<i>BABesch</i>	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i>
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<i>BAR-IS</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BdE</i>	<i>Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'Étude</i>
<i>Beitr. klass. Philol.</i>	<i>Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Athènes</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BNum</i>	<i>Bollettino di Numismatica</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>ByzSorb</i>	<i>Byzantina Sorbonensia</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>

BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
<i>CahKarn</i>	<i>Cahiers de Karnak</i>
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CEFR	Collection de l'École Française de Rome
CENiM	Cahiers "Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne"
<i>CFC</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Filología Clásica</i>
CGC	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes-Rendus</i>
<i>CRIPeL</i>	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DemStud	Demotische Studien
DenkWien	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
DFIFAO	Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DPB	Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
<i>EEBS</i>	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EES-EM	Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir
EES-GRM	Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs
EES-TM	Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations, Memoirs
EFA, Trav. et mém.	École Française d'Athènes, Travaux et Mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants
EgUit	Egyptologische Uitgaven
EntrHardt	Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique
<i>EpAnat</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EPhAHA	Institut historique Belge de Rome, Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire anciennes
EPRO	Études Préliminaires des Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain
EQTÄ	Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie

ÉtArchCl	Études d'Archéologie Classique
ÉtCl	<i>Les Études Classiques</i>
Ét. et comm.	Études et Commentaires
ÉtudAlex	Études Alexandrines
ÉtudPélop	École Française d'Athènes, Études Péloponnésiennes
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
G&R	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
GöttMisz	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman & Byzantine Studies</i>
HABES	Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien
HAeB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
HdO I	Handbuch der Orientalistik 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten
HPBM	Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HumSer	University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IGSK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JEAE	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JLA	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
KAL	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MAPS	Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society
MDAI(K)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
Medieval	The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cul-
Mediterranean	tures, 400–1500
MemAcInscr	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
MIFAO	Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
MPER	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth
MünchBeitr	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtgeschichte
MUMCAH	McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History
<i>MusHelv</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
NISABA	Religious Texts Translations Series, NISABA
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
O.E.Σ.M.E.	Ομάδα Εργασίας για τη Συντήρηση των Μνημείων Επιδαύρου
Oikumene	Oikumene: Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OrAntColl	Orientis Antiqui Collectio
PAAH	Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
PapColon	Papyrologica Coloniensia
PapLugdBat	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge
PIFAO	Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
PO	Patrologia Orientalis

ProblÄg	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
QAL	<i>Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia</i>
RAPH	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire
RALinc	<i>Rendiconti, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche, critiche e filologiche</i>
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RevArch	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
RHR	<i>Revue d'Histoire des Religions</i>
RömMitt	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
RPhil	<i>Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes</i>
RSA	<i>Rivista Storica dell'Antichità</i>
RutgersStud- ClassHum	Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAH	Studien zu Antiken Heiligtümern
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (<i>Numen</i> Supplement)
SitzungsAkadHeid	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SkSvInsiAthen	Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen (= Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae)
SMSR	<i>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</i>
SO	Sources Orientales
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
StP	Studia Patristica
StudDem	Studia Demotica
StudHell	Studia Hellenistica
SubsHag	Subsidia Hagiographica
SymbOsl	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>

<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TCH</i>	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
Testi e Documenti	Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità
<i>TUAT</i>	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i>
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i>
<i>WdO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WVDOG</i>	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<i>YNER</i>	Yale Near Eastern Researches
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZRGG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>

General Abbreviations

Abdalla, <i>Funerary Stelae</i>	Abdalla, Aly, <i>Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt</i> (Liverpool, 1992)
Ägypten	Beck, Herbert, Peter C. Bol & Maraike Bückling (eds.), <i>Ägypten</i>
Griechenland Rom	<i>Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung</i> (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 26. November 2005–26. Februar 2006) (Frankfurt, 2005)
<i>Aerial Atlas Crete</i>	Myers, J.W., E.E. Myers & G. Cadogan (eds.), <i>The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete</i> (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1992)
<i>ANET</i> ³	Pritchard, J.B., <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (3rd edn.; Princeton, 1969)
Arnold, <i>Lexikon</i>	Arnold, Dieter, <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst</i> (Zurich, 1994) [Trans. S.H. Gardiner & H. Strudwick, <i>The Encyclopedia of Egyptian Architecture</i> (Princeton, 2003)]
Asher-Greve, <i>Frauen</i>	Asher-Greve, Julia M., <i>Frauen in altsumerischen Zeit</i> (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 18; Malibu, 1985)
<i>Augustinianum 29</i>	<i>XVII incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana: sogni, visioni e profezie nell'antico cristianesimo</i> ; Roma, 5–7 Maggio 1987 (<i>Augustinianum 29</i> ; Rome, 1989)

- Barucq/Daumas, *Hymnes* Barucq, André & François Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (LAPO 10; Paris, 1980)
- Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum* Bedjan, Paul, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1890–97)
- Betz, *GMP* Betz, Hans D. (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic spells* (2nd edn.; Chicago & London, 1992)
- BHG Halkin, François, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols. (3rd edn.; SubsHag 8a; Brussels, 1957) [Supplement in *id.*, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae Graecae* (SubsHag 65; Brussels, 1984)]
- BHL *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (SubsHag 6; Brussels, 1898–1901) [Supplement in Henri Fros (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Novum Supplementum* (SubsHag 70; Brussels, 1986)]
- BHO *Bibliotheca hagiographica Orientalis* (SubsHag 10; Brussels, 1910)
- Bibliotheca Isiaca* 1–III Bricault, Laurent & Richard Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* 1–III (Bordeaux, 2008–14)
- Bieber, *Skulpturen Cassel* Bieber, Margarete, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königlichen Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* (Marburg, 1915)
- BL Preisigke, Friedrich *et al.* (eds.), *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, 12 vols. (vol. 1, Berlin & Leipzig; vol. 2, Heidelberg; vols. 3–12, Leiden; 1922–)
- BLDem Den Brinker, A.A., I. Hartmann, Brian P. Muhs & Sven P. Vleeming (eds.), *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, 3 vols. (StudDem 7; Leuven, Paris & Dudley, Mass., 2005–13)
- BLZG Seeck, Otto, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur n.s. 15, vol. 1.2; Leipzig, 1906)
- BMC Jewellery Marshall, F.H., *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911)
- Bonner, *SMA* Bonner, Campbell, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (HumSer 49; Ann Arbor, 1950)
- Bonnet, *Real.* Bonnet, Hans, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952)
- Botti, *Museo Gregoriano Egizio* Botti, Giuseppe & Pietro Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City, 1951)

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- Bricault, *Atlas* Bricault, Laurent, *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques (IV^e s. av. J.-C. – IV^e s. apr. J.-C.)* (MemAcInscr 23; Paris, 2001)
- CAD Oppenheim, A. Leo, Erica Reiner, *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols. (Chicago, 1956–2010)
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- CANE Sasson, Jack M. (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 4 vols. (New York, 1995)
- CCAG Boll, Francisco, Franz Cumont, Guilelmo Kroll, Alexandro Olivieri *et al.* (eds.), *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 12 vols. (Brussels, 1898–1953)
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, 201 vols. (Turnout, 1953–)
- CDD *The Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/dem/>
- CGFP Austin, Colin, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta* (Berlin & New York, 1973)
- Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'arch. or.* Clermont-Ganneau, Ch., *Recueil d'archéologie orientale, Rec. d'arch. or.* 8 vols. (1888–1924)
- CMG *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1908–)
- Coll. Alex. Powell, J. U., *Collectanea Alexandrina: Reliquiae minores Poetarum Graecorum Aetatis Ptolemaicae, 323–146 A.C.; Epicorum, Elegiacorum, Lyricorum, Ethicorum* (Oxford, 1925)
- Comella, *Rilievi votivi* Comella, Annamaria, *I rilievi votivi greci di periodo arcaico e classico: diffusione, ideologia, committenza* (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 11; Bari, 2002)
- Comm. in Arist. Graeca *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 50 vols. in 23 (Berlin, 1882–1909)
- CPG Maurice Geerard *et al.* (eds.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 6 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–)
- CPL Eligius Dekkers & Emile Gaar (eds.), *Clavius Patrum Latinorum* (3rd edn.; Steenbrugge, 1995)

- Cristo e Asclepio* dal Covolo, Enrico & Giulia Sfameni Gasparro (eds.), *Cristo e Asclepio: culti terapeutici e taumaturgici nel mondo mediterraneo antico fra cristiani e pagani; Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Accademia di Studi Mediterranei, Agrigento 20–21 novembre 2006* (Rome, 2008)
- CSIR-Great Britain III.3* Angelicoussis, Elizabeth, *The Woburn Abbey Collection of Classical Antiquities* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 20; Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain III.3; Mainz, 1992)
- CSIR-Österreich III.1* Heger, Norbert, *Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Iuvavum* (Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Österreich III.1; Vienna, 1975)
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- EBGR* *Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion* (published in *Kernos*; 1991–)
- Edelmann, Menschen* Edelmann, Martina, *Menschen auf griechischen Weihreliefs* (Quellen und Forschungen zur antiken Welt 33; Munich, 1999)
- Edelstein, Asclepius* Edelstein, Emma J. & Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1945)
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- Erichsen, Glossar Études Grenier* Erichsen, Wolja, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954)
- Fest. Dobesch* Gasse, A., F. Servajean & C. Thiers (eds.), *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum: recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier* (CENiM 5; Montpellier, 2012)
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- FGrH* Jacoby, Felix, Charles W. Fornara, *et al.* (eds.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 23 vols. (Pts. 1–2, Berlin; Pt. 3, Leiden; Pt. 3C, fasc. 1, Leiden, New York & Cologne; Pt. 4 & indexes, Leiden, Boston & Cologne; 1923–)
- FOL* Petit, Paul, *Les fonctionnaires dans l'oeuvre de Libanios: analyse prosopographique* (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 134; Paris, 1994)
- Foster/Hollis, *Hymns* Foster, John & Susan Hollis, *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry* (SBLWAW 8; Atlanta, 1995)
- GD* Bruneau, Philippe & Jean Ducat (updated by Michèle Brunet, Alexandre Farnoux & Jean-Charles Moretti), *Guide de Délos* (4th edn.; EFA Sites et Monuments 1; Athens, 2005)
- GNO* Jaeger, Werner *et al.* (eds.), *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, 10 vols. in 16 (Leiden, 1958–2014)
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- Gow/Page, *HE* Gow, A.S.F. & D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1965)
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- LGPN* Fraser, Peter M., Elaine Matthews, *et al.*, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 5 vols. in 7 (Oxford, 1987–)
- Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* Lichtheim, Miriam, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, 3 vols. (revised edn.; Berkeley & Los Angeles, 2006) [Originally published 1973–80]
- Lichtheim, *Wisdom Literature* Lichtheim, M., *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions* (OBO 52; Göttingen, 1983)

<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 8 vols. (Zurich & Munich, 1981–99)
<i>LIMC Suppl.</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae: Supplement</i> , 1 vol. (Düsseldorf, 2009)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, Henry G., Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones & Roderick McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (9th edn.; Oxford, 1940)
<i>LSJ Suppl.</i>	Glare, P.G.W. (with A.A. Thompson), <i>Greek-English Lexicon: Revised Supplement</i> (Oxford, 1996)
<i>LTUR</i>	Steinby, Eva Margareta (ed.), <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> , 6 vols. (Rome, 1993–2000)
Markschies, <i>Heil und Heilung</i>	Markschies, Christoph (ed.), <i>Heil und Heilung: Inkubation – Heilung im Schlaf; Heidnischer Kult und christliche Praxis</i> (ZAC 17.1; Berlin, 2013)
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Mastrocinque, <i>Intailles magiques</i>	Mastrocinque, Attilio, <i>Les intailles magiques du Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques</i> (Paris, 2014)
Mastrocinque, <i>SGG</i>	Mastrocinque, A., <i>Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum</i> , 2 vols. (<i>BNum</i> Monograph 8.2.1–2; Rome, 2004–08)
Mendes I–II	Hall, Emma S. & Bernard von Bothmer (eds.), <i>Mendes I–II</i> (Warminster, 1976–80)
<i>MGH, SRL</i>	Waitz, Georg (ed.), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX</i> (Hannover, 1878)
<i>MGH, SRM 1.1</i>	Arndt, Wilhelm & Bruno Krusch (eds.), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 1: Gregorii Turonensis opera</i> , pars 1: <i>Historia Francorum</i> (Hannover, 1884)
<i>MGH, SRM 1.2</i>	Arndt, W. & B. Krusch (eds.), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 1: Gregorii Turonensis opera</i> , pars 2: <i>Miracula et opera minora</i> (Hannover, 1885)
<i>MGH, SRM II</i>	Krusch, B. (ed.), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum II: Fredegarii et aliorum chronica vitae sanctorum</i> (Hannover, 1888)
<i>MGH, SRM IV</i>	Krusch, B. (ed.), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum IV: Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici</i> (Hannover & Leipzig, 1902)
<i>MGH, SRM VII</i>	Krusch, B. & Wilhelm Levison (eds.), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum VII: Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici</i> (Hannover & Leipzig, 1920)

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- PAA* Traill, John S., *Persons of Ancient Athens*, 21 vols. (Toronto, 1994–2012)
- Page, *FGE* Page, D.L., *Further Greek Epigrams: Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other Sources, not included in 'Hellenistic Epigrams' or 'The Garland of Philip'* (Cambridge, 1981)
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- PG Migne, J.P. *et al.* (eds.), *Patrologia Graeca*, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris, 1857–66)
- PIR² Groag, Edmund, Arthur Stein, *et al.*, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Saeculi I, II, III*, 8 vols. in 14 (2nd edn.; vols. 1–5, Berlin; vols. 6–8.1, Berlin & New York; vol. 8.2, Berlin & Boston; 1933–2015)
- PL Migne, J.P. *et al.* (eds.), *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–65)
- PLRE Martindale, J.R., A.H.M. Jones & J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 4 vols. in 3 (Cambridge, 1971–92)
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III Rizakis, A.D. & C.E. Lepenioti (eds.), *Roman Peloponnese III: Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation* (Meletemata 63; Athens, 2010)
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- SDB* Pirot, Louis *et al.* (eds.), *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 78 vols. (Paris, 1928–)
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Svoronos, <i>Nationalmuseum</i>	Svoronos, Ioannes N., <i>Das Athener Nationalmuseum</i> , 3 vols. (Athens, 1908–37)
<i>Sumerian Dictionary</i>	Sjöberg, Åke W. (ed.), <i>The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i> , 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1984–)
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum</i> , 9 vols. (Los Angeles, 2004–12)
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , 11 vols. (vols. 1–9, Leipzig; vols. 10–11, Berlin & New York; 1900–)
TM	Trismegistos Texts, http://www.trismegistos.org/
TMPeople	Trismegistos People, http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php/
Travlos, <i>Pict. Dict.</i>	Travlos, John, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> (London, 1971)
Travlos, <i>Bildlexikon</i>	Travlos, J., <i>Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika</i> (Tübingen, 1988)
<i>TrGF IV</i>	Radt, Stefan, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta IV: Sophocles</i> (Göttingen, 1977)
Vernier, <i>Bijoux et orfèvreries</i>	Vernier, Émile, <i>Bijoux et orfèvreries</i> , 4 vols. (CGC 52001–53855; Cairo, 1907–27)
Verreth, <i>Toponyms</i>	Verreth, Herbert, <i>Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD</i> (Trismegistos Online Publications 5; Cologne & Leuven, 2011), http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php
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VII DemCongr	Ryholt, Kim (ed.), <i>Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999</i> (CNIIP 27; Copenhagen, 2002)
Walter, <i>Reliefs</i>	Walter, Otto, <i>Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen</i> (Vienna, 1923)
Wb	Erman, Adolf & Hermann Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 5 vols. (Berlin, 1926–31)
Wulfmeier, <i>Griechische Doppelreliefs</i>	Wulfmeier, Johann-Christoph, <i>Griechische Doppelreliefs</i> (Münster, 2005)
X DemCongr	Depauw, Mark & Yanne Broux (eds.), <i>Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies, Leuven, 26–30 August 2008</i> (OLA 231; Leuven, Paris & Walpole, Mass., 2014)

Abbreviations for Epigraphical, Papyrological, and Numismatic Sources

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique: revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine</i> (Paris, 1888–)
Alster, <i>Dumuzi's Dream</i>	Alster, Bendt, <i>Dumuzi's Dream: Aspects of Oral Poetry in a Sumerian Myth</i> (Mesopotamia 1; Copenhagen, 1972)
AMNS	Brixhe, Claude & René Hodot, <i>L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud: inscriptions inédites</i> (ÉtArchCl 6; Nancy, 1988)
ARM X	Dossin, Georges (with André Finet), <i>Archives royales de Mari x: correspondance féminine</i> (Paris, 1978)
ARM XXVI/1	Durand, Jean-Marie, <i>Archives royales de Mari xxvi: archives épistolaires de Mari 1/1</i> (Paris, 1988)
Bataille, <i>Hatshepsout</i>	Bataille, André, <i>Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari</i> (Publications de la Société Fouad 1 ^{er} de papyrologie, Textes et documents 10; Cairo, 1951)
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (published in REG; 1888–)
Blass, <i>Eudoxi ars astronomica</i>	Blass, Friedrich, <i>Eudoxi ars astronomica qualis in charta Aegyptiaca superest denuo edita</i> (Kiel, 1887) [Reprinted in ZPE 115 (1997), 79–101]
Bresciani, <i>Dodecaschoene</i>	Bresciani, Edda, <i>Graffiti Demotiques du Dodecaschoene</i> (Cairo, 1969)

- Breyer, *Tanutamani* Breyer, Francis, *Tanutamani: Die Traumstele und ihr Umfeld* (ÄAT 57; Wiesbaden, 2003)
- BIWK Petzl, Georg, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (special issue, *EpAnat* 22; Bonn, 1994)
- Borger, *Beiträge* Borger, Rykle, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1996)
- Borghouts, *EMT* Borghouts, Joris F., *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (NISABA 9; Leiden, 1978)
- Borghouts, *MTL* Borghouts, J.F., *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971)
- Bubastite Portal* Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III: The Bubastite Portal* (Oriental Institute Publications 74; Chicago, 1954)
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- Catalogo* Ritti, Tullia (with H. Hüseyin Baysal, Elena Miranda, Francesco Guizzi, and Nalan Firat), *Museo Archeologico di Denizli-Hierapolis Catalogo delle iscrizioni greche e latine: Distretto di Denizli* (Naples, 2008)
- CCID* Hörig, Monika & Elmar Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (EPRO 106; Leiden, 1987)
- Chrest. Wilck.* Wilcken, Ulrich, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* 1.2: *Historischer Teil, Chrestomathie* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1912)
- CIG* Böckh, August, Johann Franz, Ernst Curtius & Adolph Kirchhoff, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1828–77)
- CIL* Mommsen, Theodore *et al.*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 vols. in 78 (Berlin, 1863–)
- CIPh* 11.1 Brélaz, Cédric, *Corpus des inscriptions grecques et latines de Philippi* 11: *La colonie romaine, 1: La vie publique de la colonie* (École Française d'Athènes, Études Épigraphiques 6; Athens, 2014)
- CLE* Bücheler, Franz (with Ernst Lommatzsch), *Anthologia Latina* 11: *Carmina Latina epigraphica*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1895–1930)
- CTH* Laroche, Emmanuel, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Ét. et comm. 75; Paris, 1971) [Supplements in E. Laroche, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 30 (1972), 94–133 & 33 (1975), 68–71; further supplements appearing online at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk>]

- Dakke* 1–11 Roeder, Günther, *Les temples immergés de la Nubie: Der Tempel von Dakke* 1–11, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1930)
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 Mari Durand, Jean-Marie, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, 3 vols. (LAPO 18; Paris, 1997–2000)
- EAM* I Rizakes, Th. & G. Touratsoglou, 'Ἐπιγραφές ἄνω Μακεδονίας (Ἑλίμεια, Ἑορδαία, Νότια Λυγκηστίς, Ὀρεστίς), 1: καταλογος ἐπιγραφῶν (Athens, 1985)
- Edfou* 1 de Rochemonteix, Marquis & Émile Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* 1, 4 vols. (2nd edn. revised by S. Cauville & D. Devauchelle; Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 10; Cairo, 1984–87)
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 Amuletic Decrees Edwards, I.E.S., *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, 2 vols. (HFBM 4; London, 1960)
- EKM* I Gounaropoulou, L. & M.B. Hatzopoulos, 'Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξὺ τοῦ Βερμίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀξίου ποταμοῦ), 1: Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας (Athens, 1998)
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- Esna* 11 Sauneron, S., *Le temple d'Esna* (PIFAO, Esna 2; Cairo, 1963)
- Esna* 111 Sauneron, S., *Le temple d'Esna* (PIFAO, Esna 3; Cairo, 1968)
- Esna* V Sauneron, S., *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (PIFAO, Esna 5; Cairo, 1962)
- ETCSL* *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>
- FD* 111 Colin, Gaston, Émile Bourguet, Georges Daux, *et al.*, *Fouilles de Delphes 111: épigraphie*, 6 vols. in 13 (Paris, 1909–85)
- FHN* Eide, Tormod, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce & László Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, 4 vols. (Bergen, 1994–2000)

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Guarducci, Margherita, *Epigrafia greca*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1967–78)
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- HTC Bresson, Alain, Patrice Brun & Ender Varinlioğlu, "Les inscriptions grecques et latines," in P. Debord & E. Varinlioğlu (eds.), *Les Hautes Terres de Carie* (Bordeaux, 2001), 81–305
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- I.AlexImp Kayser, François, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (I^{er} s.–III^e s. apr. J.-C.)* (BdE 108; Cairo, 1994)
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<i>I.Cret</i>	Guarducci, M., <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , 4 vols. (Rome, 1935–60)
<i>ICS</i>	Masson, Olivier, <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques: recueil critique et commenté</i> (Paris, 1961)
<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i>	Łajtar, Adam, <i>Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources</i> (<i>JJP</i> Suppl. 4; Warsaw, 2006)
<i>I.Delos</i>	Durrbach, Félix, André Plassart, Pierre Roussel, Marcel Launey, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , 7 vols. (Paris, 1926–2008)
<i>I.Delta</i>	Bernand, André, <i>Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs</i> , 3 vols. with atlas (<i>MIFAO</i> 91; Cairo, 1970)
<i>I.Eph</i>	Börker, Christoph, Helmut Engelmann, Dieter Knibbe, Reinhold Merkelbach, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , 8 vols. in 10 (<i>IGSK</i> 11–17.4; Bonn, 1979–84)
<i>I.Epidauros</i>	Peek, Werner, <i>Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros</i> (<i>AbhLeip</i> 63.5; Berlin, 1972)
<i>I.EpidaurosAsklep</i>	Peek, W., <i>Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros</i> (<i>AbhLeip</i> 60.2; Berlin, 1969)
<i>I.Erythr</i>	Engelmann, Helmut & Reinhold Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> , 2 vols. (<i>IGSK</i> 1–2; Bonn, 1972–73)
<i>I.EstremoOriente</i>	Canali De Rossi, Filippo, <i>Iscrizioni dello estremo oriente greco: un repertorio</i> (<i>IGSK</i> 65; Bonn, 2004)
<i>I.Fayoum</i>	Bernand, Étienne, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum</i> , 3 vols. (vols. 2–3 <i>BdE</i> 79–80; Leiden, 1975–81)
<i>IG</i>	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, Adolf Kirchhoff, Johannes Kirchner, Ulrich Koehler, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 11 vols. in 57 (Berlin, 1873–)
<i>IGBulg</i>	Mihailov, Georgi, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , 5 vols. in 6 (Sofia, 1956–97)
<i>IGEP</i>	de Hoz, Maria-Paz, <i>Inscripciones griegas de España y Portugal</i> (<i>Bibliotheca Archaeologica Hispana</i> 40; Madrid, 2014)
<i>IGLSkythia</i> 11	Stoian, Iorgu, <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae</i> 11: <i>Tomis et territorium</i> (<i>Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae</i> ser. 2.2; Bucharest, 1987)
<i>IGPortus</i>	Sacco, Giulia, <i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Porto</i> (Rome, 1984)
<i>I.GrÉgLouvre</i>	Bernand, Étienne, <i>Inscriptions Grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre</i> (Paris, 1992)
<i>IGRR</i>	Cagnat, René, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1906–27)

- IGUR* Moretti, Luigi, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, 4 vols. (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica 17, 22, 28, 47; Rome, 1968–90)
- IIasos* Blümel, Wolfgang, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, 2 vols. (IGSK 28.1–2; Bonn, 1985)
- IKourion* Mitford, T.B., *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971)
- IKyme* Engelmann, Helmut, *Die Inschriften von Kyme* (IGSK 5; Bonn, 1976)
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MAP 2 Map showing locations of Asklepieia and other sites associated with Asklepios that are discussed in this study.



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PART 1

Introduction

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General Introduction

1.1 Incubation and Other Forms of Divination

Fundamental to the understanding of ancient divinatory practices, both in antiquity and modern times, was the distinction between what Cicero termed “natural” and “artificial” divination, and the Stoics “nontechnical and untaught” and “technical.”¹ While the latter pertained to phenomena externally observed and typically in need of analysis for the meaning to be determined, the former was applied to divine messages that entered the mind of the recipient through inspiration or a dream. Such a dichotomy is indeed useful, but it is not the only one that can be made: one might also differentiate between divine messages that came unbidden and those that were only obtained following ritual acts, or at least specific queries. Among the Romans, for example, augury was

1 Cic., *Div.* 1.11: *Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturae* (“There are two types of divination, one of which comes from art and the other from nature”). The Stoic view is summarized in Ps.-Plut., *Vit. Hom.* 212: ταύτης (i.e., μαντικής) μέντοι τὸ μὲν τεχνικὸν φασιν εἶναι οἱ Στωικοί, οἷον ἱεροσποκίαν καὶ οἰωνοὺς καὶ τὸ περὶ φήμας καὶ κληδόνας καὶ σύμβολα, ἅπερ συλλήβδην ὅτταν καλοῦμεν, τὸ δὲ ἄτεχνον καὶ ἀδίδακτον, τουτέστιν ἐνύπνια καὶ ἐνθουσιασμούς (“Divination according to the Stoics consists of the ‘technical,’ such as inspection of sacrifices, augury, and interpretation of oracular pronouncements, utterances and symbols, which collectively we term *otta* [i.e., prophecy], and in contrast the ‘nontechnical and untaught,’ which is to say dreams and ecstatic possession”). On such distinctions, see Linderski 1986, 2230–2236 (with references); see also Wardle 2006, 126–127.

The bibliography on divination among the Greeks and Romans is vast. The best basic overviews of Greek divination are Johnston (S.) 2008 (with brief discussion of incubation at pp. 90–95), covering both private rituals and consultations at oracles, and Rosenberger 2001, mainly devoted to oracular sanctuaries; see also Burkert 2005 and Nilsson 1955–61, 1:164–174 *et pass.* For the Romans no comparable work exists, though the essentials are covered in Belayche/Rüpke 2005; to this can be added Potter 1994 (especially pp. 1–57), which provides a broad survey of numerous forms of divination that were available, particularly during the Imperial Period. All known Greek oracular sanctuaries, including those in the Latin West, have recently been cataloged and surveyed in Frieze 2010. (For general works on divination in the ancient Near East and Pharaonic Egypt, see p. 36n.1 and 78n.108, and for Greco-Roman Egypt see Frankfurter 1998, 145–197 *et pass.* as well as Quack 2006a. A work on post-Pharaonic Egyptian divination that can take advantage of the numerous new Greek and Demotic texts and important studies published in the past two decades is greatly needed, though a significant number are addressed in Naether 2010.)

always considered an “artificial” form of divination because of the need for observation and evaluation, but avian signs (*signa* or *auspicia*) could be either requested (*impetrativa*) or observed spontaneously (*oblative*), as was also true of lightning.² Similarly, unexpectedly dreaming of a god or divine sign in one’s bedroom, requesting a dream-oracle through some form of private ritual, or engaging in an action intended to encourage dreaming while staying overnight at a temple all would have counted as “natural” divination, but there is an obvious distinction to be made between a solicited and unsolicited communiqué. The full range of media of communication believed to be employed by the gods was remarkably broad, but only one medium was available to everyone, from kings and emperors to the lowliest and poorest of slaves: dreams. The majority of our sources for god-sent dreams in antiquity pertain to those that were unrequested, and show that significance was nonetheless attributed to them. As Artemidorus, author of the only complete book on dream interpretation to survive from the classical world, *Oneirocritica* (“Dream-Interpreting”), stated, “We call dreams that suddenly appear ‘god-sent,’ just as we call all things that are unexpected ‘god-sent’” (θεοπέμπτους δὲ ὀνείρους <ῥῆγῶ> τοὺς αἰφνίδιον ἐφισταμένους, ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀπροσδόκητα θεόπεμπτα καλοῦμεν), which shows that unsolicited dreams were no less significant than those deliberately sought.³ There is also much information preserved regarding various methods of attempting to seek dreams from the gods in a private setting. This consists mostly of rituals and spells in the magical papyri, which are an excellent source for rituals in Greco-Roman Egypt but not necessarily for traditional Greek practices, but also includes a magic gemstone of unknown provenience inscribed with a prayer seeking a nocturnal oracle, presumably in a dream: “[*Voces magicae*], Counsel me this very night truthfully and with power of memory” (ΙΕΟΥΩΗΙΑΗ|ΑΙΗΩΥΟΕΙ | χρημάτωνισ[όν μοι ἐν τ[ῇ] | νυκτὶ ταύτ[ῃ] | ἐπ’ ἀληθεία | μετὰ μνή[μης]).⁴ A particularly striking example of privately seeking

2 According to Servius, “Auguries are either *oblative*, which are not requested, or *impetrativa*, which arrive as hoped for” (*auguria aut oblativa sunt, quae non poscuntur, aut impetrativa, quae optata veniunt*) (Serv. 6.190). For the respective phenomena of *impetrativa* and *oblative* signs, see Linderski 1986, 2195–2196 *et pass.*; see also *ibid.*, 2290–2296 on the distinctions between *auspicia* and *auguria*, which Servius confuses.

3 Artem. 4.3.

4 IG XIV 2413, 16; see Robert 1968, 587 (= Robert, *OMS* v:603). Among the Greek and Demotic magical papyri there is an apparent parallel, in the form of instructions for preparing a ring featuring Sarapis that one would hold to one’s left ear when going to sleep (*PGM* v.447–458; see n. 39 for dream rituals in *PGM* and *PDM*). As may be evident from information preserved by Pliny the Elder, one could even encourage dream-oracles by means of a natural substance known to have dream-inducing properties: for example, he notes that a stone from Bactria

a dream is to be found in the Greek novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, since it shows the same individual both receiving an unsolicited dream at a sanctuary and soliciting one in a domestic setting: when Daphnis is overcome by sleep in the Nymphs' cave after Chloe's seizure by a raiding party, he dreams of these goddesses telling him that they and Pan will protect Chloe and ensure her safe return, and later that night, after having spent the day in prayer at the *nymphaeum*, he returns home and prays that he will again see the Nymphs in a dream.⁵ As Artemidorus's statement and the gemstone as well as Daphnis's prayer show, the dreams one might receive at home or in another private setting, like the flights of birds, could be either *oblative* or *impetrative*. But dreams also frequently came to individuals who sought them *within a sanctuary precinct* by means of rituals, prayers, and even submission of written inquiries—a multifaceted form of divination referred to as "incubation."⁶ This rather artificial approach to "natural" divination, which at times was truly "artificial" in the ancient sense because of the need for expert interpretation, is the focus of this book.⁷

called *eumeces* produced "visions of an oracular nature" when placed beneath one's head, and since he does not link it to a particular cult or cult site it can be inferred that this was used in "folk" divination (*Eumeces in Bactris nascitur, silici similis, et capiti supposita visa nocturna oraculi modo reddit*) (Plin., *H.N.* 37.58.160).

- 5 Longus, *Daphnis & Chloe* 2.21–24. The importance that could be placed on both unsolicited and solicited dreams can also be seen much earlier, in the fourteenth-century BCE Hittite "Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II," in which this king prays to be informed of the cause of a plague, asking that either he receive an explanation in a dream, or that an oracle or prophet reveal it, or that the priests seek the answer by sleeping in a sanctuary, finally adding "Let someone then see it in a dream. Let the matter on account of which people have been dying be discovered" (*KUB XIV 8*, obv., ll. 41'–47' (= *CTH 378.IIA*); see pp. 57–58).
- 6 For what little is known of the prayers associated with incubation, see Appendix v.
- 7 How Cicero might have categorized incubation is unclear; indeed, there appears not to have been a simple way of doing so that applied to all situations. *Dreams* to Cicero may have been a form of "natural" divination, but he presumably would have considered *dream interpretation* "artificial," since, as is clear from Artemidorus's *Oneirocritica* and related works, formal dream interpretation involved expert analysis based on a body of knowledge obtained through observation, but it also often involved conjecture—the very criteria for defining a form of divination as "artificial" espoused by the character of Quintus in the dialogue *On Divination*, and quite possibly a view shared by Cicero himself (Cic., *Div.* 1.72). The interpretation of lightning typically constituted artificial divination because, as with bird flights, there were well-established interpretations of certain signs associated with it—*e.g.*, lightning on the left (*fulmen sinistrum*) was propitious for ordinary undertakings. For such signs no special expertise was required to understand the meaning. Similarly, some dreams were plain in meaning and did not need to be deciphered, because they either featured well-known symbolism or

Ancient worshippers who wished to consult a god at an oracular sanctuary usually did so indirectly, with the help of one or more official intermediaries attached to the site. But not all gods communicated with their visitors indirectly, as Apollo did at Delphi by inspiring a prophetess or Zeus did at Dodona by making oak leaves rustle in a way that could only be understood by a priest: at dozens of sites great and small throughout the Mediterranean world worshippers could consult a god directly, by engaging in ritual practices that gave them the expectation of being contacted by the god in a dream. The foremost method of divination that involved direct communication between god and worshiper within the confines of a cult site, incubation was not only a geographically widespread religious phenomenon, but also one involving a diverse group of divinities.⁸ And, as epigraphical, papyrological, archaeological and

a god or another figure communicating a clear message: thus whereas many dreams were thought to require expert interpretation, some dreams, evidently including most of those received through incubation, did not. It is unclear whether the fact that incubation involved rituals would have been pertinent to its categorization: Cicero discussed haruspicy, augury and dream interpretation together, and only the first two required preliminary rituals by the diviner; in the case of incubation, however, there were preliminary rituals, but these were undertaken by the dreamer, rather than anyone he or she subsequently consulted regarding the meaning of the dream. (For the ability of individuals to interpret their own dreams, see Renberg 2015; this and the full range of practices associated with dream-divination will be covered in detail in Renberg (in preparation), *a* & *b*.)

Such distinctions are normally ignored, but see Manfred Wacht's attempt to place incubation in the context of "artificial" and "natural" divination, concluding that it was "gleichsam in der Mitte der beiden Kategorien" (Wacht 1997, 180). In discussing Hittite dreams Gary Beckman has outlined a similar distinction, though between oracles (*i.e.*, those obtained through augury, extispicy, incubation, and the poorly understood KIN-oracle) and omens, which were unsolicited messages: "Note that dreams may thus belong to either genre of divine communication: If they are actively sought through instructing an individual to sleep in a temple or other sanctified location and to await a night vision, they constitute incubation, a type of oracle. If dreams come 'out of the blue' to the monarch or other responsible person, then they must be categorized as omens" (Beckman 2010, 27). Beckman notes in addition that the sources for unsolicited dreams were greater than for solicited (*ibid.*, 28), which is also true of the full range of sources for Greek (and Roman) dreams. Further complicating the issue, there is the phenomenon referred to as "unintentional incubation" by A. Leo Oppenheim (see below), an example of which could be Daphnis's dream in the Nymphs' cave. (I am grateful to Jerzy Linderski for his thoughts on the matters discussed in this footnote.)

- 8 An apparently very small number of sanctuaries, such as the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia, offered an experience similar to incubation that involved obtaining a waking vision or hearing a voice (see Appendix 11), but the majority of sites enabling worshippers to be directly contacted by a god relied on dreams as the medium of communication.

literary sources can reveal, it may have been more widespread and involved more cults than is often recognized. These same sources reveal that the phenomenon collectively referred to as “incubation” was quite multifaceted, with significant differences at certain sites in terms of who would contact the gods, in what manner and type of structure they would do so, with what purpose, and what assistance they may have received from sanctuary personnel. The question of who could engage in incubation is an especially significant one, since while most sites were open to anyone, at least one Greek oracle may have been limited to political leaders and another in Asia Minor employed priests as proxy dreamers, whereas in Egypt at certain sites it is possible that only those serving in a cult were authorized to engage in incubation.⁹ Incubation can be detected in sources from the ancient Near East (and possibly Egypt) long before the Greeks began engaging in the practice, but it was the Greeks—not only those of mainland Greece and the surrounding islands but also those living in the lands that had become culturally Greek—who are known to have made the greatest use of this divinatory method, sometimes engaging in it *en masse*. In contrast, Roman religion appears not to have embraced this practice, though later on some form of incubation became popular in Christianity and, to a lesser extent, Islam.¹⁰ It is the purpose of this study both to explore in depth the complex issues raised by the sources for incubation in all its forms and to establish what is known about the practice at each sanctuary where it can be detected, evaluating the reliability of all of the sources in question (and, in turn, the conclusions based on these sources).

1.2 Incubation Terminology

In Greek literature and documentary sources, unlike Latin, there is a wealth of technical and semi-technical terms associated with incubation and incubation structures, while various verbs explicitly or implicitly referring to the act of sleeping would often be employed non-technically in narratives

9 For incubation by proxies and priests, see Appendix IV.

10 I have dealt elsewhere with the issue of whether incubation was practiced in the Latin West (Renberg 2006). Despite numerous claims to the contrary, the evidence for it there is nonexistent, with the exception of five sites—all Hellenic—devoted to the cult of Asklepios, his son Podalirios, or the seer Calchas. For references to incubation and similar practices in the modern world, see Kim 2011, 2–3.

concerning incubation.¹¹ The Greek term ἐγκοιμήσις, which literally means “a sleeping within,” refers to the practice of sleeping in a sanctuary in order to receive a dream-oracle from the god regarding a particular matter, as is true of its Latin equivalent *incubatio*.¹² This term, found only in Diodorus of Sicily and qualified for clarity by the author specifically as “the act of sleeping within at temples” (τῆς ἐγκοιμήσεως τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς),¹³ is related to one of the primary verbs for incubation, ἐγκοιμάσθαι, which is found five times in Strabo and also in Lykophron’s reference to the *heroon* of Podalirios, Plutarch’s later discussion of a *psychomanteion* in Italy, Arrian’s questionable account of Alexander the Great’s generals seeking guidance regarding his illness, and a rhetorical question of Epictetus asking “Who of us has engaged in incubation for the sake of divine action [*i.e.*, divine intervention]?” (τίς ἡμῶν τοῦτ’ ἐνεκοιμήθη ὑπὲρ ἐνεργείας).¹⁴ The similar term ἐγκατακοιμάσθαι was used by

- 11 Previous surveys of the terminology associated with incubation include: Deubner (L.) 1900, 6–8; Wacht 1997, 179–181; and Ehrenheim 2009, 238–239 (noting the regular use of non-technical language as well), and Terranova 2013, 253–257; cf. Graf 1992, 186–187, 200 and Sineux 2007a, 71n.49. Among the verbs used actively or passively in a non-technical sense in literature or inscriptions are some that, even if found in a narrative describing one or more individuals engaging in incubation, are too vague or generic to be considered terms for the practice: καθεύδειν (“to sleep”) (Ael., *NA* 7.13 (see pp. 184–185n.165); Ar., *Plut.* 669, 672; Paus. 1.34.5 (quoted p. 281), 2.27.2 (quoted p. 127n.33); see also *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 43–44 and *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 30–31 (= Test. No. 48) (both quoted n. 21)); ἀποκαθεύδειν (“to sleep away from,” *e.g.* one’s home) (Philostr., *vs* 2.4, p. 568; quoted pp. 173–174n.121); καθυπνούν (“to fall fast asleep”) (*IG* IV² 1, 122, l. 51 (= Test. No. 29)); καταδραφάνειν (“to fall asleep”) (Ael., frag. 92F, ed. Domingo-Forasté; see n. 70); κατακείσθαι (“to lie down”) (Ar., *Plut.* 671); κατακλίνειν (“to lie down”), used passively and thus intransitively in the phrase κατακλιθέντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν (Hyperid. 4.18), and κοιμάσθαι (“to fall asleep”), used similarly in the phrase κοιμηθεὶς ἐνὺπνιόν φησιν ἰδεῖν (Hyperid. 4.14; see also the papyrus fragment with ἐκοιμώμην that may preserve a literary passage in which a character engages in incubation (*P.Oxy* LXI 4126; see p. 99n.157)); κατακοιμᾶν (“to sleep,” when used in the aorist passive) and ἐννυχεύειν (“to spend a night”), featured in the same passage (Plut., *De def. or.* 45 (= *Mor.* 434DE); quoted p. 322), with κατακοιμᾶν also quite possibly being used for incubation by Josephus in the participle κατακοιμηθέντι (Jos., *AJ* 11.327; quoted pp. 110–111); and, κοιτάζεσθαι (“to go to sleep”) (Pind., *Ol.* 13.76; quoted pp. 101–102).
- 12 For the issue of this term applying either to sleeping in a sanctuary or a specific structure within one, see p. 670n.23.
- 13 Diod. Sic. 1.53.8 (passage quoted p. 80n.116).
- 14 Strabo: 14.1.44, pp. 649–650 (*Akaraka Charonion*; quoted in Chapter 4.3); 17.1.17, p. 801 (*Canopus Sarapieion*; quoted pp. 339–340); 6.3.9, p. 284 (cenotaph of Calchas; quoted p. 305); 11.7.1, p. 508 (*Anariake* incubation oracle; quoted p. 110); 16.2.35, p. 761 (teaching of Moses; quoted pp. 66–67n.86). Other authors: Lycoph., *Alex.* 1050 (quoted pp. 304–305); Plut., *Consol. ad Apoll.* 14 (= *Mor.* 109C) (see p. 325); Arr., *Anab.* 7.26.2 (see pp. 389–390n.155);

Herodotus in discussing a consultation at Amphiaraos's shrine, but was not otherwise employed in the context of incubation in any surviving work.¹⁵ Other authors employed comparable language to refer to the practice of incubation or those engaging in it, but instead used verbs that literally refer to lying down or resting in a place rather than sleeping there: οἱ δ' ἐγκατακείμενοι παρ' αὐτῷ (Aristophanes), ἐγκατακλιθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν (Hyperides), and εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐγκατακλιθεῖς (Menander?).¹⁶ The verb ἐγκαθεύδειν ("to sleep within"), found in documentary sources clearly referring to incubation, was rarely employed in this manner in literature,¹⁷ and perhaps παρακαθεύδειν ("to sleep beside") could also be used in this context;¹⁸ however, the unprefixed καθεύδειν ("to sleep") was not normally used for incubation, though it could be used non-technically

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- Epict., *Diatr.* 2.16.17. See also Plutarch's use of the unprefixed verb in the phrase συνέβη ... τῶν ἐφόρων ἓνα κοιμώμενον ἐν Πασιφάας ὄναρ ἰδεῖν θαυμαστόν (Plut., *Vit. Cleom.* 7.2 (= *Agis et Cleom.* 28.2); see p. 381n.120), as well as the *Septuagint*'s similarly unprefixed use of the verb in καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι' ἐνύπνια (*Isaiah* 65:4, ed. Rahlfs; see p. 755); in addition, in Byzantine times Eustathius twice used it (Eust., *Il.* 16.235 (quoted pp. 100–101n.161) and Eust., *Comm. Dion. Perieg.* 1153, the latter clearly derived from Strabo's description of the *Charonion*).
- 15 Hdt. 8.134 (quoted pp. 102–103). See also Pausanias's use of it in reference to a myth of Amphiaraos gaining the power of divination while sleeping in a special structure (Paus. 2.13.7; see n. 81). For the term in epigraphical sources, see below.
- 16 Ar., *Plut.* 742; Hyperid. 4.14; P.Louvre 7172(2), ll. 9–10 (see p. 118n.3). Aelius Aristides at one point uses the noun κατάκλισις in a context indicating sleep but not necessarily ritual incubation (Aristid., *Or.* 48.80; see p. 145n.61).
- 17 In literature there is evidence for the term's use in the context of incubation only in Roman times, primarily Late Antiquity. The two passages unambiguously employing it in reference to the practice at a Greek sanctuary are Eusebius's comment about Asklepios "appearing to those sleeping within" (ἐπιφανομένῳ τοῖς ἐγκαθεύδουσι) the Aegae *Asklepieion* and healing them (Euseb., *Vit. Const.* 3.56), and Damascius's account of two fifth-century CE philosophers engaging in the practice (Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 89A, ed. Athanassiadi; quoted p. 136n.48). Eusebius also used it for what was apparently a form of incubation set at tombs and in caves (ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐγκαθεύδοντες) (Euseb., *Comm. in Isaiam* 2.55, p. 393 ed. Ziegler, on *Isaiah* 65:4; see p. 32), as did the emperor Julian four decades later in a discussion likewise concerned with this passage in *Isaiah* (ἐγκαθεύδειν τοῖς μνήμασιν ἐνυπνίων χάριν) (Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 82, ed. Masaracchia (= 339E–340A, ed. Neumann); see pp. 754–755). Aristides, too, appears to have used it for incubation once, though sleeping at an *Asklepieion* is only implied: "But it is also said that in our time the god described boxing tricks to a certain boxer as he was sleeping within" (ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίσματα πυκτικὰ πύκτη τινὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαθεύδοντι προειπεῖν λέγεται τὸν θεόν) (Aristid., *Or.* 42.11). Cf. Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 87A (quoted pp. 534–535).
- 18 Joh. Chrys., *Adv. Jud.* 1.6 (= PG 48, 852) (quoted p. 778n.66).

in narratives,¹⁹ and Pausanias could see fit to use it in his description of practices at Pasiphae's shrine because it was combined with a reference to seeking oracles and thus there would have been no ambiguity.²⁰ Further demonstrating the variety of ways to refer to incubation—as well as the lack of a single standard term—are inscriptions from the cult of Asklepios and Amphiaraos that employ some verbs found in the literary sources and others that are not, collectively raising the question of whether these and the other seemingly synonymous terms were interchangeable or perceived to have slightly different meanings. Whereas ἐγκαθεύδειν, ἐγκοιμάσθαι and ἐγκατακοιμάσθαι appear in literature as well as inscriptions—with ἐγκαθεύδειν being used in several of the miraculous healing accounts of the Epidaurian “Miracle Inscriptions” as well as roughly contemporary cult regulations from Macedonia and Oropos,²¹ ἐγκοιμάσθαι being found in the same document from Oropos and having been restored in three Epidaurian testimonies,²² and ἐγκατακοιμάσθαι showing up three times in the Epidaurian inscriptions and a contemporary cult regulation from Erythrai²³—there are three verbs only attested epigraphically as terms for incubation: ἐγκοιμίζεσθαι (“to be put to sleep within”), which appears twice

19 See n. 11.

20 Paus. 3.26.1 (quoted n. 35).

21 “Miracle Inscriptions”: *IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 4 (= Test. No. 1), 25 (= Test. No. 3), 37 (= Test. No. 4), 57, 66 (= Test. No. 7), 76 (= Test. No. 9), 93–94 (= Test. No. 11), 98 (= Test. No. 13), 107 (= Test. No. 15), 124 (= Test. No. 19); *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 1 (= Test. No. 21), 9 (= Test. No. 22), 10 (= Test. No. 23), 23 (= Test. No. 24), 27–28 (= Test. No. 25), 39 (= Test. No. 27), 46–47 (= Test. No. 28), 58 (= Test. No. 30), 61 (= Test. No. 31), 66 (= Test. No. 32), 69 (= Test. No. 33), 83 (= Test. No. 34), 88 (= Test. No. 35), 103 (= Test. No. 37), 111 (= Test. No. 38), 117 (= Test. No. 39), 120 (= Test. No. 40), 123–124 (= Test. No. 41); *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 11 (= Test. No. 46), 31 (= Test. No. 48), 59 (= Test. No. 53), 65(?) (= Test. No. 54), 119 (= Test. No. 63). *Leges sacrae*: *SEG* 44, 505, ll. 3, 8 (see p. 212n.230); *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 36, 39–40, 47–48, 49(?) (quoted pp. 275–276), with ll. 43–44 having the preposition ἐν precede καθεύδειν earlier in the clause (ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίοι καθεύδειν). Of particular interest is the testimony using καθεύδειν in reference to a man who, while sleeping at Troizen awaiting a medical procedure, received a dream from Asklepios telling him instead to engage in incubation ([ἐγ]καθεύδειν) at Epidauros, which from the context suggests that a distinction was being made between non-ritual (unprefixed) and ritual (prefixed) sleep, and thus that the man was either not sleeping at the sanctuary, or if sleeping there had not engaged in incubatory rituals and was told to do so elsewhere (*IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 30–31 (= Test. No. 48); see LiDonnici 1995, 123n.34 and Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, p. 109, noting the ambiguity).

22 Oropos: *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 51–52 (quoted pp. 275–276). Epidauros: *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 115–116(?) (= Test. No. 62), 125–126(?) (= Test. No. 64), 135–136(?) (= Test. No. 66).

23 Epidauros: *IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 9 (= Test. No. 1), 10–11 and 15 (= Test. No. 2); *IG* IV² 1, 124, l. 1 (= Test. No. 67). Erythrai: *I.Erythr* 11 205, ll. 30–31. This term appears to have been used

in the Epidaurian inscriptions; ἐγκοιτάζεσθαι (“to be put to bed within”), which is found once;²⁴ and, another verb that appears once or twice in an inscription from the Lebena *Asklepieion* but is otherwise unattested, ἐφεύδειν.²⁵ In contrast to such intransitive and passive language, the active forms of certain verbs were sometimes used in the context of one’s having someone else lie down to sleep for the purpose of incubation. Thus Aristophanes uses the same verb as Hyperides and possibly Menander, but in reference to getting the god Plutus to sleep in an *Asklepieion* (τὸν θεὸν / ἐγκατακλινούντ’ ἄγωμεν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ),²⁶ and also uses forms of κατακλίνειν (“to lay (someone) down”) in such a context.²⁷ Similarly, Herodotus’s account of Mys having a foreigner consult Amphiaraos employs the phrase κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω (“he had (him) lie down”).²⁸ Finally, although most verbs used for incubation indicated sleeping *in* a cult structure, this was not true of all: Herodotus in his description of the practice among the Nasamones, a Libyan tribe, of sleeping atop or at their ancestors’ tombs employs the otherwise unattested verb ἐπικατακοιμάσθαι, which indicates the sleeper’s spatial relation to the tomb rather than his or her being in a sanctuary.²⁹

interchangeably with ἐγκαθεύδειν in the Epidauros testimonies, with no obvious ritual significance to be assigned to the choice of one over the other (see LiDonnici 1995, 85n.6).

24 ἐγκοιμίζεσθαι: *IG* IV² 1, 121, l. 90 (= Test. No. 11); cf. *IG* IV² 1, 123, l. 130 (= Test. No. 65). ἐγκοιτάζεσθαι: *IG* IV² 1, 121, l. 95 (= Test. No. 12).

25 *I.Cret* I, xvii, 3, ll. 4, 6(?) (= Melfi 2007b, 159, No. 5); unconvincingly restored for *I.Cret* I, xvii, 8, ll. 5–6 in Melfi, *ibid.*, 164–167, No. 10A. See *LSJ Suppl.*, p. 140, s.v. “ἐφεύδω” and Bile 1991, 10, discussing its relationship to εὔδω, “to sleep.”

26 Ar., *Plut.* 620–621.

27 Ar., *Vesp.* 123 and Ar., *Plut.* 411, κατακλίνειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ; Ar., *Plut.* 662, κατεκλίναντες τὸν Πλούτον; the term is also found multiple times among the Aristophanic *scholia*. See also Ael., *NA* 9.33, a story concerning a woman whose head is cut off by those attempting to cure her in Asklepios’s absence, in which the temple attendants first have her lie down (κατακλίνουσι) where Asklepios would heal his suppliants, but apparently only with the thought of operating on her themselves (see p. 124n.26). For a passive use of the verb by Hyperides, see n. 11.

28 Hdt. 8.134 (quoted pp. 102–103). See pp. 110–111 for a passive form of the verb being used by Josephus in reference to apparent incubation by a Jewish high priest.

29 Hdt. 4.172 (quoted p. 106). The verb must refer either to sleeping atop a tomb or simply *at* a tomb, though for the latter meaning παρακοιμάσθαι might have been expected. A similar verb, ἐπικατακοιμίζεσθαι, likewise known from a single source, appears only in a *scholium* to Plato as the definition of ἐπικαταδαρθάνειν (“to fall asleep afterwards”), but presumably could have been used for incubation as well (*schol.* Pl., *Resp.* 534D). (The latter, itself a rare verb, was used in Thuc. 4.133.2 with regard to a priestess sleeping in the temple of Hera at Argos and accidentally burning it down, but there is no sign that this was a ritual

In contrast to the availability of both common and rare terms for incubation in Greek, Latin features no such variety in the terminology for incubation—quite possibly because, as noted above, incubation was not a feature of Roman religion and thus was not often practiced by the Romans or referred to by Latin writers. As a result, with the exception of the ambiguous term *excubare*, which is used once by Cicero for incubation that apparently was undertaken in an open area and has no clear parallel in the Greek sources,³⁰ the Latin terminology is limited to a single verb and a single noun. Not only was the Latin vocabulary limited, but these terms appear to have been used very rarely: the verb *incubare* (“to sleep within”), equivalent to ἐγκαθεύδειν and ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι, had no synonyms and was itself used in the context of incubation by few authors;³¹ and, whereas the Greek noun ἐγκοιμήσις is only found in a single Greek work, the Latin equivalent *incubatio* cannot be found at all in classical Latin in the context of incubation.³² Nor does the Latin language even possess a single term for a structure devoted to incubation, in contrast to the Greek ἐγκοιμητήριον and the more general terms such as ἄβατον employed as alternatives.³³ It was only in Medieval times, when sleeping at Christian holy sites awaiting a saint’s aid became a widespread practice, that additional Latin verbs came to be used,

sleep; similarly, Aristides in *Or.* 47.55 used it to describe sleep leading to a dream, but this occurred during the winter of 166 CE, when he was at his Laneion estate rather than Pergamon or another *Asklepieion*.)

- 30 Cic., *Div.* 1.96 (see p. 316). With the possible exception of Aristides’s use of κατάκλισις (Aristid., *Or.* 48.80; see p. 145n.61), the closest thing to a parallel in Greek is a patristic source that may or may not pertain to incubation: according to Cyril of Scythopolis’s biography of Euthymios, a woman who because of her gender was not permitted to enter the monastery where this saint was venerated had instead remained outside fasting and praying for three days and nights, and on the final night envisioned Euthymios appearing to her and announcing that she was free of her demon (Cyril Scyth., *Vit. Euthymi* 54, p. 76, ed. Schwartz). (This passage is cited in Maraval 1985, 226 as the lone example of outdoors incubation in the Christian sources, but Cyril does not make clear whether those who came to the shrine for treatment of a demon or other problem were soliciting the dreams they sometimes received, and thus this cannot be clearly viewed as incubation. For this problem, see Appendix XVI.)
- 31 Plaut., *Curc.* 61, 266, 268; Pompon. 1.8.46; Serv. 7.88; cf. *TLL* VII.1, 1061–1063, s.v. “*incubo*” 1.2.b. The third-century Christian writer Tertullian did use the rare verb *abnoctare* (“to sleep away from,” e.g. home or Rome) in reference to certain “Celts” spending the night at tombs in order to obtain dream-oracles, but was not using it as a technical term (Tert., *Anim.* 57.10; quoted p. 107).
- 32 See *TLL* VII.1, 1060, s.v. “*incubatio*.”
- 33 See pp. 15–16.

but these were applied to a practice that, though similar, was not the same as traditional *incubatio*.³⁴

While it is theoretically possible that soliciting a dream could be done at *any* sanctuary or shrine, the evidence indicates that incubation among the Greeks was limited to particular sites; however, as neither Greek nor Latin had a specific name for such sanctuaries, with the generic terms *μαντεῖον* and *χρηστήριον* or *oraculum* found sufficient, it is unclear whether they were viewed as distinct from other oracular sanctuaries.³⁵ Nor was incubation undertaken simply by showing up at a sanctuary and bedding down for the night, since in general it involved preparatory rituals and offerings that normally required the involvement of priests or other cult officials, and, as at other oracles, the worshiper often had to pay a fee. Thus incubation was a deliberate act and required an adherence to customary practices at a site: what has been termed “unintentional incubation,” the experience of accidentally falling asleep within a

34 For Christian incubation, see Appendix xvi. For the Latin verbs and other terminology found in later Christian sources, see Canetti 2010b, 32 (see also pp. 43–45 on some language commonly used to describe the experience); see also Beaujard 2000, 327.

35 See, e.g., Plutarch's reference to the oracle of Amphiaraos as a *μαντεῖον* (Plut., *Vit. Arist.* 19.1), Pausanias's description of Pasiphae's shrine as a *μαντεῖον* where those making inquiry “seek oracles while sleeping (*μαντεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες*)” (Paus. 3.26.1; cf. Plut., *Vit. Agis* 9.2, also using *μαντεῖον*), Cassius Dio's similar treatment of Amphilochos's *χρηστήριον* as a place where the god “issues oracles through dreams” (*χρᾶ δι' ὀνειράτων*) (Cass. Dio 73.7.1), and the emperor Julian's reference to Asklepios's *χρηστήρια* being “everywhere on Earth” (*πανταχοῦ γῆς*) (Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 57, ed. Masaracchia (= 235C, ed. Neumann)). See also the peculiar comment by Pausanias specifying that at a sanctuary of Amphiaraos's great-grandfather Melampus in the Megarid the hero did *not* issue oracles, either through dreams or in any other manner (*μαντεύεσθαι δὲ οὔτε δι' ὀνειράτων αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄλλως λέγουσι*), showing again that the verb, and hence the related noun *μαντεῖον*, could be used for sanctuaries issuing dream-oracles (Paus. 1.44.5; see Paus. 1.34.4 for his use of another related noun, *μάντευμα*, in reference to incubation at the *Amphiareion* (quoted p. 288); for the familial relationship, see Paus. 6.17.6). On occasion slightly more descriptive language was employed, such as “oracle for incubaters” (*μαντεῖον ἐγκοιμωμένων*) (Strabo 11.7.1, p. 508; see p. 110). While *oraculum* would generally be used for a site issuing prophecies and advice, in at least one instance it appears to have referred to therapies being sought from oracular sites, quite possibly through dreams, though *oracula* here could also refer to dreams received elsewhere: “And even today in various places medicine is sought from oracles” (*nec non et hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur*) (Plin., *H.N.* 29.1.3). The use of *oraculum* for sites with dream-oracles is confirmed by Tertullian, who specifically referred to people incubating at *oracula*, though without indicating whether he had in mind divinatory or therapeutic incubation, or both (Tert., *Anim.* 48.3; quoted p. 625).

sanctuary precinct and receiving a dream, is to be distinguished from ritual incubation.³⁶ So, too, is receiving a solicited or unsolicited dream at home: as with those obtained unintentionally at sanctuaries, such dreams would have been considered significant, but even so they would not have been obtained in the same way.³⁷ Moreover, incubation could be a very public form of

36 Oppenheim coined the oxymoronic phrase “unintentional incubation” to describe such experiences, even if the god or goddess appeared in the dream, citing examples such as the future pharaoh Thutmose IV falling asleep at the feet of the Giza Sphinx and envisioning the god Harmachis (Oppenheim 1956, 187; see p. 86). Since people visiting sanctuaries did sometimes stay there overnight simply because they needed somewhere to sleep, as is demonstrated by sacred laws and other inscriptions that regulated camping out in stoas or other areas (see pp. 149–150n.68), “unintentional incubation” must have been a common experience among the Greeks (see, e.g., Ath. 10.422D, in which the Cynic philosopher Stilpo slept at a temple of the Mother of the Gods and received a dream). It also appears to have been common among the “recluses” such as Ptolemaios and others dwelling permanently or semi-permanently at major Egyptian temple complexes such as Saqqâra (see below). However, as Robert K. Gnuse has rightly noted, the term “unintentional incubation” is contradictory and problematic, and represents a modern categorization that would not have been recognized as significant in antiquity: “The label is our creation, which is placed on experiences which do not explicitly mention an incubation process. The phrase is a contradiction in terms, for incubation implies purpose, unintentional incubation is accidental; therefore unintentional incubation is the same as no incubation at all” (Gnuse 1984, 151–152; quoting p. 151). Indeed, while ancient worshipers themselves had a name for their ritual—ἐγκοίμησις—someone who had the good fortune to receive a god-sent dream without it at a sanctuary would not have thought it less meaningful.

37 Dreams did not have to be received at a sanctuary to be thought significant, and a divine epiphany received in one’s own bed was not to be ignored simply because of the domestic context. This can be seen not only in Greek and Latin literature, but also that of other cultures: in the Ugaritic *Legend of Keret* this king, who has lost his family and needs to find a new wife so that he can produce an heir, enters his bedroom and weeps until he falls asleep, and envisions the god Ilu advising him on his plight (*Keret*, Tablet I, cols. i, ll. 26–iii, l. 51; see p. 43n.15); the *Book of Job* states that God sometimes sends dreams to people in their own bed (*Job* 33:14–18; quoted pp. 67–68); and, in two of the Demotic tales from Egypt a dream is described as having been received in the individual’s “sleeping quarters” (‘wy n sdr) (see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 201). The only prescriptive dream recorded by Artemidorus in the *Oneirokritika* may have had a similar experience behind it, since it featured a sick man entering a temple of Asklepios and seeing the god make a hand gesture, which was interpreted by the dreamer himself or someone else as a prescription:

ἔδοξε τις νοσῶν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ συνταγῆς δεόμενος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ [ὄναρ] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιέναι, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐκτείναντα τῆς δεξιᾶς ἑαυτοῦ χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους παρέχειν αὐτῷ ἐσθίειν. φοίνικας πέντε ἐσθίων ἐθεραπεύθη· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ φοίνικος βάλανοι αἱ σπουδαῖαι δάκτυλοι καλοῦνται (Artem. 5.89).

divination, with those seeking a dream-oracle at certain sanctuaries sleeping in close proximity to one another, and in at least one sanctuary their names and hometowns even being listed on placards.³⁸ For this reason ritual incubation should be considered distinct from private dream-divination, even if the intended results were the same.³⁹

The act of undergoing incubation itself usually took place in designated structures such as stoas, although the type of structure varied, as did its capacity: at some sites, only a single individual might be able to undergo incubation, but at others entire groups of worshipers could. Scattered sources indicate that at least sometimes such structures were given the descriptive name of ἐγκοιμητήριον (“place of sleeping within”),⁴⁰ which on occasion was shortened to just κοιμητήριον (“place of sleeping”),⁴¹ but the more generic term ἄβατον (“place not to be trodden”) was also used,⁴² and in rare instances ἄδυτον

It seemed that a certain man suffering from a stomach problem and needing a prescription from Asklepios [in a dream] entered the god's temple, and that the god stretching out the fingers of his right hand offered (them) to him to eat. Eating five dates, he was cured—for the fruits of the date-palm that are most cherished are called “fingers.”

While it cannot be ruled out that this dream was received at an *Asklepieion*, Artemidorus's general omission of incubation dreams suggests otherwise (see Renberg 2015, 251–253 with n. 70); and, moreover, Asklepios's use of a physical gesture to reveal a cure rather than speaking it is different from the surviving descriptions of incubation dreams, though it might find parallels in some of the vague references by Aristides to symbolic dreams.

38 *I.Oropos* 276, ll. 7–8 (quoted 276n.11).

39 For private divinatory practices such as those found in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, see Quack 2010a (with references); for dream-divination in the magical papyri specifically, see Eitrem 1991 and Johnston (S.) 2010, and see Quack 2011 for the related phenomenon of dream-sending. As Johnston shows, some of these rituals involved making offerings such as incense and goose fat to small shrines with statuettes placed at one's bedside—a form of “do it yourself” incubation that was to be undertaken at one's home. The term “extended incubation” has recently been coined for instances when saints would cure suffering Christians in their homes, without expecting an overnight visit to their church (Ehrenheim 2009, 260–261), a phenomenon with parallels in earlier times (e.g., Aristid., *Or.* 48.37–44) as well as in Late Antiquity (Lib., *Or.* 1.143 (quoted pp. 704–705); Marin., *Procl.* 7 (see p. 684n.21)).

40 *IG* IV² 1, 127 (quoted p. 169); *I.Pergamon* 2, 264, l. 8 (quoted pp. 196–197); *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 11, 12, 18, 27 (quoted pp. 194–195); *SEG* 60, 1333 (quoted p. 243); *EKM* I 18 (quoted p. 212); *SEG* 49, 2292 (quoted pp. 411–412). For the related verb ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι and similar terms, see pp. 8–9.

41 *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 43–44, 48 (quoted pp. 275–276).

42 The term appears repeatedly in the fourth-century BCE Epidaurian testimonies (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 4 (= Test. No. 1), 21 (= Test. No. 2), 50 (= Test. No. 6), 63 and 65 (= Test. No. 7), 91 (= Test. No. 11), 109 (= Test. No. 15), 116 and 117 (= Test. No. 17); *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 23 and 25 (= Test.

(“place not to be entered”), a term usually used for the innermost chamber of a Greek temple but also applied by the Greeks to certain types of Egyptian shrines.⁴³ Upon awakening, it was often necessary for worshipers to seek input regarding the meaning of their dream, and this could be done by consulting someone serving in an official capacity, or by soliciting the opinions of fellow worshipers at the site. Those who were fortunate enough to be visited by the god in a dream, or at least to have received a symbolic dream (*i.e.*, a dream in which the subject matter, though not a divinity, was thought to represent a divine or prophetic message), and to have had their question or concern addressed were expected to make thank-offerings the next day, or soon thereafter. At many sanctuaries, these could be readily purchased, since the strong

No. 24), 44 (= Test. No. 27), 49 (= Test. No. 28), 51 (= Test. No. 29), 102–103(?) (= Test. No. 37); *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 46 (= Test. No. 50), 129 (= Test. No. 64)), as well as an inscription from the Lebena *Asklepieion* (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 11B, l. 1 (= Melfi 2007b, 167–168, No. 11B)), and has been restored in an inscription from the Oropos *Amphiareion* (*I.Oropos* 294, l. 7; quoted in 277n.13). (A speculative restoration of ἄβαντον in a *lex sacra* from the Kos *Asklepieion* should not be accepted with any confidence (*IG* XII.4, 1, 72, A, l. 18, restored in *LSCG* 154 (= Samama, *Médecins*, 224–225, No. 122), but omitted by *IG*).)

- 43 In the context of incubation, the term first appears to be used in one of the Epidaurian testimonies, though it is restored (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 112–113 (= Test. No. 38)); if the restoration is correct, as appears to be the case, its use would be of interest because ἄβαντον is far more prevalent in these inscriptions. It appears again in the “Isyllos Hymn” in reference to descending into Asklepios’s shrine at Trikka, though whether this would be for incubation is unstated (*IG* IV² 1, 128, l. 30; see p. 202). At the Lebena *Asklepieion* the incubation dormitory is referred to as ἄδυτον in two inscriptions, the first testimonial and the second either testimonial or a sacred law (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 9, l. 9 and 15, l. 7 (= Melfi 2007b, 169–171, Nos. 13–14); quoted p. 261n.380), and also in a third inscription employing it as a topographical reference point (*SEG* 47, 1403, l. 7 (= Melfi, *ibid.*, 177–178, No. 23)). In the cases cited here it is clearly intended as a synonym for ἄβαντον, but in Greek literature the term is only once used unambiguously for an incubation structure, in a comment attributed to Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus regarding the Oropos *Amphiareion* (Philostr., *VA* 2.37.2). For more ambiguous uses of ἄδυτον, see, *e.g.*, Pausanias’s discussion of the cult of Dionysos at Amphikleia (Paus. 10.33.11; quoted pp. 303–304) and of the *Trophonion* (Paus. 9.39.11); Pausanias also uses it in a general reference to shrines devoted to the Underworld gods in Lydia’s Maeander River region, at least one of which functioned through incubation (Paus. 10.32.13; quoted pp. 297–298n.69). See also the more general use for Egyptian shrines in Lucian, *Philops.* 38 (quoted p. 565n.1). For this reason, it is impossible to conclude with certainty that a *lex sacra* from Rhodes that includes a sacrificial tariff for those making offerings “in the *adyta*” (καθ’ ἁδύτου) pertains to incubation, let alone that it came from an *Asklepieion* (*BE* 1946/47, 157; see pp. 210–212n.229). For an important discussion of ἄδυτον and its range of meanings, see Hollinshead 1999 (especially pp. 190–194, with oracular *adyta* listed at 194n.22); for Latin attestations, see *TLL* I, 902, s.v. “*adytos*.”

demand for the god's care or advice and the frequency with which he gave it created a commercial zone populated in part by those selling dedicatory objects.⁴⁴ In some cases, especially sites for those seeking medical assistance, visitors would need to stay for some time—mostly those who did not have the fortune of being miraculously cured immediately—and thus there were accommodations for both those staying briefly and those who remained for weeks or even months as they pursued a god's recommended course of treatment. Not all sites associated with healing had such residential areas, however. Another way in which the experience could vary was in the use of a priest or other proxy, since rather than seeking dreams oneself it was sometimes necessary for ritual or practical reasons to have someone else obtain a dream-oracle on one's behalf.⁴⁵ Despite such differences from cult to cult, incubation among the Greeks was generally a complex practice that required multiple steps and the involvement of third parties, even if the medium of divine communication itself was usually simple and direct.

In Greco-Roman Egypt, where so many rich sources for incubation and dream-divination have been found, the practice was not necessarily more complex, and indeed the basic rituals may have been quite similar, but the issues raised by these sources can be quite complicated.⁴⁶ Although there are numerous similarities between Greek practices and Egyptian—after all, the Egyptian tradition appears likely to have been influenced by the Greek, at least at certain sites⁴⁷—in Egypt one also encounters phenomena without parallels elsewhere. Chief among these problems is the fact that dream-divination and dream interpretation had been the domain of Egyptian priests in Pharaonic times, and in Greco-Roman times Egyptian cults had individuals from different ranks serving as dream interpreters, but there is also evidence

44 For evidence of this phenomenon, see, *e.g.*, the law regulating the leasing of four stalls to retailers at the Samian *Heraion*, which shows that merchants were even welcome within sanctuaries (*IG* XII.6, 1, 169; see Soverini 1990–91).

45 See Appendix IV.

46 Unlike incubation rituals performed by the Greeks (especially at *Asklepieia*), for which there is substantial documentation, little is known about the nature of the Egyptian rituals. The only direct evidence is to be found in Demotic literature, since three of the tales—including *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyān* (quoted p. 511)—specify burnt offerings (*gll*) and libations (*wtn*), though further details are regrettably lacking (see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 201, cf. pp. 166–167). Indirect evidence, however, is likely preserved in some of the dream-divination rituals in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri (see n. 39), since even though these would not have been performed at a temple they probably would have had some resemblance to the rituals that were.

47 See pp. 74–77.

for professional dream interpreters associating themselves with sanctuaries, or else cult officials selling their skills when off-duty.⁴⁸ Another issue is the minimal amount of evidence concerning just where within a cult site incubation could be practiced, for which the sources draw conflicting pictures:⁴⁹ on the one hand, a graffito from Ptolemaic Saqqâra refers to an ἐγκοιμητήριον somewhere among the temple complexes, a Demotic source for Amenhotep's rock-cut sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari refers to "upper" and "lower" shrines (*ml*) in which one could engage in incubation, a brief dream-narrative from Saqqâra has someone who is seen to be praying in the "place of asking" (*s.t š*), which has been linked to incubation or else other forms of oracular inquiry, and an unpublished *ostrakon* from Thebes recording multiple dreams is linked to "sleeping places" (*n: sdr:w*) which its editor takes to be rooms or shrines employed for incubation;⁵⁰ on the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that one could sleep outdoors within a temple complex (*e.g.*, within a courtyard (*in:ḥ*)).⁵¹ Furthermore, certain temple officials may have been able to engage in incubation in shrines off-limits to the public (perhaps the intended meaning of the phrase "the place of dreaming" (*s.t rswy*) in one Demotic religious text, if it has been correctly read),⁵² or a sanctuary's embalming workshop (*w'bt*).⁵³ It is also quite possible that those living at temple complexes—a phenomenon

48 For the apparent democratization of dream-divination in Egypt, see p. 81, and for dream interpreters in Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian religion, see Appendix XIV.

49 The lack of identifiable incubation dormitories in Egypt has been noted in Ehrenheim 2009, 252. Possibly relevant to the issue is that in Demotic literature pharaohs and other characters would seek dreams in a temple (*ḥw.t-ntr*) or else shrine (*qnḥ:(t)*), though without the precise area or structure being specified (see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 200–201, providing the few published and unpublished literary references).

50 Graffito: *SEG* 49, 2292 (quoted p. 411). Deir el-Bahari: Krakow, M.N. XI 989 (see pp. 497–498). Saqqâra: P.DemBologna 3173, l. 23, eds. Bresciani/Bedini/Paolini/Silvano 1978 (see pp. 399–400n.20); for the term's interpretation, see Bresciani *et al.*, *ibid.*, 99, followed by Quaegebeur 1997, 28 and Legras 2011, 116. Thebes: O.Louvre ODL E 8088, briefly discussed by Siân E. Thomas based on John D. Ray's unpublished edition and commentary (Thomas 2013, 159n.13).

51 O.Brook. 37.1821E (see pp. 500–501).

52 Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, frag. B06, 1/14 (see p. 503).

53 *O.Hor* 1 (see Chapter 9.6, with discussion of the role of the *w'bt* at Egyptian sanctuaries). Further evidence that individuals of a particular rank or status could seek dreams in special areas of a temple complex might have been provided by a Demotic tale that in a damaged passage perhaps describes a king sleeping in the "wrapping room" or "embalming room" (*ššt*), which was associated with the burial of sacred lions (*Wenamun*, frag. 1, col. i, ll. 16–17; quoted p. 511).

well attested in the Ptolemaios Archive from Saqqâra⁵⁴—found it sufficient to be within the precinct walls and saw no need to sleep in a building employed by visiting worshipers if they wished to solicit dreams from the gods, since the whole sanctuary would be sacrosanct. It is therefore much more difficult to establish clear patterns regarding incubation in post-Pharaonic Egypt than it is for Greece and other Greek-speaking lands.

1.3 Prior Scholarship on Incubation

There has been no comprehensive study of incubation since that of Ludwig Deubner more than a century ago,⁵⁵ and while this work is still quite useful it is also very much out of date, as are some other studies that have become obsolete but continue to be consulted and cited, primarily by specialists in other fields unfamiliar with the most recent scholarship on Greek religion.⁵⁶ However, in 2009 Hedvig von Ehrenheim published a major article on the subject as a foretaste of her 2011 University of Stockholm dissertation, focusing on architectural and archaeological issues and the important question of “whether incubation architecture is at all identifiable in cases when there are no textual sources that tell us that a particular building was used,” but also

54 See pp. 398–399.

55 Deubner (L.) 1900. Though comprehensive for its time, most of the important ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian sources for incubation had not yet been published. The oldest study of incubation appears to be that of Henricus Meibomius (*i.e.*, Heinrich Meibom), *Exercitatio philologico-medica, De incubatione in fanis deorum medicinae causa olim facta* (Helmstadt, 1659), with Anton van Dale soon thereafter discussing it in Chapt. 11 of his book on ancient oracles (van Dale 1700). Before Deubner there was no full-length modern treatment of the subject, and even Auguste Bouché-Leclercq’s magisterial work on divination only touches on the phenomenon at several points rather than analyzing it in detail (Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82). See also Türk 1897–1902, 903–910, with references to other nineteenth-century studies at 909–910 (to which should be added Wolf 1802, 403–419), and Weinreich 1909, 76–136, likewise making use of the earlier scholarship.

56 *E.g.*, Hamilton (M.) 1906, Thrämer 1913, and Jayne 1925 (the work of a professor of gynecology and abdominal surgery whose section on Asklepios was limited to pp. 279–282, and thus unlike the other two works was not even all that useful back in 1925). The critical two-volume study of Asklepios by Ludwig and Emma Edelstein is also regularly cited, and while still of tremendous value this work is certainly showing its age, and is in need of an extensively updated second edition or replacement (Edelstein, *Asclepius*); similarly, the contemporary work on Asklepios by Károly Kerényi is occasionally cited, but is also somewhat obsolete, and at best should be used as a readable introduction to the cult (Kerényi 1947), for which better options do exist (*e.g.*, Wickkiser 2008, 30–61).

touching on other aspects of incubation.⁵⁷ Another recent dissertation on incubation, that of Koowon Kim, has already been published, and is primarily a literary study of three incubation “type-scenes”—*1 Samuel* 1:1–2:11, and those in the Ugaritic *Legend of Aqht* and *Legend of Keret*—but begins with a survey of incubation among the peoples of the ancient Near East, Egypt and Greece, along with recent scholarship and brief references to incubation-like practices elsewhere in the world.⁵⁸ The only other detailed treatments of incubation that span multiple cults—putting aside those devoted primarily to incubation in the ancient Near East or early Christianity—have been found in encyclopedia entries, most recently that of Manfred Wacht, which renders Jacob Pley’s *Pauly-Wissowa* entry obsolete, and yet has often been overlooked by scholars despite its great value.⁵⁹ Most treatments of incubation, however, are not comprehensive, instead focusing on the practice in a particular cult: not surprisingly, Asklepios leads with more than a dozen studies that are wholly or largely devoted to incubation at one or more *Asklepieia*,⁶⁰ but incubation in other cults also has received significant attention, most notably Pierre

57 Ehrenheim 2009 (quoting p. 237). Similarly, two of my own articles served as foretastes of the present work, with one providing the first detailed analysis regarding where in the Latin West incubation may have been practiced (Renberg 2006), and the other, now rendered obsolete by Chapter 7, surveying the evidence for incubation at Saqqâra (Renberg 2010a).

(A revised version of Ehrenheim’s dissertation appeared in print just before the completion of this book, and could not be consulted: Hedvig von Ehrenheim, *Greek Incubation Rituals in Classical and Hellenistic Times* (Kernos Suppl. 29; Liège, 2015). I am informed that this work will soon be complemented by another article: H. von Ehrenheim, “From Exclusive Dream Oracles to Ubiquitous Incubation Dreams: A Change in the Perception of Divine Healer?”, in J. Tae Jensen, G. Hinge, P. Schultz & B.L. Wickkiser (eds.), *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult 11: Sacred Architecture—Sacred Space—Sacred Objects; An International Colloquium in Honor of Erik Hansen* (Monographs of the Danish Institute for Mediterranean Studies 1; Copenhagen, forthcoming.).)

58 Kim 2011. To this and the preceding work can be added Juliette Harrisson’s new book on dreams in the Roman world, likewise derived from a dissertation, which discusses incubation at numerous points (Harrisson 2013, 200–210 *et pass.*).

59 Wacht 1997; Pley 1916. See also Dorati/Guidorizzi 1996, an article surveying incubation in multiple cults as well as Christianity. Since Wacht’s survey discusses in some detail or at least provides the references for most of the cult sites discussed in this book, it would be needlessly repetitive to cite it each time he has dealt with a cult site or related topic, so references to his work are only made when there is reason for disagreement or when his discussion is especially useful. Wacht does, however, provide some bibliography not consulted for this work, mostly old and obsolete works (*ibid.*, 263–265).

60 See pp. 115–116n.1.

Sineux's study of Amphiaraos.⁶¹ Incubation also regularly comes up in studies of dreams in antiquity, in which it is not made the primary focus.⁶² These are complemented by a stream of works partly or wholly devoted to Christian incubation—usually focusing on a single shrine or saint's cult, though quite recently there has been important work on it as a broad phenomenon—and also some comparative studies of incubation across cultures.⁶³

1.4 Therapeutic vs. Divinatory Incubation: An Overlooked Methodological Issue

Neither broad studies of religion that include discussions of incubation nor those that are specifically devoted to the practice typically emphasize, as the present work does, that there were two distinct types of incubation: “therapeutic incubation,” through which the sick and injured could receive medical attention, and “divinatory incubation,” which involved seeking dreams about matters other than health concerns, either public or private.⁶⁴ Therapeutic

61 Sineux 2007a, 159–186 *et pass.*

62 See, *e.g.*, Näf 2004, 49–50, 116–123 *et pass.*, Harris 2009, 60, 107–108, 157, 184–185, 191 *et pass.*, and Guidorizzi 2013, 163–184 *et pass.* In addition, Christoph Marksches has edited a volume with multiple studies of Christian and non-Christian incubation (Marksches, *Heil und Heilung*, with editor's introduction at pp. 3–6). (The newest book on the phenomenon of divine epiphanies in antiquity, which was published just as this work was being completed and thus could not be incorporated, features a chapter on therapeutic incubation: Georgia Petridou, *Divine Epiphany in Greek Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2016), 171–193.)

63 For Christian incubation, see Appendix xvi. For comparative studies, see, *e.g.*, Johnston (L.) 1948 and Patton 2004.

64 I have chosen to employ the terms “therapeutic incubation” and “divinatory incubation” to demonstrate a distinction that is not apparent when the two reasons for engaging in incubatory rituals are lumped together, as is usually done. Some scholars have previously made similar distinctions, though primarily in studies of Greco-Egyptian cults or the ancient Near East: such terms as “iatromantische Inkubation” (UPZ I, p. 34), “medizinische Inkubation” (UPZ I, p. 349; Wacht 1997, 204), “medical incubation” (Dodds 1951, 111), and “l'incubation guérissante” (Dunand 2006, 11) have been employed for the former type, while for the latter Bouché-Leclercq repeatedly used the phrase “incubation oniromantique” (Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82) and Bernard Legras “incubation oraculaire” (Legras 2011). Following Jean-Marie Husser's distinction between “incubation oraculaire” and “incubation thérapeutique” (Husser 1994, 30; Husser 1996, 1444), Alice Mouton appears to have been the only other scholar to apply distinct terms to both, employing “l'incubation divinatoire” and “l'incubation thérapeutique” several times in her article

incubation was limited to a small group of gods: the widely popular Asklepios, Sarapis and Isis, as well as local or regional gods such as Amphiaraos in Boeotia and Imhotep and Amenhotep in Egypt. Divinatory incubation, however, involved a greater range of divinities (and even the dead). Those undergoing therapeutic incubation hoped either to be directly healed by the god while they slept or to be told of a remedy or regimen that would return them to health; in contrast, those engaging in divinatory incubation came to a sanctuary with the same sorts of concerns that were brought to Delphi, Dodona, and other such sites.⁶⁵ Even though incubation sanctuaries in most of the Greek world appear to have been devoted to one type of incubation or the other—that is, there is no evidence for sites at which the visitors seeking medical assistance and those seeking advice or prophecy can be shown to have been comparable in number, though this may have been the case at the Oropos *Amphiareion* and some Greco-Egyptian sites—there must have been some degree of overlap. After all, those who came to a sanctuary where divinatory incubation was commonly practiced would not have been automatically turned away by the priests or shunned by the god himself if they had a concern regarding their health,⁶⁶ while in the case of the divine physician Asklepios there is some evidence that

on Hittite incubation (Mouton 2003; cf. Mouton 2007, 4 *et pass.*), and using “divinatory incubation” and “therapeutic incubation” in her shortened version of that study (Mouton 2004). Nonetheless, scholars—especially of Greek religion—continue to combine divinatory and therapeutic incubation, or else not recognize the existence of the former.

- 65 See the collection of questions for Dodona published in Lhôte, *Lamelles oraculaires* and *I.ChrestDodona*, which represent a broad range of matters that would have been brought before Greek oracles; see also Joseph Fontenrose’s collections of both historical and fictitious inquiries made of Apollo at Delphi and Didyma (Fontenrose 1978, 240–429; Fontenrose 1988, 177–244). See pp. 96–97n.154 for oracle questions in Egypt.
- 66 Similarly, famous oracles could be consulted on health matters, as is best illustrated by a relatively small but not insignificant number of the Dodona oracular tablets that preserve such questions (Lhôte, *Lamelles oraculaires*, 151–164, Nos. 65–73; *I.ChrestDodona* II, pp. 546 (s.v. *ιάομαι*), 560 (s.v. *νόσημα/νόσος*), 562 (s.v. *ἄμμα*), 566 (s.v. *ὀφθαλμός*), 585 (s.v. *σωτηρία*), 593–594 (s.v. *ὑγιαίνω/ὑγίεια/ὑγιής*); see Eidinow 2007, 104–107 *et pass.*). This can also be seen in the Delphic epigram recording the so-called “hair miracle,” which provides an example of Apollo being consulted regarding a fertility issue (see p. 603n.2). However, consultations on health matters were rarely recorded in literature: such an example can be found in Aristides’s account of the time that his representative was given an oracle by Apollo at Colophon promising that Asklepios would cure the facial muscle problems that Aristides was experiencing (Aristid., *Or.* 49.12), but the majority of literary sources are at best questionable (see Fontenrose 1978, Appendix B, Sect. IV.ii for the “quasi-historical” and “legendary” examples of health-related inquiries made at Delphi).

he dabbled in prophecy as well.⁶⁷ Furthermore, sanctuaries offering therapeutic incubation were sometimes visited by otherwise healthy individuals who were experiencing fertility problems, as is attested by epigraphical and literary sources regarding healing gods such as Asklepios and his Egyptian counterpart Imhotep, and therefore it is possible to recognize a subcategory that can be termed “fertility incubation.”⁶⁸

For the most part, though, visitors to *Asklepieia* and other sanctuaries offering an opportunity for therapeutic incubation would have arrived suffering from a chronic ailment, after the medical profession had failed to cure them:⁶⁹ in some cases, individuals would make a point of stating that they had turned to a divine physician when mortal physicians proved inadequate.⁷⁰ As the

67 See pp. 116–117n.2.

68 See Appendix III.

69 This pattern of the sources showing that Asklepios's help was sought for chronic problems instead of short-lived ailments has been demonstrated by Bronwen Wickkiser (Wickkiser 2006; see also the brief summary in Wickkiser 2008, 58–61), and noted for Greco-Egyptian cults by Françoise Dunand (Dunand 2006, 7). As Wickkiser has shown (Wickkiser 2006, 32–34), medical treatises indicate that some ailments were considered untreatable and physicians were not expected to attempt to cure patients suffering from them, who might instead turn to Asklepios or another healing god.

70 The earliest example from the cult of Asklepios is in an epigram attributed to the fourth-century BCE Athenian orator Aeschines, who visited Epidauros after “despairing of the skills of mortals” (θνητῶν μὲν τέχναις ἀπορούμενος), according to an epigram that survives in the *Greek Anthology* and a fragmentary inscription (*Anth.Pal.* 6.330 + *SEG* 22, 284; quoted pp. 121–122). Centuries later, an individual whose gout had been “incurable” (ἀνίατος) made a dedication to Asklepios at the Athenian *Asklepieion* showing that he first sought a cure and later added a short addendum thanking the god for indeed having cured him (*IG* II² 4514; see pp. 183–184n.163). A Roman-era literary source, one roughly contemporary with this inscription, tells of a man suffering from pneumonia who relied on the help of physicians in vain, only being taken by his friends to an *Asklepieion* when he was near death and being saved through a dream-oracle requiring that he renounce the hateful teachings of Epicurus and create an externally applied medicine from the ashes obtained by burning his books (Ael., frag. 92, ed. Domingo-Forasté [= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:200–202, No. 399]). This pattern survived into Late Antiquity, since in 364 CE after Libanius's doctors gave up hope of curing his gout (Lib., *Or.* 1.140) he had a proxy named Eudaemon go to the Aegae *Asklepieion* to consult the god on his behalf (Lib., *Ep.* 1300, ed. Foerster; quoted pp. 702–703), and in an unrelated letter of 362 CE Libanius had commented that his chronic head ailment (presumably migraine headaches) could only be cured by Asklepios, since the doctors had failed (Lib., *Ep.* 707.1; quoted p. 697). More than a century later, Marinus in his *Life of Proclus* wrote of the famous philosopher visiting the Athenian *Asklepieion* to pray for a sick girl only after her doctors had despaired of curing her (γυγνωσκόντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν), which is the latest example involving the Greek gods (Marin., *Procl.* 29).

physician Galen indicates, there was also a matter of greater faith being placed in Asklepios than human practitioners of medicine, since some patients would obey prescriptions from the god that they might ignore if issued by a doctor:

οὕτω γέ τοι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Περγάμῳ τοὺς θεραπευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
πειθομένους ὁρώμεν αὐτῷ πεντεκαίδεκα πολλάκις ἡμέραις προστάξαντι μὴδ'
ὅλως πειεῖν, οἱ τῶν ἱατρῶν μὴδενὶ προστάττοντι πείθονται. μεγάλην γὰρ ἔχει

As Wickkiser has noted, similar experiences can be inferred from other sources, since some of the Epidauros testimonies mentioned above indicate that sufferers had waited a long time before coming to Asklepios for help, presumably first seeking help from mortal medical practitioners (Wickkiser 2008, 59). For additional examples from literature of the sick giving up on doctors, though not necessarily engaging in incubation as an alternative, see Horstmanshoff 2004, 328–329n.10. (See, however, Israelowich 2012, 113, on how Aristides, famous for repeatedly engaging in incubation at the Pergamon *Asklepieion*, did not represent this as choosing the god over the medical experts, but rather as seeking out the greatest of the experts.)

This phenomenon was not limited to the Greek gods, as is demonstrated by a Syrian dedication, possibly to Baal-Shamim, by one who sought the god's help after a group of thirty-six physicians could not cure him (*SEG* 47, 1932A; quoted p. 309). In Egypt, one of the earliest sources for incubation, the *ostrakon* from Amenhotep's sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari narrating the circumstances that led to the miraculous cure of an individual named Polyaratos in 261/0 BCE, mentions a similar experience before he decided to seek the god's help: "Likewise when I took refuge with doctors, they too were unable to make me healthy" (ὥς δ' αὐτως δὲ πρὸς ἰα[[τρους κα]τέφυγον καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναμ[το ὑγιή]μ[ε] ποιῆσαι) (*I.Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1, ll. 13–15; quoted pp. 461–462). A more general statement regarding Isis's ability to help those who had unsuccessfully consulted the physicians is to be found in Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 1.25.5; quoted pp. 360–362). Similarly, in the undoubtedly fictional "Imouthes Aretalogy" the narrator, who himself claims to have been healed by Imouthes (*i.e.*, Imhotep) at the Saqqâra *Asklepieion*, states that the god would save from disease those who were failed by "the medical art" (*ιατρική*) (*P.Oxy* xi 1381, ll. 51–57; on this text, see pp. 427–429). An early-Ptolemaic dedicatory inscription originating at Saqqâra refers to having been healed by a god who was most likely Imhotep or Osorapis/Sarapis, and since it mentions the worshiper previously having been unable to regain his health ([ο]ὐκ ἠδυνάμην ὑγείας [τυχεῖν?]) it is likely to reflect a similar pattern as well (*I.GrÉgLouvre* 11; see pp. 409–411). In addition, one of the *ostraka* from the Ḫor Archive, about a sick man who had "despised the remedies" before seeking Thoth's aid, may pertain to a similar circumstance (*O.Hor* 32; see p. 444). For this *topos* in Christian sources, see Wacht 1997, 262 and Montserrat 2005, 231, the latter specifically on the evidence of the *Account of the Miracles of the Wise and Unpaid Saints Cyrus and John* by Sophronios (see pp. 372–373n.98).

ρόπην εἰς τὸ πάντα ποιῆσαι τὰ προσταττόμενα τὸ πεπεῖσθαι τὸν κάμνοντα βεβαίως ἀκολουθήσειν ὥφελειαν ἀξιόλογον αὐτῷ.⁷¹

And so, indeed, we see among us at Pergamon those being treated by the god obeying him when he instructs that for fifteen days (as it often is) they entirely avoid drinking, who would obey none of the physicians giving instructions. For it carries great influence with the one suffering to be firmly persuaded that doing everything instructed will bring about a remarkable benefit for himself.

71 Galen, *In Hippoc. Epid. VI* 4.4.8, eds. Kühn XVIIIB, p. 137 and E. Wenkebach & F. Pfaff, *CMG* V.10.2, 2, p. 199 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:202, No. 401); see Kudlien 1981, 124–125 on this passage. Kudlien interprets this as implicitly indicating that Galen, like some other doctors, would occasionally be critical of certain prescriptions issued by Asklepios. However, it appears that some doctors themselves had a significant amount of confidence in prescriptive dreams received by the sick from Asklepios, as is suggested by general references to the practice of medicine benefitting from these. Most notably, Pliny believed that Hippocrates had copied records of cures seen at the Kos *Asklepieion* and gained knowledge from these—an anecdote that is a chronological impossibility but may reflect an element of truth regarding Hippocrates's successors (Plin., *H.N.* 29.2.4; see p. 204). It may well be that Iamblichus had in mind these records at Kos when he wrote, without referring to a particular site, “Thus in the temple of Asklepios diseases are halted by divine dreams, but also through the prescription of nocturnal epiphanies the medical art has been derived from holy dreams” (οὕτως ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ μὲν τὰ νοσήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ὄνειροις παύεται· διὰ δὲ τὴν τάξιν τῶν νύκτωρ ἐπιφανειῶν ἡ ἰατρικὴ τέχνη συνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνειράτων) (Iambl., *Myst.* 3.3, p. 108), a sentiment echoing the one attributed to Galen regarding medicine having been taught through dreams and visions (Galen, *Comm. in Hippoc. Iusi.*, frag. B1c; quoted p. 205), and Artemidorus's comment that “Many people in both Pergamon and Alexandria as well as other places have been cured by prescriptions (from the gods), and there are even those who say that the medicine was discovered from such prescriptions” (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἄλλαχοῦ συνταγαῖς ἐθεραπεύθησαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐκ τοιούτων συνταγῶν λέγουσιν εὐρῆσθαι) (Artem. 4.22, p. 320). Such comments, though vague, suggest that medical practitioners on occasion would learn new cures from Asklepios through dreams received by his patients. Indeed, Galen himself tells of learning the value of medicine obtained from vipers after observing its curative effects on one patient at Pergamon who had been told to employ it by Asklepios in a dream, as well as from others who had been cured by consuming snakes or wine in which snakes had died (Galen, *Subf. emp.* 10, pp. 75–79, ed. Deichgräber; for the Pergamon episode, see p. 122n.16). (As can be seen in these and other sources, there were two types of dreams that might be of particular interest to physicians: those that they received themselves and aided their diagnosis of a patient, and those received by a patient of Asklepios that presented effective prescriptions.)

Presumably, a similar level of trust was earned by Sarapis and other gods who issued prescriptions, and it even appears to be the case that medical dreams not attributed to a specific god may have been heeded, showing the importance that some would place on dreams.⁷²

It is not unexpected that people suffering from an ailment beyond the abilities of the medical profession would have sought divine aid, but it is not

72 As is attested in Cicero's *On Divination*, sometimes cures were discovered in dreams that were not attributed to Asklepios or another healing god, or even said to have been solicited: according to Cicero, attributing the anecdote to his brother Quintus, the tradition of using the *aristolochia* plant as an antidote for snake bites had originated in a dream received by a man named Aristolochos (*quid aristolochia ad morsus serpentium possit, quae nomen ex inventore repperit, rem ipsam inventor ex somnio, posse video, quod satis est*) (Cic., *Div.* 1.16; see Schultz 2014, 77–78 and Wardle 2006, 139–140 on the passage, and the alternative etymological explanation of “*aristolochia*”). Similarly, the proper course of treatment might be confirmed by a dream, since Galen tells of an unidentified man to whom he had given a prescription and instructions then having consulted another physician who gave contrary instructions, only to have the matter resolved in a dream, one not attributed to a particular god:

ἀλλὰ διὰ γε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐναργέστατον ὄναρ αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐπήνεσέ τε τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλὴν, ὥρισέ τε τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν ὕλην, θριδακίνης χυλῷ διακλύζεσθαι κελεύσαν· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ χρησάμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὠνητο τελέως, ὡς μηκέτ' ἄλλου δεηθῆναι (Galen, *Meth. med.* 14.8, ed. Kühn X, p. 972).

But during the night an especially palpable dream that came to him recommended my advice and indicated the *materia medica* for the remedy, having instructed that his mouth be washed with lettuce juice—by the use of which alone the man fully benefited, so that nothing else was needed.

(See von Staden 2003, 23–24 on this passage.) Elsewhere Galen referred to having performed an arteriotomy because of a dream that is not linked to Asklepios or another god (Galen, *Cur. rat. ven. sect.* 23, ed. Kühn XI, pp. 314–315; see p. 199n.192), and he may also have noted the value of unattributed diagnostic dreams in his *On Humors*, but this work is lost and the existing version is a Renaissance attempt at cobbling together surviving fragments and then filling in the gaps, so it is difficult to ascertain the passage's authenticity (Galen, *De humor.* 2.2, ed. Kühn XVI, pp. 222–223). Thus the phenomenon of medical practitioners learning from successful prescriptions issued in dreams at an *Asklepieion* was part of a broader phenomenon, though it is unclear just how common and influential this was. Nor was it universally accepted: in his dialogue Cicero argues against his brother's position, questioning his belief in the gods issuing cures in dreams and concluding that since other arts are not taught in dreams the ability to practice medicine cannot be gained in this manner, either (Cic., *Div.* 2.123). (For the link between dreams and the practice of medicine in general, including the evidence of Galen, see von Staden, *ibid.*, 24–27, Oberhelman 1993, especially pp. 136–144, Holowchak 2001, and Brockmann 2013; cf. Israelowich 2012, 63, 74–75, 80–82 *et pass.* and Israelowich 2014, 293–294.)

necessarily to be expected that dreams would have been the vehicle for a prescription or miraculous cure. Although the belief in dreams was widespread, they were, after all, generally considered a relatively unreliable medium for divine communication: not only do the poets write of dreams issuing forth through either a gate of true dreams or one of false dreams,⁷³ and not only does the extensive literature on dream interpretation reveal how difficult it could be to interpret some dreams correctly, but more historical literary sources and inscriptions often indicate that the veracity of dream-messages (or their interpretation) had needed to be confirmed through some other form of divination, a step which was not thought necessary for any other divinatory medium.⁷⁴ However, dreams received within the boundaries of a cult site evidently were different in that they were treated as wholly reliable, since gods would not have sent misleading or outright false dreams to worshipers sleeping in an area consecrated to them.⁷⁵ Moreover, as forcefully argued by Artemidorus in a discussion that begins with a reference to prescriptions received at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* and Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, due to the love of the gods for humanity (τὸ τῶν θεῶν φιλόανθρωπον) they did not issue therapeutic dreams of a cryptic nature—as some of Artemidorus's contemporaries believed—but instead, as he advised, “You will discover that the prescriptions of the gods, truly, are simple and have nothing enigmatic about them” (τάς δὲ συνταγὰς τῶν θεῶν ἥτοι ἀπλᾶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχούσας αἰνίγμα εὐρήσεις), also noting that the cures

73 Hom., *Od.* 19.562–567; Verg., *Aen.* 6.813–816.

74 See, e.g., the twenty-fourth “Theosophical Oracle,” according to which a worshiper confirmed with the oracle of Didyma that he could trust a dream concerning his lifespan (*Theosophia Tubingensis* 24, p. 16, ed. Erbse (= 21, p. 16, ed. Beatrice 2001)):

ὅτι Στρατονίκῳ τινὶ ὄναρ ἰδόντι περὶ τῶν τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς ἐτῶν καὶ πυσμένῳ εἰ χρὴ πιστεῦσαι, οὕτως ἀνέειπεν·

εἰσέτι σοι δολιχὸς νέμεται χρόνος, ἀλλὰ σεβάζου

ζωοδότου Διὸς ὄμμα θυηπολίας ἀγανῆσιν.

Thus the god proclaimed to a certain Stratonikos, who had seen a dream concerning the years of his life and asked if he ought to believe it:

A long period of time is still allotted you, but nevertheless venerate

the eye of life-giving Zeus with pleasing rites.

For this oracle, see Robert (L.) 1968, 586–589 (= Robert, *OMS* v:602–605) and Busine 2005, 457, No. 93. This and the other sources for the phenomenon will be discussed in Renberg (in preparation), *a*.

75 I am grateful to Angelos Chaniotis for this point. See Graf 2015, 248–249 (pp. 124–125 of 2013 version), noting the lack of “a ritual mechanism to test the veracity of a dream” and concluding that the Greeks simply felt “that one should not worry overmuch about . . . false dreams”: this presumably was for the reason suggested here.

to be found in such dreams fully matched those recognized and employed by medical science (εὐρήσεις ἰατρικώτατα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἐν ἰατρικῇ λόγου).⁷⁶ Therefore, instead of merely offering up prayers to a healing god at his sanctuary as was most commonly done, visitors could consult him regarding a chronic medical problem and receive instructions for the needed treatment, or perhaps even envision him performing a cure. For the same reason, those seeking an oracle on a matter unrelated to health had the option of visiting an oracular sanctuary that functioned through inspired prophets or prophetesses, natural omens such as the rustling of leaves, or other forms of divination, but they also might visit a sanctuary at which they could themselves receive an oracle directly from the god as they dreamed, and the reliability of this dream-oracle—though not necessarily its proper interpretation—would be beyond question.⁷⁷ Thus incubation provided a welcome alternative to other forms of divination because the worshiper, if successful, would come into contact with a divinity, and the fact that such contact was solicited in a sanctuary not only would have increased the chance of success, but also ensured that the message received was to be fully trusted, and more often than not could be easily interpreted.⁷⁸

76 Artem. 4.22, pp. 320, 322, ed. Harris-McCoy. For Artemidorus's comments on Pergamon and Alexandria, see p. 25n.71.

77 Sometimes it could be the same sanctuary: incubation at certain sites coexisted with other forms of divination, with the god issuing oracles through both dreams and another medium. See the discussions of Dionysos at Amphikleia (pp. 303–304), Amphilochos at Mallos (p. 320n.32), Sarapis at Alexandria and Canopus (pp. 380–386), one or more of the cults at Saqqâra (Chapter 7), Bes at Abydos (Chapter 9.2), Antinous at Antinoopolis (Chapter 9.8), and possibly Mandoulis at Talmis (Appendix 1.8.10). In addition, a passage in Aelian may reveal that in Horus's falcon cult the divinized falcons would issue both oracles and dream-oracles (Ael., *NA* 11.39; quoted p. 512n.75). See also Lucian's description of Glykon's cult, according to which the "false prophet" Alexander of Abonuteichos would receive "nocturnal oracles" (νυκτερινοὶ χρησμοί) from the god, who was more famous for his "self-spoken" (αὐτόφωνοι) oracles (Lucian, *Alex.* 49; see p. 620). This phenomenon has not received significant attention, but see Chaniotis 2002, 71, recognizing that certain *Asklepieia*, *Sarapieia* and sites associated with confession inscriptions appear to have offered worshipers healing, prophecy and mysteries, and thus that sanctuaries were not always exclusive in terms of serving just one function.

78 The sources regarding the nature of the dreams received through incubation show some that were clear in meaning and easy for the worshiper to understand and follow if necessary, while others were symbolic and in need of interpretation—either by the dreamer himself, if he had knowledge of the art, or by an expert dream interpreter who presumably was officially serving at the sanctuary (see Appendix XIV).

Overall, while scholarship on incubation in Greek and Greco-Egyptian religion has generally assumed a single practice simply called “incubation,” the present work has as a fundamental principle that it is more useful to distinguish between “therapeutic incubation” and “divinatory incubation,” and is partly devoted to demonstrating the importance of viewing incubation as a multi-faceted phenomenon found in both prominent and obscure locales throughout the Mediterranean world. Such an approach, which requires identifying cults and cult sites with one type of incubation or the other, or sometimes both, can help to better establish the role or roles that the associated gods played in the lives of worshipers. For certain divinities and sanctuaries (*e.g.*, Amphiaraos at Oropos, Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari) there is clear evidence for some visitors seeking therapies through dreaming and others seeking oracles in the same manner,⁷⁹ but it turns out that in most cases the evidence indicates that gods were exclusively (or almost exclusively) consulted regarding either health concerns or specific matters from private or public life. In the case of the shrine of Pasiphae near Sparta, for example, the sources only refer to that *polis*’s leaders seeking dream-oracles from her, and there is no reason to conclude that ordinary individuals with bodily ailments would have visited the site in the hope of bedding down for the night and awakening either with

Pertinent to this issue is a textual problem concerning a passage in Aristides’s *Speech Concerning Asklepios* that has been thought to make specific reference to the easily understood nature of dreams received from Asklepios, but if Bruno Keil’s emendation of ὀράμασι to ἰάμασι is correct the orator’s brief comment would not have been explicitly related to the subject of dreams, if at all. As translated by Charles A. Behr, who prefers the manuscript reading, Aristides wrote: “Indeed, there is very much of the marvelous in the unambiguous dreams of the god, for example one man drinks chalk, another hemlock, and another undresses and bathes in cold water while not at all needing a means of warmth, as one would expect” (καὶ μὴν τό γε παράδοξον πλείστον ἐν τοῖς ὀράμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, οἷον τὸν μὲν γύψου πίνειν, τὸν δὲ κωνεῖον, τὸν δὲ γυμνοῦσθαι καὶ λούειν ψυχρῷ, θέρμης ἢ οὐδόλως, ὥς ἂν τις δόξαι, δεόμενον) (Aristid., *Or.* 42.8, translation from Behr 1981–86, 11:248). However, not only is Behr’s choice of “unambiguous dreams” for ὀράμασι misleading, since it draws upon the philosophical and technical writings on dreams and dream interpretation and thus does not necessarily reflect Aristides’s intended meaning for ὄραμα, but the passage makes more sense if Behr’s “unambiguous dreams” is replaced by Keil’s “cures” (see Behr, *ibid.*, 11:417n.18, citing Behr 1968, 190n.64 on dream classifications; for ὄραμα and the other technical terms for dream types, see Harris-McCoy 2012, 13–14, 422–424). Thus Aristides does not appear to have been commenting on the nature of dreams received from Asklepios. [Note: D.A. Russell’s new text follows Keil (see p. 270 *addendum*).]

79 There is no pattern for which gods could be sought for both therapeutic dreams and dream-oracles, but it may have been primarily those who were first human diviners and following their divinization added healing as a secondary function.

a prescription to follow or a tale of miraculous recovery to tell. In contrast, as noted above, there is a small amount of evidence suggesting that worshipers did sometimes ask Asklepios, the preeminent god of healing and prescriptive dreams, about matters unrelated to health—but, based on the relatively vast amount of information we have about his cult it is inconceivable that his sanctuaries at Epidauros or Pergamon were commonly used as alternatives to Delphi or Claros. We do, after all, know a good deal about what sorts of issues would be brought before oracular gods by both states and private individuals, thanks to hundreds of literary sources and such documentary materials as the oracular tablets of Dodona and oracle questions preserved on Egyptian papyri, and we also know that there is only an inconsequential amount of evidence for Asklepios weighing in on such issues. Maintaining a distinction between sources for therapeutic incubation and for divinatory incubation therefore helps to establish a better understanding of why particular divinities might be consulted, and thus the nature of their role in local religious life.

1.5 Divinities Associated with Incubation

Study of which Greek gods were consulted through incubation, as has long been recognized, reveals an unmistakable pattern: the preponderance of cult sites at which incubation was practiced were devoted to chthonic divinities. The belief that dreams were associated with the Earth and Underworld can be found in some of Greece's oldest myths, and a full census of incubation sanctuaries and their resident divinities shows that with few exceptions the divinities issuing oracular or therapeutic dreams were divinized mortals (especially diviners) or gods whose nature was chthonic.⁸⁰ In the Greek world, incubation was associated not only with Underworld divinities (Pluto and Kore) or those having Underworld ties (Dionysos), but also with several divinized prophets (Amphiaraios, Amphilochos, Calchas, Mopsos) and other heroes or heroes-turned-gods (most notably Asklepios, but also Hermione, Pasiphae, Podalirios,

80 This pattern has been delineated by Wacht (Wacht 1997, 182–187), building upon the work of earlier scholars such as Erwin Rohde (Rohde 1921, 1:184–185 (pp. 132–133 of 1925 trans.)), and recognition of it goes at least as far back as Bouché-Leclercq and Friedrich A. Wolf, the latter only noting the link between incubation and legendary diviners (Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, 111:275; Wolf 1802, 407–409); other earlier discussions of note, though not included by Wacht, include Dodds 1951, 110–111 and Brelich 1958, 106–113. For early myths indicating the chthonic nature of dreams, see, *e.g.*, Hom., *Od.* 24.12, Eur., *IT* 1259–1282 and *Hec.* 71 (see p. 101). See also Terranova 2013, 257–259.

and Sarpedon).⁸¹ To this last group might be added Trophonios, since consulting him was done in a manner comparable to incubation, and he was even included in a list of gods communicating through dreams by Tertullian.⁸² Also to be considered are oracles of the dead, such as the Thesprotian νεκυομαντεῖον mentioned by Herodotus and the “oracle of souls” (ψυχομαντεῖον) in southern Italy referred to by Cicero and Plutarch, as well as the funerary inscription from Thyateira indicating that one could solicit dream-oracles from a deceased priestess.⁸³ The only exception to this pattern is Molpadia/Hemithea,⁸⁴ who does not appear to have had a chthonic nature, while there is insufficient information to draw a conclusion regarding the Delian goddess Brizo (if incubation

- 81 A rather fanciful explanation for why Amphiaraios communicated through dream-oracles, from which the tendency of other divinized prophets to do so might be extrapolated, is given by Pausanias, who states that of the ancient prophets such as Amphiaraios:

χωρίς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος μανῆναι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μάντεων γ' οὐδεὶς χρησμολόγος ἦν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὀνειράτα ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ διαγνῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ σπλάγχνα ἱερείων. [5] δοκῶ δὲ Ἀμφιάραον ὀνειράτων διακρίσει μάλιστα προσκεῖσθαι· δῆλος δέ, ἥνικα ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὀνειράτων μαντικὴν καταστησάμενος (Paus. 1.34.4–5).

Except for those who in olden times are said to have been inspired by Apollo, none of the diviners was a pronouncer of oracles, but they were good at explaining dreams and evaluating the flights of birds and entrails of sacrificial victims. It seems to me that Amphiaraios was especially devoted to the interpretation of dreams; it is clear that when he was acknowledged as a god he established for himself (a place for) divination through dreams.

Pausanias also includes an otherwise unknown tale regarding how Amphiaraios gained the ability to divine: according to him, Amphiaraios entered and slept in (ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς) a “house” or “shrine of divination” (οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος . . . μαντικός) adjacent to the *agora* at Phlius, and awoke with this newfound skill (Paus. 2.13.7). For Amphiaraios as a diviner in myth, see Sineux 2007a, 29–38.

- 82 Albert Schachter has claimed unconvincingly that Amphiaraios and Trophonios were the same deity, though worshiped under different names at their respective sites (Schachter 1981–94, 1:21). Nonetheless, he is correct in seeing parallels between them, since both were mortals believed to have been swallowed up by the earth while pursued by enemies and were subsequently worshiped as oracular divinities, belonging to what he terms the “Underground Oracle” type (Schachter 1972, 22–23; see also Aston 2004, 26–30, Ustinova 2002 (especially pp. 268–274) and Ustinova 2009, 89–108). For Trophonios in mythology, see Bonnechere 2003a, 65–128, especially pp. 82–85 on his underground chamber oracle; for his oracle, see Appendix 11.2. Tertullian: Tert., *Anim.* 46.11 (quoted p. 313).
- 83 For these and other oracular sites associated with spirits of the dead, see Chapter 5.7.
- 84 See Cook/Plommer 1966, 162–5, concluding “Hemithea is no chthonic deity; and if the cult was not prompted by legend, she may originally have been little more than a local mountain nymph” (p. 164).

was indeed practiced at her shrine).⁸⁵ Since Greek healing sanctuaries were generally associated with male heroes or chthonic gods rather than Olympian deities it is to be expected that this would be true of the divinities at sites offering worshipers the opportunity to engage in therapeutic incubation; similarly, in the case of sites associated with divinatory incubation the link between dreams and the Underworld appears to have been a major factor, which stands in contrast to such oracular sanctuaries of Olympian gods as Delphi (Apollo), Didyma (Apollo), and Dodona (Zeus).⁸⁶

This association of dreams, incubation, and chthonic powers was not unique to Greece. The concept of “chthonic” divinities is not explicitly pertinent to the sources for incubation in the ancient Near East, though one Hittite source does show a king engaging in a necromantic form of incubation,⁸⁷ and the name “Zaqīqu” that was often associated with a minor divinity who functioned as a dream spirit also had associations with ghosts.⁸⁸ There also appears to be an allusion to a practice of engaging in incubation among tombs in *Isaiah*, since the prophet quotes God chastising those Israelites “who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places,” in imitation of their contemporaries—a practice implicitly interpreted as incubation by the *Septuagint*’s translators’ reference to dream-divination.⁸⁹ Similarly, among some ancient peoples of

85 It seems likely that Brizo was a mythological diviner whose tale has been lost (see Chapter 5.4).

86 For the strong link between healing and the sanctuaries of Greek heroes and chthonic gods, see Vikela 2006, 41–43. As can be seen in Wiebke Friese’s comprehensive list of known Greek oracles (Friese 2010, 353–356), if one excludes Apollo’s sites most of oracles were associated with either non-Olympians or Olympians who had some sort of chthonic association, so oracles functioning through divinatory incubation simply followed this broader pattern rather than differing from it.

87 *CTH* 448.4; see p. 53.

88 For *Zaqīqu*, see p. 41.

89 *Isaiah* 65:4 (trans. H.G. May & B.M. Metzger (NRSV)). See Husser 1999, 176. For the *Septuagint* passage, see p. 755. The reason for the *Septuagint*’s reference to dream-divination, which is not in *Isaiah*’s text, may have been rightly suspected by Susan Ackerman, who notes the use of *hwn*, a term in rare cases associated with incubation (Ackerman 1991, 115; for *hwn*, see p. 71). However, it is unclear whether she is correct that it was Eusebius’s recognition of the meaning of *hwn*—rather than his merely adapting the *Septuagint*’s translation—that explains the passage’s treatment in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (Euseb., *Comm. in Isaiam* 2.55, p. 393, ed. Ziegler; quoted n. 17). While the practice of incubation among tombs by non-Israelites of *Isaiah*’s day would suggest their belief in a link between dreams and chthonic powers, the fact that the prophet explicitly warned the Israelites against engaging in this activity may suggest that, as is indicated elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the Israelites’ conception of dreams attributed them only

Greco-Roman times there was a practice of sleeping atop or within tombs in order to receive oracles, though whether this would be the tomb of a relative or a prominent but unrelated individual is not always clear.⁹⁰ A form of this practice could even be found among the Christians of Late Antiquity, some of whom would sleep at the tombs of martyrs. In Greco-Roman Egypt, the gods who were contacted through incubation likewise tended to have clear associations with the Underworld (Bes, Isis, Osormnevis, Sarapis, Thoth, and possibly Osiris-Sarapis at Abydos and the divinized lions of Miysis at Leontopolis) or were divinized mortals (Amenhotep, Antinous, Imhotep, and possibly Espemet), with only two possible exceptions (Amonrasonter at Karnak, and the unidentified god or goddess who was the subject of a private letter concerning a dream).⁹¹ Although there is no direct evidence for incubation already being practiced in Egypt during the New Kingdom, to which the oldest descriptions of gods appearing in dreams date, it is perhaps revealing that two of the most significant texts pertain to Hathor, a goddess with an important funerary role, especially in Thebes.⁹² Thus both in post-Pharaonic Egypt and the rest of the Greek world, in most cases the divinity from whom an oracular or therapeutic dream was sought either was an earthly divinity or had some degree of authority in the Underworld, or else had ended up there before subsequently experiencing a posthumous apotheosis.⁹³

1.6 Goals of the Present Work

This study, however, is not concerned with exploring the chthonic nature of incubation, the deeper meaning or significance of the rituals associated with the practice, the contents of dreams received in this manner and subsequently recorded, or similar issues. Instead, its chief purpose is to explore in detail the

to heavenly sources, since their underworld, Sheol, was lacking in knowledge and wisdom (*Eccles.* 9:10). (I am grateful to Scott B. Noegel for this point.)

90 See pp. 106–107.

91 Private letter: see Chapter 9.5.

92 See Szpakowska 2003a, 141 for this point.

93 Vergil covers all the bases in his description of the Faunus oracle at Albunea, stating that the priestess would fall asleep and then “she sees many phantoms flitting about in amazing ways, hears various voices, enjoys parley with the gods, and addresses Acheron in deepest Avernus” (*multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris / et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum / conloquio atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernus*) (Verg., *Aen.* 7.89–91). Whether this particular oracle ever existed outside the pages of Latin literature, however, is unknown (see p. 617n.17).

evidence that establishes *where* incubation is known or likely to have been practiced, with a secondary goal of illuminating the variations from cult to cult or site to site in terms of the ritual procedures and the sources that record these. Basic overviews of incubation often do not do justice to the multifaceted nature of this religious phenomenon, in part due to the tendency of scholars not to distinguish between therapeutic and divinatory incubation, or to do so in a cursory manner. Only by evaluating the full range of sources found at or written about each sanctuary associated with one or both types of incubation can we begin to have a proper appreciation for where and precisely how such consultations of the gods were undertaken and with what purpose—and just how common this may have been. The approach used throughout this study, therefore, is to establish what we know about incubation at each site where it can be detected, which in turn can lead to a more nuanced understanding of this form of divination. Establishing what we know about the practice requires not only surveying the written and archaeological sources, but evaluating them for reliability as well—and, in numerous cases, it proves necessary to reevaluate past claims. A number of previous studies of incubation or individual cults or cult sites have included claims and assumptions that, when all of the available sources are reexamined, turn out to be questionable or demonstrably incorrect.⁹⁴ Many of these claims are specific to a particular site or cult and thus have had limited impact, but certain assumptions have applied to multiple cult sites or been more widely manifested: in particular, there has been too great a willingness to identify stoas as incubation dormitories at sites not otherwise associated with incubation, and it has been repeatedly assumed that certain dedications recording dreams had been given by someone who had successfully engaged in the practice.⁹⁵ Before we can establish what we

94 These sites, and the evidence for and against such conclusions, are discussed in an appendix devoted to such “ghosts” (Appendix 1).

95 For example, the use of stoas at such important sanctuaries as the Epidauros *Asklepieion* and Oropos *Amphiareion* has led to unprovable conclusions regarding stoas discovered at other healing sanctuaries, particularly those of Asklepios (see pp. 148–149n.66). Claims linking dedications to incubation because they were made following a dream—as indicated most commonly by such formulas as κατ’ ἐνύπνιον, κατ’ ὄναρ, κατ’ ὄνειρον, and καθ’ ὄραμα—have been much more common, even though making a dedication in response to a dream, oracle or omen was routine in antiquity, and numerous gods not normally consulted through dream-divination would appear in worshippers’ dreams. Such assumptions have been understandably common for such dedications made to gods who were regularly consulted through incubation (see, e.g., Melfi 2007a, 95–96, 128–130 on Asklepios; for such assumptions regarding Sarapis, see p. 358). This is also true of dedications referring to divine commands rather than dreams: thus, for example, a fragmentary dedication to

do know about incubation it is therefore necessary both to expunge unreliable sources and assumptions, and to evaluate the relative value of each valid source. Such a fresh examination of *all* of the sources associated with incubation can enable us to form an accurate picture of the role that incubation played in ancient religion as well as the nature of the ritual activities required to solicit oracular and therapeutic dreams from the gods. Ultimately, this study is not intended to be the last word on incubation, but rather an attempt at providing scholars more solid footing on which to base their own studies of the practice.

Asklepios made [κατ' ἐπιτ]ᾳγγν that cannot be linked to healing has been cited as evidence for incubation at Corinth (*I.Corinth* 63; quoted p. 154n.76). However, even though some dedications bearing language indicating that they were motivated by dreams or divine commands can be plausibly assumed to have been given following successful incubation (e.g., *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 26A–B and *I.Cret* 1, p. 173 from the *Lebena Asklepieion*), and sometimes it is even implied by means of a reference to an ailment or treatment (e.g., *IG* 11² 4514, *IG* 11² 4538 and *I.Epidauros* 52; see pp. 183–184n.163 and 168n.112), all such claims are mere speculation unless the inscription in question includes more explicit evidence for this (as is the case, e.g., with *SEG* 41, 966, a dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia from Ephesos specifying both a cure and an oracular revelation (quoted p. 213n.233)). After all, there are several dedications from such sites stating that they were prompted by a divine communication, but for which an unsolicited dream is the most logical explanation. Moreover, those referring to a communication without stating that it was received in a dream, as was the case with the inscription from Corinth, may have been alluding to an omen or oracle, as Sineux has noted (see Sineux 2004a, 140). (On these inscriptions, see Renberg (in preparation), *a* and *b*.)

Early Development of Incubation

2.1 Incubation in the Ancient Near East

2.1.1 Introduction

The different peoples of the ancient Near East were seeking dreams from the gods within sacred precincts long before people in Greece, Egypt or other parts of the Mediterranean world are known to have been doing so. The civilizations of Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Levant collectively referred to in this manner flourished in different periods and varied in their geographical locations as well as language, religion, and other significant cultural elements, and as these peoples are usually studied separately their perception of dreams and the role that their dreams played in divination have often received separate study as well.¹ Incubation, likewise, has frequently been discussed within broad works on divination, but only in the past two decades has it received

1 In addition to the numerous works on divination in general or that collect divinatory texts—*e.g.*, Dietrich/Loretz 1990 (Ugaritic), Pongratz-Leisten 1999 (royalty and divination in Mesopotamia, with dreams at pp. 96–127), Rochberg 2004 (Mesopotamian astrology and celestial omens, with a discussion of dream-omens at pp. 81–86), Lambert (W.) 2007 (Babylonian oracle questions), Beal 2002 and Haas (V.) 2008 (Hittites, the latter with dreams at pp. 157–169), Heeßel, *Divinatorische Texte* II, pp. 1–15 (Assyrian exorcism overview, followed by catalog of texts), Nissinen 1998 (Neo-Assyrian prophecy), Jeffers 1996 (ancient Syria and Palestine, with dreams at pp. 125–143), Cryer 1994 (Israelites), and Annus 2010 (selection of articles, some touching on dreams); cf. Maul 2003 and several of the articles in *CANE* III, Part 8—there have been several specialized studies of dreams and dream-divination in the ancient Near East. Among the most notable are Husser 1994 and Husser 1996, the latter translated into English as Husser 1999 (Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt, the Levant, and the Hebrew Bible); Butler 1998 and Zgoll 2006 (primarily Mesopotamia, but ranging more widely); Mouton 2007 and Beckman 2010 (Hittites); Sasson 1983, Sasson 1994, and *ARM* XXVI/1, pp. 455–463, with a briefer discussion in Durand 2008, 453–458 (Mari); Bar 2001 (Israelites); Noegel 2001 (a short introduction to the subject of dreams in the ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible); cf. *CAD* XVII.3, 405–407, s.v. “šuttu A.” Also important are Noegel 2007, which focuses on puns and linguistic issues in dream-related documents and literature from ancient Mesopotamia through the Talmudic Period but also explores numerous issues pertaining to the dreams themselves, and Flannery-Dailey 2004, on dreams and Judaism in Greco-Roman times. Complementing these studies, dream-related texts from the ancient Near East as well as several from Egypt and Greece have been collected and translated into Italian in Saporetti 1996.

detailed study.² As becomes apparent when evaluating these sources from the ancient Near East, there are numerous parallels to be drawn with the practice of incubation in Egypt and the Greek world, which makes these sources valuable for our understanding of incubation among these later ancient cultures: in other words, there are enough similarities in the sources for incubation among these other cultures that despite the relatively alien nature of many of the sources they nevertheless merit attention from scholars of Greek and Egyptian religion. However, there are also a number of significant problems with the sources for incubation in the ancient Near East that affect their usefulness. Investigation of this subject is limited not only by issues pertaining to individual texts, but also by the fact that, unlike the Greek world, there are no physical remains from incubation sanctuaries or artistic representations to be studied, and one cannot even identify any divinities as commonly associated with the practice.³ Regardless of such limitations, it is clear that incubation did have its place among the divinatory practices of those inhabiting the ancient Near East, though its popularity in relation to the other forms remains an open

2 Oppenheim's monumental, though now somewhat outdated, study of dream interpretation in the ancient Near East, which also employed numerous Egyptian, Greek and Roman sources, does not focus on incubation, but does feature some scattered discussions of the subject (Oppenheim 1956). More recently, Sally A.L. Butler and Annette Zgoll in their excellent studies of dreams in ancient Mesopotamia have each included a very useful chapter surveying much of the evidence for incubation and making some use of Greek and Egyptian sources (Butler 1998, 217–239; Zgoll 2006, 309–351, replacing Zgoll 2002 as the primary study of the subject). Studies of dreams in the Hebrew Bible and biblical world have also delved into incubation: Husser's primary study discusses the pertinent Ugaritic and biblical passages at length (Husser 1994, 27–125), and his findings are echoed at several points in his dictionary entry on dreams (Husser 1996, 1460–1463, 1473–1474, 1539–1544 (pp. 46–50, 69–71, 172–176 of 1999 translation)); Shaul Bar in his similarly broad treatment of biblical dreams devotes a brief appendix to the subject (Bar 2001, 223–232); and, to these can now be added the lengthy discussion by Kim that leads into his “form-critical and narratological study” of one biblical and two Hittite narratives regarding incubation or incubation-like experiences (Kim 2011, 1–60). Alice Mouton, on the other hand, only briefly discusses incubation in her book on Hittite dreams (Mouton 2007), but had previously devoted two important articles to the subject (Mouton 2003; Mouton 2004). For a more general treatment of oracular and therapeutic dreams in the ancient Near East, see Sommerfeld 2000.

3 As Butler notes, there is little information preserved regarding where incubation was practiced, suggesting that it may have been “understood” that this was done at temples and thus there was no need to state this explicitly (Butler 1998, 236). Since there is evidence both for temporary structures being employed for dream-divination and its being performed at private homes the absence of a surviving “incubation dormitory” is even less surprising. See Zgoll 2006, 320–321 for the range of gods associated with incubation in one or more sources.

question. It is also an open question how and when the practice spread among these peoples, and among which ones the practice was indigenous rather than adopted from elsewhere: in particular, there appears to be a possibility that incubation was not native to the Hittites, but rather came to Anatolia from Mesopotamia, as was the case with extispicy and hepatoscopy in particular. Finally, although in both the ancient Near East and Greece it appears that divinatory incubation was practiced before therapeutic incubation, in both cases it may be that this pattern is a function of the surviving sources, and thus whether the former did indeed precede the latter cannot be proven, likely though it may be.⁴

2.1.2 *Incubation in Early Ancient Near Eastern Literature*

As would later be the case with the Egyptians and Greeks, some of the earliest sources for soliciting divine dreams are to be found in works of literature. Indeed, with the exception of documents from the royal archives of the second-millennium BCE kingdom of Mari,⁵ the evidence for dream-divination

4 Husser 1996, 1444, followed by Mouton 2007, 70, has noted the pattern for the ancient Near East, as well as the Greek world.

5 Mari, at Tell Hariri just north of the Syria-Iraq frontier, had had a long and significant history when Hammurabi of Babylon destroyed it in 1757 BCE. The sources from Mari, mostly unrelated letters that recount dreams and represent a small fraction of the surviving documents, are discussed below. The majority date to the reign of Zimri-Lim, the last king of Old Babylonian Mari, but a single ritual text concerning dream-divination that was written during pre-Sargonic times (*i.e.*, mid-third millennium BCE) has been recognized as the earliest source for Mesopotamian dream-divination (T.H. 80.111; see p. 63). Though the later Mari documents and the earliest surviving fragments of the epic poems *Gilgamesh* and *Atrahasis* are roughly contemporary, these two literary works would appear to indicate that incubation—as well as a belief in the importance of dreams—were already established in Mesopotamia (see below), and the pre-Sargonic text further demonstrates the use of dream-divination, if not incubation. (For an accessible overview of the history of Mari, see Heimpel, *Letters Mari*, pp. 3–163, and for this king's reign as revealed by his archive, see Sasson 1998; for religion in Mari, see the extensive survey in Durand 2008.)

Note that two texts from Mari that have been associated with incubation are best excluded: letters that describe an event whereby a statue of a god (Itūr-Mer in one, Aštābi-El in the other) was made to recline on a couch and then “interrogated” by a “seer” regarding the truth of a criminal or civil matter (A.1890, ed. Durand 2009 and A.747 (unedited; translation in Durand 2008, 456)). Jack M. Sasson, drawing parallels with Egyptian and biblical sources as well as another Mari text, has shown that these letters attest to the occasional—and not fully understood—practice of using a god's statue in an investigation (Sasson 2001, 417–418). Jean-Marie Durand, on the other hand, has more recently identified both rituals as incubation, noting that the god's placement on a couch mimics his sleeping and receiving a dream, but overlooks Sasson's discussion (Durand 2008, 456–457; cf. Durand 2009, 93).

is initially found only in literature, which despite its fictional nature can provide insights into ritual aspects of incubation as well as the question of who might have been practicing it. This is most clearly seen in the Babylonian *Epic of Atrahasis*, the work famous for its version of a Great Flood myth that shares numerous parallels with the biblical story of Noah, in which the hero Atrahasis makes ritual offerings to Ea/Enki beside a canal and prays:

And he himself, the man Atrahasis, complains in tears daily. He carries *maššakku* [*i.e.*, a mixture of grain and meal] (to) a river meadow. When the *miṭirtu*-canal was still, he divided the night, and he performed a sacrifice. (As) sleep came . . . He addresses the *miṭirtu*-canal, “May the *miṭirtu*-canal take it [*i.e.*, the offering]! May the river carry (it)! May the gift be delivered before Ea, my lord! May Ea see (it), and may he heed me so that I myself may see a dream during the night!”⁶

In this Standard Babylonian version the location of the consultation is only identified as a “river meadow” beside a *miṭirtu*-canal, but the Assyrian recension subsequently provided additional details suggesting some form of cult site: “[He sought] the gate of his god. He places his bed facing the river. The *miṭirtu*-canal is still.”⁷ Later in the tale Atrahasis prays to Ea for an explanation of a dream he has seen and the god speaks to him through the wall of a reed hut of a sort that could be used for rituals (referred to as *kikkišu*), which suggests that even if he was not at a sanctuary he nonetheless was engaging in a ritual reminiscent of incubation.⁸

6 I.M. 124473, rev., ll. 59–69 (trans. Butler). This passage is preserved on Tablet v of a Standard Babylonian copy found at the Sippar temple library nearly two decades after the standard edition of W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard (Lambert/Millard 1969) and was edited by A.R. George and F.N.H. Al-Rawi a decade later (Al-Rawi/George 1996, 182–183, with discussion at 172–174), so it does not appear in most published versions of *Atrahasis* (in which it would correspond partly to Tablet II, col. iii of the Old Babylonian Version). On dreams and incubation in the *Atrahasis*, see Butler 1998, 227–232 (with discussion of I.M. 124473 at 228–229).

(“Tablet,” as used in this context and for the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, serves the same purpose as “Chapter”: it does not describe a single physical object, but rather a specific portion of the work.)

7 *Atrahasis*, Assyrian Recension S, rev., col. v, ll. 31–33, eds. Lambert/Millard; trans. Butler 1998, 231.

8 *Atrahasis*, Tablet III, col. i, ll. 20–21; cf. Assyrian Recension U, obv., ll. 13–15, eds. Lambert/Millard. (A parallel to this episode, including Ea speaking to a *kikkišu* and brick wall, is to be found in *Gilgamesh*, Tablet XI, ll. 8–31.) On the nature of the *kikkišu* hut, a term that appears to have applied sometimes to huts intended for rituals and other times to an ordinary hut temporarily employed for a ritual, see Butler 1998, 232; cf. Zgoll 2006, 322. A similar phenomenon

Another of the most famous Babylonian works of literature, the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, in Tablet IV features five episodes that are similar to each other, and its account of these differs from later descriptions of incubation. As the hero and his beloved companion Enkidu engage in a forced march towards the realm of the giant Humbaba, guardian of the Cedar Forest, every three days they stop for a night and, in an almost identically worded passage, Gilgamesh makes an offering atop Mount Lebanon and prays to the mountain to send him a dream, following which he spends the night and receives a dream in a hut built by Enkidu, who explains the dream to him:

[Gilgamesh went up on to the top of] the mountain,
 [he made his offerings of *maṣḥatu* flour to the] hill.
 “[O mountain], bring me a dream, so I may see [a message of good fortune(?).]”
 [Enkidu] made for him [a] “house(?) of *Zaqīqu*,”
 [he fixed] a storm-door in its doorway.
 He made him lie down [in a circle . . .] design,
 [and] himself, like a net [he . . . and] lay in its doorway.
 Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees,
 the sleep that spills over people fell upon him.
 [In the] middle watch (of the night) he reached sleep’s end,
 he arose to talk to his friend:
 “My friend, did you not call me? Why am I awake?
 Did you not touch me? Why am I in confusion?
 Did a god not pass by? Why is my flesh benumbed?
 My friend, I have seen a third dream,
 and the dream that I saw was completely confused.
 The heavens cried aloud, while the earth was rumbling,
 the day grew still, darkness went forth.
 Lightning flashed down, fire broke out,
 [flames] kept flaring up, death kept raining down.
 The fire so bright dimmed and went out,
 [after(?)] it had diminished little by little, it turned into embers.
 [You were] born in the wild, can we take counsel?”
 Enkidu [heard the words of his friend,]

can be seen in the Hittite ritual for treating male impotence attributed to a woman named Paškuwatti, which culminated in incubation for the purpose of seeking confirmation of a successful outcome, and involved stepping through a gate of reeds bound together by red and white wool (*CTH* 406, §§3–4, ed. Hoffner; see Appendix III.4; for other Hittite rituals involving reed gates, see Hoffner 1987, 283).

making his dream meaningful to him he said to Gilgamesh
 “[My friend], your dream [is favorable, . . .] is fine(?)”⁹
 [*The rest of the dream interpretation is lost.*]

Once again, there is no sanctuary, but instead a hut is the locus of dreaming, brought on by rituals and prayer, including offerings similar to those given by *Atrahasis*. The type of hut employed by Gilgamesh appears to be especially significant, since it is referred to as either a *bīt(?) Zaqīqu* or *bīt(?) zaqīqī*, i.e. a “house of (the dream spirit) Zaqīqu” or a “house of the dream spirits.”¹⁰ Within this hut some sort of magic circle was fashioned for Gilgamesh to sleep in, a practice without known parallel,¹¹ and each time he succeeded at receiving a dream, but its meaning escaped him and required explication by Enkidu.

Although the texts of both *Atrahasis* and *Gilgamesh* survive in recensions from multiple periods, including Old Babylonian, it is far from certain that incubation was an element in these from the beginning: the oldest tablets of *Atrahasis* are written in the Old Babylonian Period and date to c. 1700 BCE, but unfortunately the incubation-like ritual preserved in the Standard Babylonian version and Assyrian recension is missing from the Old Babylonian version because of a gap in that text and therefore there is no way to know whether dream-divination was a later innovation,¹² while the dream episodes in Tablet IV of *Gilgamesh* are present already in Old Babylonian but unlike the Standard Babylonian version (quoted here) feature no preceding ritual for soliciting a dream,¹³ and even the distinct but related tales predating the

9 *Gilgamesh*, Tablet IV, quoting ll. 85–109, ed. and trans. George. Parallel passages: Tablet IV, ll. 7–33, 40–55+69–75, 127–142+155–162, and 168–183+MS Y3, v. 11.1–17. See the discussion in Butler 1998, 223–227 and George 2003, 1:463–465, as well as the partly obsolete discussion in Oppenheim 1956, 215–217. George, *ibid.*, 1:400–403 discusses the different versions that comprise the text of Tablet IV.

10 On the minor divinity Zaqīqu or Ziqīqu, a child of Šamaš who brought dreams, and the complex issues associated with the term *zaqīqu/ziqīqu* for lesser spirits of some sort, see: Oppenheim 1956, 232–236; Butler 1998, 78–83; and Zgoll 2006, 299–307; cf. *CAD* XXI, 58–70, s.v. “*zaqīqu*.”

11 In her treatment of this passage, based in part on an unpublished draft of George’s edition, Butler treats the circle as a “protective circle” around the hut (Butler 1998, 225), but George believes it to have been within the structure (George 2003, 1:463–464). See also Butler, *ibid.*, 227, on the unusual physical position in which Gilgamesh slept, another element without a known parallel in sources for incubation, but one possibly without ritual significance. On both matters, see Zgoll 2006, 332–334.

12 See n. 6.

13 Tablet IV, like the rest of *Gilgamesh*, is a composite text written in Standard Babylonian, a much later version than Old Babylonian (abbreviated OB, and dating as far back as c. 2000 BCE), and Middle Babylonian (MB, dating mainly to c. 1500–1250 BCE). One of the

standard version of *Gilgamesh* likewise do not feature incubation.¹⁴ It is therefore likely that even if the concept of incubation was known in earlier times it was not made an element of these two epics for a few centuries, which may suggest that dream-solicitation had become a more prominent feature of Mesopotamian religion during this time.

As would later be the case with Egyptian literature, incubation performed by royalty also played a role in some of the tales of the ancient Near East.¹⁵

eleven Old Babylonian tablets preserving parts of the epic, the 45-line OB Schøyen₂ (obv.), features some of the dream episodes from Tablet IV but makes no mention of a preliminary ritual: instead of engaging in incubation, Gilgamesh goes to sleep, dreams, awakens, and has Enkidu explain the dream to him (see George 2003, 1:232–235 for text and translation). A similar episode is found in OB Harmal₁ (obv.) (George, *ibid.*, 1:248–249) and OB Nippur (obv.) (George, *ibid.*, 1:242–245), as well as the later MB Boğ₂ (obv., col. i), a copy from Boğazköy (George, *ibid.*, 1:318–321). (For overviews of the Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian tablets, see George, *ibid.*, 1:22–27.)

- 14 Older versions of the Gilgamesh legend, the earliest fragment of which dates to the Ur III Period but that mostly survive from the Old Babylonian Period, appear not to have included incubation: this is suggested by the fact that the popular Sumerian poem *Bilgames and Huwawa*, which focuses on the journey to the Cedar Forest, in its long version (A) mentions Enkidu dreaming and in its short version (B) has Gilgamesh doing so, but in neither case is there any sign that the dream was solicited, and the contents of the two dreams are neither revealed nor interpreted (Version A, ll. 68–83, ed. Edzard 1990–1991; Version B, l. 84, ed. Edzard 1993). On this and the other four Sumerian poems telling legends of Gilgamesh, see George 2003, 1:7–17.
- 15 Worth noting, since they present problems regarding the role of dreams in their respective narratives and whether these were the result of incubation, are two early literary works, the *Legend of Aqht* and *Legend of Keret*, that were both copied by the same scribe and were about a prominent nobleman and a king, respectively. The *Legend of Aqht*, a narrative from Late Bronze Age Ugarit, features the main character, the nobleman Dan'el, engaging in seven days of sacrifices before being addressed by the god El or Baal and promised that he would be able to get his wife to bear him a son, following which he returns home (*Aqht*, Tablet I, cols. i, l. 1–ii, l. 25 (= KTU³ 1.17), ed. and trans. Parker, *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, pp. 51–53; for suggestions regarding the date of composition, see Margalit 1989, 475–477, and for Dan'el's status see *ibid.*, 477–479). While the surviving text makes no reference to a dream and does not specify the medium of communication, most have considered this episode to have involved incubation (beginning with Obermann 1946, especially pp. 7–13), though one editor, Baruch Margalit, has argued against this (Margalit 1989, 77, 260–266; followed by Husser in Husser 1994, 30–62 and Husser 1996, 1478 (pp. 77–78 of 1999 translation)). More recently, Kim after lengthy, mostly literary, analysis has concluded that one should not assume “that it is the intention of the author to describe the practice of incubation,” but that together the narrative's “various motifs . . . postulate the use of incubation as a literary device, namely, the incubation type-scene” (Kim 2011, 89–162 (quoting p. 162), especially pp. 89–94 on the debate regarding this passage). Unfortunately, as was noted by Margalit, the beginning of the tablet is

This is most clearly to be seen in the Hittite version of the apocryphal *Legend of Naram-Sin*, in which Ištar instructs this king, the grandson of Sargon I, to purify himself and sleep on a pure or consecrated bed so that he can invoke the gods.¹⁶ It is further demonstrated by one of the Sumerian epics devoted to King

broken and thus information likely crucial to this issue has been lost, particularly regarding where Dan'el was engaging in these rituals (Margalit, *ibid.*, 261), but as Kim notes Dan'el goes home after receiving the god's message and this implies incubation (Kim, *ibid.*, 120; for a parallel in the Demotic tale *Doomed Prodigy Son*, see p. 610). In general, Margalit's arguments against this episode concerning incubation, which are regrettably based in part on obsolete studies (especially Hamilton (M.) 1906), are not convincing, even if he is correct that nothing in the text clearly argues in favor of it: not only is there a greater number of contemporary or preceding parallels for incubation than he recognizes, but also the fact that other incubation narratives lack particular details makes the absence of such details from this narrative insufficient reason to conclude that Dan'el did not engage in incubation. Most importantly, Margalit takes the lack of reference to a dream to be significant, but a dream is almost certainly implied: for each of the seven days in which Dan'el engages in rituals (col. i, ll. 1–33) the same language is used to state that he offered food and drink to the gods while wearing only a loincloth, to which is added for the first, fifth and sixth days that “He lay down upon his robe [or, disrobed] and went to sleep” (translation slightly modified), while for the seventh day this phrase is replaced with the statement that Baal appeared. Just as for the second, third and fourth days there is no reference to Dan'el sleeping—even though there is no parallel for someone engaging in ritual sleep on some nights but not others—it is entirely possible that for the seventh day this line was also dropped, at least for the surviving copy of this tale, in which case Baal's eventual appearance would have been in a dream. Moreover, the inclusion of a reference to sleep for some nights but not others appears most likely to be a matter of style—the work is, after all, highly literary. Overall, the narrative is quite reminiscent of other incubation scenes in ancient Near Eastern literature, and thus Margalit's arguments should not be accepted. In the *Legend of Keret* there is a dream on a similar theme, though in this case incubation clearly was not involved: Keret, a king who has lost his sons, falls asleep weeping in his bedroom and then envisions the god Ilu, who instructs him regarding the woman whom he is to marry and who will provide him heirs (*Keret*, Tablet 1, cols. i, ll. 26–iii, l. 51 (= *KTU*³ 1.14); trans. de Moor, *Anthology*, pp. 193–198; see Husser 1994, 56 and Husser 1996, 1476–1478 (p. 77 of 1999 translation), noting the lack of ritual as an argument against incubation, and Kim, *ibid.*, 163–262, ultimately seeing the passage as a literary “type-scene” in which the elements of incubation are rearranged to suit the poet; see also Noegel 2014, on matters of polysemy and other literary devices in the dream account). For a study of the terminology of the pertinent passages in the two works, see Zgoll 2006, 343–351, which treats both episodes as incubation (though under a broader definition).

- 16 *KBo* III 16(+), ll. 5–13 (= *CTH* 311.2A = Mouton 2007, 109–110, No. 19); see also Oppenheim 1956, 200 and Kim 2011, 44–45. This version is written in New Hittite Script, and thus dates c. 14th–13th century BCE. Incubation is not to be found in the other versions, suggesting that, as with *Gilgamesh*, literature may be reflecting an evolution in divinatory practices:

Lugalbanda, *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave*, in which the hero sleeps atop a bed of mountain herbs with the intention of receiving a dream, a description of which follows.¹⁷ Evidence for royal incubation can also be found in a very different form of literature, the *Song of the Plowing Oxen*, an example of the *Ú.LU.LU.MA.MA* genre (*i.e.*, “cowherd’s song”) that in this case describes a “Farmer”—most likely the king—seeking a dream with the help of the goddess Nanše so that he can determine which oxen to choose for plowing (presumably the ritual plowing he was to perform at an agricultural festival).¹⁸ Preserved in both Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian fragments, the *Song* is thought to date to the reign of Lipit-İštar (reigned 1934–1924 BCE), but could instead have been composed in the decades just before or just after his reign.¹⁹ Thus, though a fictitious narrative of visiting the house or temple of Nanše and seeking a dream, the *Song* nonetheless represents early evidence for incubation, and probably royal incubation—assuming that the narrative reflects a tradition of kings seeking a dream the night before undertaking the ritual plowing.²⁰

most notably, the Standard Babylonian recension, which is much more complete than the Old and Middle Babylonian editions, twice has Naram-Sin engage in haruspicy by means of priests rather than incubation (ll. 72–78 and 108–119; composite text and translation in Westenholz 1997, 294–331). On this work, particularly the Assyrian text, see Gurney 1955. For the concept of “sleeping purely” (*šuppa šeš-*), see n. 58.

- 17 *Lugalbanda* 1, ll. 318–353, ed. Hallo 1983 (composite text and translation); more recent edition and translation online at *ETCSL*, No. 1.8.2.1, ll. 327–362. See Vanstiphout 1998 on the dream’s nature and significance (with edition and translation at pp. 405–412), and Zgoll 2006, 330 on the passage as a source for incubation.
- 18 *Song of the Plowing Oxen*, ed. Civil 1976 (composite text with translation and commentary); online text and translation *ETCSL*, No. 5.5.5.
- 19 See Civil 1976, 85–86. Civil notes that the *Song* might have been based on earlier one, perhaps from the province of Lagaš.
- 20 Also pertinent is *Dumuzid’s Dream and Death*, a work of Sumerian literature in which one of the early mythical kings, Dumuzid, is shown receiving an ominously prophetic dream after “he lay down to dream” in a setting that is not described, making it impossible to know whether he had engaged in incubation or merely private dream-divination: “In ancient times he lay down, in ancient times he lay down, in ancient times the shepherd lay down. When in ancient times the shepherd lay down, he lay down to dream. He woke up—it was a dream! He shivered—it was sleep! He rubbed his eyes, he was terrified” (*Dumuzid’s Dream and Death*, ll. 15–18, ed. and trans. Alster, *Dumuzi’s Dream* (composite text); text and translation online at *ETCSL*, No. 1.4.3). Although Zgoll considers this an example of incubation (Zgoll 2006, 322; see *ibid.*, 374–376, 441–442 on the dream’s subsequent interpretation), this is by no means certain, especially since it is his sister whom the king calls upon to interpret the dream rather than a priest.

As would later be seen in historical sources such as the Hittite “Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II,” another Sumerian work shows that kings could also have others engage in incubation or a similar practice on their behalf: *Sargon and Ur-Zababa*, which presents a semi-fictionalized account of the rise of Sargon I (reigned 2340–2285 BCE), the great king who is believed to have started as an official in the court of King Ur-Zababa of Kish (reigned c. 2350) and ultimately became king of Agade.²¹ Partly preserved on two fragmentary Old Babylonian tablets, the story describes the king appointing Sargon cupbearer and soon thereafter asking him to engage in dream-divination on the king’s behalf:

After five or ten days had passed, King Ur-Zababa . . . , he was frightened in that residence, like a lion, he was dribbling urine, filled with blood and pus, down his legs, he struggled like a floundering salt-water fish, he was terrified there. At that time, the *cupbearer*, in the *temple* of Ezinu, Sargon, lay down not to sleep, but lay down to dream. Holy Inana, in the dream, was drowning him [*i.e.*, Ur-Zababa] in a river of blood. Sargon, screaming, gnawed the ground. When King Ur-Zababa heard those screams, he had them bring him into the king’s presence. Sargon came into the presence of Ur-Zababa, (who said): “Oh *cupbearer*, was a dream revealed to you in the night?” Sargon replied to his king: “Oh my king, this is my dream which I will have told you about: there was a single young woman, she was high as the heavens, she was broad as the earth, she was firmly set as the [*bas*]e of a wall. For me, she drowned you in a great [river], a river of blood.”²²

The story continues with a description of how the king, worried by this dream, attempts to have Sargon killed. That this episode involved dream-divination by one who served a king is without doubt—thanks especially to the unusually clear phrase “lay down not to sleep, but lay down to dream”—but due to textual issues it is not certain that the dream was solicited at a temple: whereas this interpretation tentatively places Sargon at the temple of Ezina, an alternate translation by one of the original editors says that he “lay down in the

21 *Sargon and Ur-Zababa*, composite text from Louvre, A.O. 7673 (Uruk text) + I.M. 58430 (3N-T296; Nippur text), ed., trans. and comm. Cooper/Heimpel 1983; online text and translation *ETCSL*, No. 2.1.4; cf. Haul, *Stele und Legende*, 27–28, No. 18). For the “Second Plague Prayer,” see pp. 57–58.

22 3N T96, ll. 8–24 (trans. Cooper/Heimpel).

winehouse of Ashnan” (*i.e.*, another manifestation of Ezina as grain goddess),²³ while the most recent treatment makes Sargon “the cupbearer of Ezina’s winehouse” but does not say where he lay down to dream.²⁴ Therefore, while this Sumerian narrative might represent the earliest setting for an ordinary individual—though not *that* ordinary, since he was a future king—engaging in incubation, it is only certain that it features one of the earliest literary examples of a dream being solicited. Either way, regardless of whether it reflects incubation, the episode arguably signals Sargon’s royal nature, and he receives the dream *because* he is divinely favored to rule one day (even though, as certain Mari letters show, it was not all that out of the ordinary for those serving a king to receive and report dreams pertaining to his reign).

2.1.3 *Royal Incubation in Ancient Near Eastern Sources*

The earliest historical individuals reported by ancient Near Eastern sources to have received dreams were rulers—and, while this can be partly attributed to the disproportionate focus on royalty among surviving sources,²⁵ it was

23 W. Heimpel in Cooper/Heimpel 1983, 78. It is unclear whether a “winehouse” at such a temple could have served as a place for ritual.

24 *ETCSL*, No. 2.1.4.

25 See Beckman 2010, 26, noting that the prominence of royalty and members of the court in Hittite dream texts reflects the nature of Hittite documents in general—a pattern that holds true for other peoples of the ancient Near East. Similarly, as Butler has noted, literary sources tended to be about heroes and kings, not commoners (Butler 1998, 236). A small number of texts do show ordinary individuals receiving dreams, including one recording that a leather-worker had engaged in incubation (*KBo* X 16, col. iv, ll. 9–12 (= *CTH* 658 = Mouton 2007, 302, No. 125); see p. 64), as well as some private letters revealing a popular interest in dreams (see Butler, *ibid.*, 4–5, 6–7, with references). In one Old Babylonian letter of a personal nature, for example, an individual whose identity is not preserved but apparently served in some military or political function reports to an unknown recipient, “I wrote to mistress Lamassani about the dreams and the (oracular) utterances which I saw and heard” (Chicago, O.I. A 7705, obv., ll. 12–14 (= Greengus, *Ischali Tablets* 23); see Butler, *ibid.*, 155–156). Another of these, an Old Babylonian document from an archive pertaining to irrigation, shows that ordinary individuals would sometimes consult a friend or acquaintance rather than religious personnel regarding a dream, thus giving a glimpse into what was quite likely a widespread phenomenon of dream-solicitation and dream interpretation functioning apart from religious institutions: “Speak to Banum thus (from) Nur-Sin: Buy one ram, and sacrifice (it) in the . . . of Adad because this is why you saw a dream. Also, please open the dike outlet adjacent to the field!” (Yale, N.B.C. 5332 (= Walters, *Water for Larsa*, 93–95, No. 69 = Stol, *Letters*, No. 263); trans. Butler 1998, 7). (A biblical parallel can be found in *Judges* 7:13–14, when Gideon while entering the Midianites’ camp overhears one soldier relating a dream to another, who interprets its

also no doubt because engaging in contact with the divine realm was a royal prerogative, and when successful attempts were publicly recorded it served to demonstrate a ruler's piety and support among the gods.²⁶ The first such source was the "Stele of the Vultures," named for its representation of a flock of vultures feasting upon the corpses of enemies killed in battle, which in one passage narrates an appearance of the god Ningirsu to the sleeping Sumerian ruler of Lagaš, Eanatum (reigned c. 2450 BCE).²⁷ There is little doubt that the overall passage describes a dream: the first surviving lines of the episode read "Him who lay (sleeping), him who lay (sleeping)—he approached his head. Eanatum who lay sleeping—[his] be[loved] ma[ster Ningirsu approached his head]." ²⁸ However, while the "Stele of the Vultures" may be the earliest source referring to a royal dream, it cannot be treated with confidence as the earliest source for either dream-solicitation or incubation at a temple, even though one editor has attempted to restore two badly damaged lines with "Eannatum lay down (as) an oneiromancer" on the basis of similarities between this text and that of Gudea's Cylinder A.²⁹ Centuries later, according to the highly literary account preserved on this clay cylinder, Ningirsu appeared in a dream to Gudea, a ruler of Lagaš during the twenty-second or twenty-first century BCE, and ordered him to rebuild that god's temple in Girsu, the king's administrative

meaning. On this episode, see: Husser 1994, 239–241 and Husser 1996, 1502–1503 (pp. 116–118 of 1999 translation); Bar 2001, 5–6; and Noegel 2007, 141–146. For passages in the Hebrew Bible indicating the importance of dream-divination to ordinary individuals, see Sect. 2.1.6).

- 26 See Oppenheim 1956, 188, Mouton 2003, 75–76, and Mouton 2004, 299. Whereas in the ancient Near East kings could, like priests, engage in divinatory incubation because of their special religious status, no sources suggest that in early Greece kings or tyrants would do so, and only Pasiphae's shrine near Sparta is said to have been used by the political leadership (see Chapter 5.3). However, there may have been a forgotten tradition of this in the Greeks' distant past, since Cicero in his *On Divination* states that "Overall, among the ancients, those in power over public affairs were the same ones holding augural authority; for, like having wisdom, they considered it kingly to divine" (*Omnino apud veteres, qui rerum potiebantur, iidem auguria tenebant; ut enim sapere, sic divinare regale ducebant*) (Cic., *Div.* 1.89).
- 27 "Stele of the Vultures," ed. Steible, *Bau- und Weihinschriften* 1:120–145, E'annatum No. 1, cols. vi, l. 25–vii, l. 11 (with commentary and translation); more recent edition and translation in *RIME* 1, E-anatum No. 1 (D.R. Frayne).
- 28 Trans. Frayne.
- 29 Col. vi, ll. 19–20, restored by Thorkild Jacobsen (see p. 48n.31); *contra*, see Steible, *Bau- und Weihinschriften* 11:41–42n.40, whose more conservative approach is followed by Frayne in *RIME*. (Jacobsen also fully restores col. vii, l. 13 with the appropriate statement that Eanatum "rose, it had been a dream.")

capital, following which Gudea found himself seeking an omen from Ningirsu, which came to him in a dream-epiphany after he had engaged in rituals and prayers.³⁰ Gudea subsequently may have engaged in dream-divination, though not necessarily incubation, and it is unclear whether he would have been the one receiving the dream-oracle he sought: as the building project was underway he engaged in several forms of divination, and this has been thought to have included seeking a dream in which, to his pleasure, he had a vision of the completed temple; but, according to a different interpretation, a dream-expert was the one who lay down to sleep and subsequently described his dream to the king.³¹ In the mid-eighteenth century BCE, a letter written to Zimri-Lim, the last king before the destruction of Old Babylonian Mari, refers to that king having shared his dream with the writer, an unknown official who had acted upon it by gathering together diviners for consultation.³²

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- 30 Gudea, Cylinder A, cols. i, l. 17-vii, l. 8 and cols. viii, l. 1-xii, l. 19, ed. Römer (W.) 2010 (with translation and commentary); online edition and translation *ETCSL*, No. 2.1.7; see also edition and translation in *RIME* 3/1, 69–88, and annotated translation by S. Paulus in Neumann (H.) 2013, 9–35, No. 3. The god's initial instruction by means of a dream-oracle is subsequently interpreted for Gudea by Nanše, the goddess from whom a dream is sought at her house or temple in the *Song of the Plowing Oxen* (see p. 44; for Nanše and Gudea, see Zgoll 2006, 422–423). On the Gudea cylinder as evidence for incubation see Zgoll, *ibid.*, 318–320 *et pass.* and Kim 2011, 28–31.
- 31 Gudea, Cylinder A, col. xx, ll. 7–11. On the passage's uncertainties, see Römer (W.) 2010, 93, whose own interpretation does not involve a dream, and Kim 2011, 30–31. The interpretation of “Gudea made a ‘professional dreamer’ lie down, he (the dreamer) brought forth a message for him, he made him see the construction of the house of his King” is that of Civil 1976, 91, while in contrast the less likely “Gudea lay down (as a) dream interpreter” has been accepted in *Sumerian Dictionary*, A 1, 115, s.v. “a-MIR” (evidently drawing from Oppenheim 1956, 223–224). It is this reading of the Gudea Cylinder that led Jacobsen, citing Oppenheim's treatment, to opt for the similar “Eannatum lay down (as) an oneiro-mancer” in his discussion and reconstruction of the “Stele of the Vultures” (Jacobsen 1976, 253). Similarly, *ETCSL* presents a translation of “Gudea lay down for a dream oracle, and while he was sleeping a message came to him,” while Susanne Paulus translates the critical line with “Zum Traumorakel hat sich Gudea hingelegt (und) eine Anweisung erging an ihn” (S. Paulus in Neumann (H.) 2013, 27). Dietz O. Edzard's treatment, on the other hand, does not refer to a dream, though this is to be inferred: “Lying down Gudea rested, and a ‘word’ came up to him: The building of his master's House, the separating of the Eninnu from heaven and earth—was it (not) before his eyes?” (*RIME* 3/1, p. 81). (Oppenheim, *ibid.*, 224 indicated that Gudea had slept beside the accumulated building materials, in which case this might be considered a form of incubation before a temple had even been completed, but the text provides insufficient information regarding just where Gudea had his vision.)
- 32 *ARM* XXVI/1, No. 225; see Sasson 1998, 456n.8 and Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 108; trans. Heimpel, *Letters Mari*, p. 264.

[To my lord speak! Your servant PN (says), “I listened to the tablet that] my [lord sent me. My lord] wrote me [as follows]: ‘The dream that was before my eyes was frightening. I am afraid the Suteans will seize Dam-Huraši and you and (say), “As long as you do not return our home, we will not release them.”’ This my lord wrote me. As soon as I heard the tablet of my lord, I called the diviners and asked them a word as follows: I (said), ‘My [lord] wrote me in strict terms. How do you advise?’ [This I] asked them, and they gave me [---], (saying), ‘[---].’ [---].”

In addition, some years earlier Zimri-Lim’s daughter Šimatum had written him of an apparently unsolicited dream that she had received, indicating that her father should have a diviner check its reliability before he acted on it.³³

Several centuries later, another unsolicited royal dream might be revealed in a date list recording that in the twelfth year of his reign the Old Babylonian king Ammiditana (reigned 1683–1647 BCE) brought a statue of himself “making a gesture of greeting” and “taking an omen,” since according to one interpretation he did so because of a dream—this, however, proves to be unlikely.³⁴ Sources for the dreams of the last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus (reigned

33 *ARM XXVI/1*, No. 239 (= *ARM X*, No. 94); see Sasson 1983, 291; trans. Heimpel, *Letters Mari*, p. 268 and Durand, *Docs. Épist. Mari* 1221. See also the dream-report sent to the king by an unidentified correspondent who had checked on the dream by means of another form of divination employing a burrowing bird, and also encouraged the king to do so—quite possibly the earliest dream mentioned in a documentary text (*ARM XXVI/1*, No. 229; see Sasson, *ibid.*, 291 and Sasson 1994, 301; trans. Heimpel, *ibid.*, p. 265 and Durand, *ibid.* 932). As has been noted by Butler, there are no surviving records of kings of Mari receiving dreams (Butler 1998, 17), though the multiple texts recording that family members, priests and officials had reported their dreams to the king suggests both a strong royal interest in dream-divination and that the absence of such texts may simply be a matter of random preservation.

34 Brit.Mus. 78348 & Y.B.C. 6785 (ed. and trans. Horsnell, *Year-Names*, II:286–287, No. 223). According to Horsnell, who collated the different copies, Ammiditana’s Year Date 12 should read: “The year: Ammiditana, the king, (brought for his life) a statue of himself <holding> a black lamb and making a gesture of greeting and a statue of himself taking an omen (. . .).” The text has previously been interpreted as referring to a dream (*e.g.*, Oppenheim 1956, 192 and Pientka, *Spätaltbabylonische Zeit*, 1:63; cf. the year-names list at the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yeardates/HTML/T12K9.htm>)) because of the term MÁŠ.GI₆, which in Sumerian can refer to a black kid—not a black lamb, as Horsnell indicates—or a nighttime vision, while in Akkadian it is the logogram for *šuttu* (“dream”). Since there are parallels in this list of years and elsewhere for kings dedicating statues of themselves as “kid-carriers” and this was a significant form of royal iconography (see Suter 1991–93, especially p. 66), and in Sumerian the use of MÁŠ.GI₆ to refer to visions is limited to literary texts, Horsnell appears to be correct to reject this as

556–539 BCE), are more reliable and plentiful, as he was particularly disposed to relating them through different media—in marked contrast to the other Neo-Babylonian kings, who are not known to have done so.³⁵ As Ammiditana was thought to have done more than a millennium before him, Nabonidus is known to have made a dedication in compliance with a dream: an inscribed chalcedony bead of unknown provenience, no doubt from an inlaid votive dagger, inscribed “A dagger, a request of Sin, the lord of the god(s), for which he asked Nabonidus, king of Babylon, in a dream.”³⁶ More notably, two conflicting versions exist for why Nabonidus rebuilt É.ĜUL.ĜUL, the temple of the moon god Sin in Harran: a cylinder-text known from two fully preserved copies and numerous fragmentary ones features an address by Nabonidus in which he describes how the god Marduk, appearing alongside Sin in a dream, had commanded him to do so,³⁷ while two stelae found at Harran bear copies of another text which instead recounts a dream in which Sin himself had ordered Nabonidus to undertake the project.³⁸ Two other stelae from this site, featuring copies of a different text, were undoubtedly erected by Nabonidus, but pur-

an interpretation of the Ammiditana text, which must refer to a black kid. (I am grateful to the late Joan G. Westenholz for explaining the issues associated with this text.)

- 35 To these documents from Nabonidus's reign can be added a passage in the propagandistic literary text known as the *Verse Account of Nabonidus* which was composed after his death, in which Nabonidus was shown to be claiming secret knowledge obtained from dreams sent by the god Ilteri (Brit.Mus. 38299, ed. and trans. Schaudig, *Inscripfen Nabonids*, 563–578, No. P1, col. v, ll. 8–11; see Beaulieu 1989, 217–218).
- 36 Private collection, no inv. no., ed. and trans. Schaudig, *Inscripfen Nabonids*, 545, No. 4.1; see Beaulieu 1989, 40 (Inscr. F); trans. Beaulieu, pp. 200–201.37.
- 37 Composite text, ed. and trans. Schaudig, *Inscripfen Nabonids*, 409–440, No. 2.12; see Beaulieu 1989, 34 (Inscr. 15), 107–110, 210–211. This was just one of several texts to survive in which record was made of Nabonidus restoring a temple because of a dream. An inscribed stele found at Babylon recounts a dream in which Nabonidus relates to Nebuchadnezzar II the contents of his dream of Sin and Marduk (Schaudig, *Inscripfen Nabonids*, 514–29, No. 3.3^a; see pp. 52–53); this inscription also features a summation of Nabonidus' role in restoring Sin to É.ĜUL.ĜUL at Marduk's command (col. x, ll. 1–31). A text found on five clay cylinders as well as a clay tablet records the restorations of four temples, including two rebuilt at Sippar in compliance with separate dream-communications from the sun-god Šamaš and the goddess Anunītu (composite text, ed. and trans. Schaudig, *ibid.*, 445–466, No. 2.14; see Beaulieu, *ibid.*, 34–35 (Inscr. 16), 17–18).
- 38 H2.A & H2.B, ed. and trans. Schaudig, *Inscripfen Nabonids*, 486–499, No. 3.1; see Beaulieu 1989, 32 (Inscr. 13), 150–152 *et pass.* The inscription includes the exact words Sin is supposed to have spoken to Nabonidus (col. i, ll. 11–14) and Nabonidus's subsequent boast upon completion of the temple that he had accomplished what the god had commanded (col. iii, ll. 21–29). In addition, a fragmentary passage mentions that Nabonidus had at one

port to be his mother Adad-guppi's account of a prophetic dream in which Sin had promised to support her son against his enemies and had foretold that Nabonidus would one day rebuild É.ĜUL.ĜUL.³⁹ Hittite kings likewise recorded apparently unsolicited dreams: the twelfth-century BCE king Hattušili III did so for several dreams which he, his queen Puduḫepa, and certain nobles had received from three different Hittite divinities.⁴⁰ A more ambiguous situation is to be seen in a fragmentary cuneiform tablet that in a historical epic style tells of a Kassite king named Kurigalzu (probably Kurigalzu II, reigned 1332–1308 BCE) entering Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon, and either falling asleep on a couch there or else engaging in rituals before returning to the palace to sleep in his own bed, following which he sees a dream of Bēl (*i.e.*, Marduk) and at least one other god. This dream is significant enough that the king describes it to his courtiers the next morning, even if it was not necessarily one that he had deliberately sought:

Kurigalzu entered Esagila [.(.)] The *zaqīqu*s approached him, and anxiety... [.(.)] he lies asleep. Kurigalzu saw a dream (while) in his bed. In the morning, at dawn, he made [a report? (on his)] dream to his nobles... [*The dream report follows.*]⁴¹

point received “confused” dreams and consulted diviners, who performed sacrifices and examined entrails in order to ascertain that he had Sin's support (col. iii, ll. 1–16).

39 H1.A & H1.B, ed. and trans. Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 500–513, No. 3.2; see Beaulieu 1989, 68–79, 208–209 *et pass.* Beaulieu rightly expresses doubt regarding the narrative's authenticity, assigning it to the genre of fictional autobiography. The reconstruction of this major temple, which had been destroyed decades earlier when Harran was sacked by the Medes, was a significant part of Nabonidus' religious building program, and the claim of divine support represented an attempt by Nabonidus to blunt his enemies' criticisms by claiming that his actions were taken according to divine will. Beaulieu provides an essential discussion of the respective roles of Sin and Marduk in Nabonidus' religious policies, based on the aforementioned inscriptions and others (Beaulieu, *ibid.*, 43–65). On the chronology of events pertaining to the destruction of É.ĜUL.ĜUL., see Gadd 1958, 72–75; on its rebuilding, see Beaulieu, *ibid.*, 205–209. For a broader discussion of Nabonidus's religious building program and its political context, see Kuhrt 1990.

40 See Mouton 2006a, discussing the dreams received by this king and others during his reign, as well as dreams from the reigns of other sovereigns (with references at pp. 9–11); translations in Oppenheim 1956, 254–255, Nos. 25–33. See also Beckman 2010, 28–30 and de Roos 2007, 22–26, the latter devoted to surveying in which cities, palaces and temples Hittite royal dreams were received. For a general treatment of Hittite temples and their functions, see Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011.

41 Brit.Mus. 47749, rev., 5'–8' (trans. Butler); see Finkel 1983, Butler 1998, 235–236, Zgoll 2006, 300–301, and Kim 2011, 35–36. While Finkel believes that incubation was involved, Butler

The damaged text on the obverse side preceding this passage describes the public lamentation of a woman possibly referred to as “the Lady Qatantu,” raising the possibility that she was the queen and Kurigalzu had engaged in incubation because of her troubles, perhaps an inability to bear the king a son.⁴²

In contrast to the more prevalent records of rulers who received dreams not said to have been sought deliberately, some kings do appear to have recorded engaging in incubation, though their accounts tend to be rather ambiguous.⁴³ A relatively clear-cut example of royal incubation is to be found in one of the dream-related texts left by Nabonidus, who in an inscribed stele found at Babylon first recounted a dream in which he shared the contents of a dream he had received with the deceased Nebuchadnezzar II—an unusual instance of dream interpretation within a dream—and then continued by describing his successful effort at soliciting a dream regarding his lifespan:

I placed a very large offering (before) Venus, Saturn, [...], Arcturus, the šAM-star, (and) Jupiter, (who) dwell in the heavens. I inquired of them in front of Marduk, my lord, regarding (my) long life, established rule, lasting reign, (and) my very favorable matters. I lie down, and during the night I saw Nintinugga [*i.e.*, Gula], my lady, the one who heals the dying, the giver of long life.⁴⁴

emphasizes the ambiguity of the language employed, in terms of both where the king slept and the meaning of *zaqīqu* in this context. (As Butler, *ibid.*, 236 notes, if *zaqīqu* refers to ritual experts then the king would have slept in Esagila. For this proposed meaning of *zaqīqu*, which has been questioned by Zgoll, see pp. 62–63.)

42 This link to a fertility problem and the possibility that the king was seeking to learn whether the queen would ever bear him a son is speculative, and was suggested by Finkel (Finkel 1983, 75–76) and followed by Butler (see previous note). For potential parallels, see Appendix III.

43 To these sources should probably be added the *Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual*, a lengthy incantation seeking a dream from Sin, that at line 19a indicates that it was spoken by the Neo-Assyrian prince of Babylon Shamash-shum-ukin (ed. Butler 1998, 379–398 (composite text with translation and commentary), cf. pp. 98, 149 *et pass.*; partly quoted in n. 100). There is nothing in the text overtly linking it to incubation, but the beginning of the description of the associated ritual states that “You install a tamarisk table before Sin” (l. 29), indicating proximity to a cult statue.

44 Istanbul, M.A.O. 1327, ed. and trans. Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 514–529, No. 3.3^a, cols. vi, l. 4–vii, l. 15 (quoting vii, ll. 1–15); trans. Butler; see Beaulieu 1989, 20–22 (*Inscr.* 1), 104–107, 110–114 *et pass.*, Butler 1998, 233–234, and Kim 2011, 41–43. (Schaudig, published after Butler, provides in his text a reading different from Butler’s “the šAM-star” at 519n.782.)

Although Nabonidus uncharacteristically does not go into detail regarding this nocturnal encounter, it almost certainly was a dream, and the appearance of this goddess was clearly meant to be taken as an implicit promise of long life; that incubation was involved is signaled by the reference to being “in front of Marduk,” *i.e.* the god’s cult statue.⁴⁵ Among Hittite sources there is one oracular text in New Hittite Script (c. 14th–13th cent. BCE) that appears to record an unnamed king engaging in incubation at the temple of Kubaba and, since his dream was unfavorable, having the haruspices question the oracle about the god’s mindset.⁴⁶ Another Hittite text refers to a king entering the temple of Šaušga during that goddess’s festival and making offerings and libations before sleeping there, but does not refer to a dream or divination.⁴⁷ Two other texts are similarly problematic evidence for incubation, though some special terminology makes this appear likely: a fragmentary text in Middle Hittite Script (c. 1450–1380 BCE) concerning a festival celebrated by the Hittite king and queen makes reference to the king sleeping in a “sacred bed,” perhaps for the purpose of seeking a dream, while a text in New Hittite Script makes reference to “sleeping purely” in a passage that appears to be about divinatory incubation, and subsequently describes a dream received by a queen.⁴⁸ Necromantic incubation by a king during a festival is also recorded by one text, though since it took place “in the house of the grandfathers” (*i.e.*, his ancestors) this particular practice may have been limited to the king alone, or perhaps members of the royal family as well.⁴⁹

Royal incubation is also to be found in a source far less obscure than these inscriptions: in two similar biblical passages, King Solomon is described heading to a hilltop or mountain sanctuary at Gibeon, where he makes a substantial offering to God, who visits him in a dream at night and converses with him:

45 For other examples of dream-oracles that were sought in order to determine one’s life-span, see p. 493n.24.

46 *KUB* XXII 69 (= *CTH* 570 = Mouton 2007, 178, No. 50); see also Mouton 2003, 77–78.

47 *KUB* XXVII 1, col. iv, ll. 46–50 (= *CTH* 712A); see Mouton 2003, 76 and Mouton 2004, 294.

48 King: *KBo* XX 88 (= *CTH* 670.121 = Mouton 2003, 302–303, No. 126). Queen: *KUB* VI 34 (= *CTH* 582 = Mouton, *ibid.*, 231–233, No. 84). As Mouton notes, the concept of sleeping in a “sacred bed” seems reminiscent of the practice of “sleeping purely,” which is attested in other Hittite texts (see n. 58).

49 *KUB* XLIII 55, cols. ii, ll. 1–12 & v, ll. 1, 2’–13’ (= *CTH* 448.4 (previously 434.6) = Mouton 2007, 147–149, No. 34, cf. p. 80); see also Mouton 2003, 81–82 and Mouton 2004, 296. (For a link between Hittite festivals and incubation, see p. 735n.2; for incubation at tombs during Greco-Roman times, see Sect. 2.4.)

Solomon loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of his father David; only, he sacrificed and offered incense at the high places. [4] The king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, for that was the principal high place; Solomon used to offer a thousand burnt offerings on that altar. [5] At Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night; and God said, “Ask what I should give you.” [6] And Solomon said, “You have shown great and steadfast love to your servant my father David, because he walked before you in faithfulness, in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart toward you; and you have kept for him this great and steadfast love, and have given him a son to sit on his throne today. [7] And now, O Lord my God, you have made your servant king in place of my father David, although I am only a little child; I do not know how to go out or come in. [8] And your servant is in the midst of the people whom you have chosen, a great people, so numerous they cannot be numbered or counted. [9] Give your servant therefore an understanding mind to govern your people, able to discern between good and evil; for who can govern this your great people?” [10] It pleased the Lord that Solomon had asked this. [11] God said to him, “Because you have asked this, and have not asked for yourself long life or riches, or for the life of your enemies, but have asked for yourself understanding to discern what is right, [12] I now do according to your word. Indeed I give you a wise and discerning mind; no one like you has been before you and no one like you shall arise after you. [13] I give you also what you have not asked, both riches and honor all your life; no other king shall compare with you. [14] If you will walk in my ways, keeping my statutes and my commandments, as your father David walked, then I will lengthen your life.”⁵⁰

50 *1 Kings* 3:3–15 and *2 Chron.* 1:2–13 (quoting *1 Kings*, trans. H.G. May & B.M. Metzger (NRSV)), retold in *Jos., AJ* 8.21–25. Husser partly on textual grounds has argued that it should not be concluded that Solomon had engaged in incubation on this occasion, though the account may nonetheless reflect an institutionalized tradition of royal incubation (Husser 1994, 63–92 and Husser 1996, 1539–1541 (pp. 124–128, 172–174 *et pass.* of 1999 translation); see also Husser 1996, 1507–1510 on more textual issues), whereas Bar argues in favor of this being the clearest example of incubation in the Hebrew Bible (Bar 2001, 223, cf. 27–31, 199–205, 223 *et pass.*; see also Seow 1984, omitted by Bar though reaching a similar conclusion). The story of Solomon receiving this dream so soon after his controversial attainment of the throne matches other stories that new kings would make known about their dreams—or at least what they claimed to have been their dreams—as a way of trying to establish their legitimacy to rule (Bar, *ibid.*, 30–31).

Although the passage does not specify that Solomon's offerings were intended to bring about a dream-encounter with God, the fact that God appears and says "Ask what I should give you" indicates that the dream was understood to have been solicited.

To these varied examples of royalty seeking dreams can be added a work of royal propaganda, the *Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Crown Prince*, a Standard Babylonian narrative thought to feature Ašurbanipal (reigned 669–631 BCE) as its protagonist, prince "Kummâ."⁵¹ The story's focus is Kummâ's desire to see the Underworld, which he achieves by visiting a temple, making an offering, and dreaming:

In those days Kummâ, son of [.....] entered [into] the temple,
[...] planning to go down to the underworld [.....] ... the *middle ... of the universe* [...].

He set up a censer of juniper; whispering [.....], he *belittled [the command of the gods]*, and angered the heart of the god, while he kept uttering blessings [.....];

"O Allatu, Allatu, lady of the [wide under]world, [queen of the nether] world, giv[er of...] *tombs* of [.....] ...!

May the [ghost of] a lost orphan girl glance at me [.....].[.....]!

She said to me with *insolent* lips: where no slaves [.....]. As long as I live, [.....] to [.....].

[...] on the day of my destined death, [.....] to the Anunnaki [...] *well-being* [...].

[A]t the mention of your weighty name, by the comma[nd of your great divinity] she will rise up[.....]."

Ereškigal appeared in a dream in the middle of the night and said to him: "There was an offering (made) by you; let me hear your prayers that I may fulfill your desire.

[...] happened by the command of my great divinity; I shall not answer [.....]. Why did you turn to me, ig[noring] Šamaš?"

Kummâ awakened, mourned like a dove, and weeping "[...] *my ground, my ground* [...]," he cursed again and again the dream.

[Once again] he lifted his hands and prayed to Ereškigal, [his] tears flowing before Nergal, king of the [wide] underworld, her spouse:

"[..... as] substitutes for you the widespread peoples [.....]; they will cause storerooms to bulge out [.....].

51 Berlin, Staatl. Mus., VAT 10057 (= SAA III 32); see von Soden 1936.

[...] *creature* [...] a pig turns upside down [...]. *Unveil* the face of the secret, *decree* ...[.....]!"

Kummâ lay down to sleep and saw a night vision. In his dream ... [*The inscription continues with a description of Kummâ's vision of the underworld.*]⁵²

The combination of coming to a temple, making offerings and invocations, and then receiving a dream in which a god appears and then another dream featuring the vision he was seeking is one that has the chief elements of incubation, and thus represents further evidence for royal figures being able to solicit dreams in temples, even if this particular episode was wholly fictional.

Similarly, royal incubation was an element of some pseudepigrapha, as is to be seen in the "Weidner Chronicle," a Standard Babylonian letter purporting to have been sent from the king of Isin to the ruler of Babylon or Larsa in the late-nineteenth or early-eighteenth century BCE.⁵³ Early in the text its purported writer reports having received a dream that featured the goddess Gula standing beside him and speaking "truthfully," and since this was preceded by his making sacrifices to her and praying to her regarding certain matters of great importance to him it is possible that he engaged in incubation. However, there are some reasons for doubt regarding whether incubation is indeed described, as it is not clear that the prayers were deliberately intended to solicit a dream-oracle, though a fragmentary passage at the beginning of the episode may hint at this:

...shrines where I sought advice...Now I will tell you my experience(s)...acquaint yourself quickly with this! I offered an offering to my lady Ninkarrak, mistress of E-gal-mah. I prayed to her, I took prayers

52 Obv. ll. 27-40 + rev. l. 1 (ed. and trans. Livingstone). On the term for "night vision," *tabrīt mūši*, in this and two other documents concerning Ašurbanipal, see Butler 1998, 31-32; cf. CAD XVIII, 31, s.v. "tabrītu" (1).

53 The text, preserved in a tablet from Sippar (Baghdad, I.M. 124470) as well as two small fragments, one of which includes part of a translation into Sumerian as well (Brit.Mus. 39202 and 47733), has been collated into a composite version in Al-Rawi 1990; also translated in Hallo/Younger, *Context* 1:468-470, No. 1.138 (A. Millard) and Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 263-269, No. 38; online translation at <http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc19/weidner.html>. The king of Isin is thought to have been Damiq-ilišu (reigned 1816-1794 BCE), whose recipient was most likely Apil-Sin (reigned 1830-1813 BCE) or Rim-Sin I (reigned 1822-1763 BCE). The context in which the letter was composed is uncertain (see Al-Rawi, *ibid.*, 1-2), which makes the authenticity of the dream suspect. It is possible, if not likely, that the work was composed several centuries after the reigns of these kings.

to her, I spoke to her the thoughts that I desired in my heart. Thus I said: “Deliver into [my] hand the people of Sumer and Akkad . . . all the lands . . . Let them bring . . . the heavy tribute of the Upper and Lower Lands into E-gal-mah.” At dead of night, holy Gula, the exalted lady, stood before me, [heard] my words and spoke to me truthfully.⁵⁴ [*The text continues with the goddess’s spoken prophecy.*]

Without further information regarding how this king would have “sought advice” it is difficult to conclude that he had engaged in incubation at a sanctuary, but if that was indeed the intent then, regardless of the apocryphal nature of the account it would still attest to a belief that prayers and dreams could be connected.

2.1.4 *Priests, Incubation and Dream-Divination in the Ancient Near East*

After royalty, priests are the segment of society most commonly represented in the sources for incubation in the ancient Near East, albeit primarily in the context of assisting a king.⁵⁵ A clear endorsement of priestly incubation is found in the “Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II,” a fourteenth-century BCE Hittite king (reigned c. 1318–1290), which, though not an actual record of incubation, is unambiguous evidence that this king placed great weight on the prophetic nature of dreams.⁵⁶ The first sign of this is his offer to make restitution personally if his people will be spared further suffering from the plague ravaging his kingdom: “Or if you wish to impose upon me some special restitution, tell me about it in a dream so that I can give it to you.”⁵⁷ A few lines later, Muršili’s attempt at obtaining an explanation from the gods for the plague does not

54 Obv., ll. 8–14 (trans. Al-Rawi). Butler has previously expressed caution regarding whether this episode should be viewed as incubation, noting both that sacrifice and supplication were typical religious practices and that the goddess’s response exalts Babylon and Marduk, with the implication of the latter observation being that the claim of divine revelation may have been flattery intended for the king of Babylon and thus not entirely truthful (Butler 1998, 234–235).

55 To be excluded is a Kassite hepatoscopic text that according to its editor recorded a *bārû* priest’s dream about a liver obtained through incubation (Philadelphia CBS 13517, ed. Lutz 1918, 81–87; followed by Kim 2011, 34–35), but that instead is now thought to be an extispicy report pertaining to a dream (see Butler 1998, 41).

56 KUB XIV 8 (= CTH 378.11A); full text, translation and commentary in Lebrun 1980, No. 6; translated in Hallo/Younger, *Context* 1:157–159, No. 1.60 (G. Beckman); annotated translation in Klinger 2013, 117–120, No. 2.2.

57 KUB XIV 8, obv., ll. 34’–36’ (= Mouton 2007, 123–125, No. 24). See Beckman 2010, 27; cf. Butler 1998, 219.

state that he solely intended to solicit divine dreams himself, but rather that his priests might do so instead or that a dream might come unsolicited to someone else (perhaps even an ordinary individual):

[Or] if people have been dying because of some other matter, let me either see it in a dream, or [let] it [be discovered] by means of an oracle, or let a prophet speak of it. Or the priests will sleep long and purely (*šuppa šeš-*) [*i.e.*, engage in incubation] in regard to that which I convey to all of them. [...] Save me, O Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord! Let the gods, my lords, reveal to me their providence. Let someone then see it in a dream. Let the matter on account of which people have been dying be discovered.⁵⁸

The role of priests in dream-divination on behalf of rulers is also evident in an Akkadian document left by the Assyrian king Ašurbanipal, in which he first describes approaching Ištar's statue, beseeching her for encouragement in the face of an Elamite invasion and receiving a visible (or solely auditory) epiphany from the goddess, and next relates that a priest on the same night had received a dream in which he had seen Ištar, who was armed for battle, addressing the king to comfort him and promising to fight for him.⁵⁹ Even though this account treats the priest's dream as unsolicited, it shows that priests' dreams were thought to serve as conduits for divine communications from the gods to earthly rulers. This can also be seen in letters to the Assyrian king revealing the role of ritual experts in obtaining dreams on such matters as the well-being of

58 *KUB* XIV 8, obv., ll. 41'–47', partly restored from *KUB* XIV 11 (= *CTH* 378.11B) and XIV 10+(+) (= *CTH* 378.11C). On this passage, see Mouton 2004, 293–295 and Mouton 2007, 30–31, and Kim 2011, 45–46. For the possibility that *šuppa šeš-*, which also appears in a similar context in *KUB* XV 15, col i, ll. 1–5 (= *CTH* 590 = Mouton 2007, 282–283, No. 107) and *KUB* XV 20, col. ii, ll. 6'–11' (= *CTH* 590 = Mouton 2007, 284, No. 109), refers to sleeping in a holy place rather than “purely,” see Mouton 2003, 74–79; for the nature of the term *šuppa-*, see Hoffner 1998, 324–325. As noted by Oppenheim, this part of the prayer had a later parallel in Achilles's call for a prophet, priest or dream interpreter to determine the cause of the plague afflicting the Greek army (ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα, / ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον) (Oppenheim 1956, 199, citing Hom., *Il.* 1.62–63).

59 Ašurbanipal Cylinder B, col. v, ll. 49–52 and K2652, obv., ll. 25–26, ed. Borger, *Beiträge*, pp. 100, 102; trans. Oppenheim 1956, 249, No. 10 (of variant text K 3040), cf. pp. 200–201, and partial translation in *ANET*³, 451, 606; see Butler 1998, 16, 31–32 and Kim 2011, 39–41. Oppenheim has suggested that “It should perhaps be noted that the specific position of the king was such that he could not see what happened; his experience was, therefore, only auditory” (*ibid.*, 200), though since such texts tended to leave out important details regarding dreams and divine encounters this is far from certain.

the prince's infant son.⁶⁰ And, as shown by a letter from the royal archives of Mari, it even happened occasionally that a priest would communicate a dream to someone else at the royal court, who might then share it with the king (in this case, a dream assuring Zimri-Lim of his line's survival).⁶¹

That priests in the ancient Near East at times consulted the gods through dreams is to be seen not only in Muršili II's "Second Plague Prayer" and these other sources concerning royal affairs, but also in other Hittite documents,⁶²

60 SAA X 59, 298, 305 (see pp. 618–619 and 744n.28). See also SAA X 174, a letter from the king's chief *haruspex* that praises and encourages him as he goes to war and promises the gods' support, which at lines 7–9 cites a dream (though without noting who received it or when): "Aššur, in a dream, called the grandfather of the king, my lord, a sage; the king, lord of kings, is an offspring of a sage and Adapa: you have surpassed the wisdom of the Abyss and all scholarship."

61 The letter was received by the prominent (and probably noble) woman Addu-dūri from a *šangūm*-priest of Itūr-Mer and contained a dream-oracle from the goddess Bēlet-biri, the "Lady of Divination," which Addu-dūri subsequently shared with the king (*ARM XXVI/1*, No. 238 (= *ARM X*, No. 51); trans. Heimpel, *Letters Mari*, p. 268 and Durand, *Docs. Épist. Mari* 1095; see Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 108–109). (The letters of Addu-dūri are of particular interest because they feature both her own dreams and those of other parties, which in the Greco-Roman world is only paralleled by the Ptolemaios Archive from Saqqāra.) For evidence of incubation at this temple of Itūr-Mer in Mari, see Sasson 1983, 285–286 (citing *ARM XXVI/1*, No. 236 (see n. 64)). For Itūr-Mer, patron god of the city of Mari, see Durand 1996, Durand 2008, 189–194 *et pass.*, and Sasson 2001, and for the recent association of Bēlet-biri with the goddess Išhara, see Durand 2008, 220 (and pp. 262–263 on Išhara herself).

An interesting parallel is to be found in another document from the royal archives, in which a high court official—not a priest—reported to the king that a lesser official had had a dream in which this individual visited a temple of Dagan while on a journey and prostrated himself before the cult statue, whereupon the god spoke to him and gave him a message to convey to the king (*ARM XXVI/1*, No. 233; see Oppenheim 1956, 195–196 and Sasson 1983, 290–291; trans. Heimpel, *Letters Mari*, p. 266 and Durand, *Docs. Épist. Mari* 933). Rather than incubation, this official's correspondence suggests an unsolicited dream; but, more importantly, it shows that even a dream received by a relatively unimportant figure was worthy of the king's attention if it concerned royal affairs. A contrasting situation can be seen in another instance of an official—in this case a governor—writing the king of Mari about a divinatory ritual that involved the god Aštabi-El being placed upon a couch and interrogated with the help of two individuals, "the one who sees" (*hā'itum*) and "the one who beds down" (*rābišum*), since on this occasion a deliberate consultation was involved and the results reported to the king (A.1890; see p. 38n.5).

62 See the passage in the Akkadian letter dating to the time of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I (reigned c. 1355/50–1320 BCE) in which a regional governor inquires of the storm god why he is angry and the god sends his priest a dream providing an answer (*KUB* 111 87, ll. 9'–15'

a Babylonian prayer thought to postdate Old Babylonian,⁶³ and possibly in a letter from the royal archives of Mari that according to one reading refers to a priestess who had engaged in incubation on her own behalf.⁶⁴ The direct

(= *CTH* 216 = Hagenbuchner, *Korrespondenz*, No. 349 = Mouton 2007, 101, No. 11); see also Mouton 2003, 77). If this priest did not himself present the question to the god on the governor's behalf then this would be a unique example of one person making an inquiry and another, here a priest, receiving a dream-oracle: either way, it shows the important role priests would play in interpreting divine will for earthly leaders. (The notion that one person might receive a dream-oracle requested by someone else, however, would not be unique to this letter, since in Mušili's prayer this king specifically prays that either he or others will receive a dream explaining the reason for the plague.)

- 63 Midway through a lengthy prayer to Marduk preserved on fourteen cuneiform fragments there is a switch to the first person, with two lines recalling that "When I lay down and slept at the god's side / His utterance was choice and his speech smooth" (K 3126++, ed. Lambert (W.) 1959–60, 55–60, "Prayer to Marduk" No. 1, at ll. 111–112 (composite text); see also Butler 1998, 238–239), and it has been stated by the editor that this alludes to the priest who composed the work engaging in incubation (*ibid.*, 57, note to l. 111). (In support of this, the Nabonidus inscription stating that he had made an inquiry "in front of Marduk" before lying down to sleep (Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 514–529, No. 3.3^a; quoted pp. 52–53) shows a link between incubation and sleeping near a cult statue. See also n. 43 for the line in the *Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual* evidently locating the ritual close to a statue of Sin. For a possible parallel from Egypt evidently referring to sleeping beside a statue of Hathor, see n. 125.)

- 64 *ARM* XXVI/1, No. 232 (= *ARM* X, No. 100); see Sasson 1983, 292 and Sasson 1994, 309, and Durand 2008, 456; trans. Heimpel, *Letters Mari*, pp. 265–266 and Durand, *Docs. Épist. Mari* 1262. This letter was written to the king by a woman named Zunana, who wished to report a dream in which the god Dagan had advised her to ask for royal intervention in the matter of her servant girl having been seized while on an errand to another district and forced into palace duty. For the identification of the writer as a high priestess and suggestion that the dream had been solicited, see *ARM* XXVI/1, p. 461; this, however, is uncertain, as the text that Durand interprets as a *lapâtum* ritual and associates with incubation can be interpreted otherwise, and a different reading altogether may be in order (see Heimpel, *ibid.*, 265n.1 and Zgoll 2006, 168–169, 338–340).

A similar interpretive problem can be found in another of the letters to the king of Mari, in which the queen writes her husband to inform him of a dream—as is probably implied by the phrase "she saw"—concerning his fortunes that was received in the temple of Itūr-Mer by an unidentified woman named Kakka-Lidi (*ARM* XXVI/1, No. 236 (= *ARM* X, No. 10); see Sasson, *ibid.*, 290 and Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 108; trans. Heimpel, *ibid.*, p. 267 and Durand, *Docs. Épist. Mari* 1139). The letter does not indicate whether the dream was solicited, though since it was received within a temple this seems likely; moreover, it is unclear whether Kakka-Lidi was a priestess, a noblewoman, or a commoner (perhaps a member of the royal household). Thus this document may represent evidence for priestly incubation or incubation by a non-royal, but nothing about the dream's circumstances is

involvement of priests in dream-divination, though not necessarily incubation, is further demonstrated by the survival of multiple texts concerning dream interpretation which, like the Egyptian dream manuals, undoubtedly had priestly origins and presumably were employed chiefly at sanctuaries.⁶⁵ The most important of these is the lengthy “Assyrian Dream Book,” perhaps dating to the seventh century BCE, that survives as numerous fragments.⁶⁶ In the manner of the early Egyptian dream manuals, this work treats dreams as omens, listing potential contents of dreams and then indicating what seeing these would mean:

If a man flies repeatedly: whatever he owns will be lost.

If a man takes off and flies (once): for a subject (it means): loss of god things, for a poor man: loss of poverty, he will see his good wish(es fulfilled).

If a man flies from the place he is standing on and (rises) towards the sky: to <this> man one will restore what he has lost.

...

If a man travels repeatedly (with)in the country: distress will follow distress.

If a man travels repeatedly beyond the borders of the country: he will become important.⁶⁷

certain. (The letter of Addu-dūri discussed above (n. 61) concerns the high priest of Itūr-Mer receiving a dream, which increases the likelihood that incubation was practiced at this temple.)

65 On dream books and dream interpretation in the ancient Near East, see Zgoll 2006, 439–462; for the link between dream interpretation and ritual, see Noegel 2007, 46–50 *et pass.* For Egyptian dream books, see p. 94.

66 Oppenheim 1956, 256–308 (edition, translation and commentary), with additional fragments published in Oppenheim 1969; cf. Heeßel, *Divinatorische Texte* 1 55, adding a new fragment to Oppenheim’s Pl. 10. In addition to discussing the dream book throughout her work, Butler has re-edited Tablets I, X and XI as the “Ashur Dream Ritual Compendium,” which omits the tablets with *protasis-apodasis* dream-omens (Butler 1998, 249–312). On the date, see Butler, *ibid.*, 99–101. As the publication of the “Chester Beatty Dream Book” (*P.ChesterBeatty* 3, *recto*) had done for the study of dreams and dream interpretation in Pharaonic Egypt two decades earlier, the appearance of the “Assyrian Dream Book” revolutionized this area of ancient Near Eastern scholarship.

67 “Assyrian Dream Book,” col. iii (selections); trans. Oppenheim.

This *protasis-apodasis* approach is found in other ancient Near Eastern dream manuals, including an older Babylonian collection of dream-omens,⁶⁸ an Ugaritic text from Ras Shamra that appears to be a similar collection,⁶⁹ and two fragments from an incomplete tablet found at Hattuša.⁷⁰ Such texts, despite seeming simplistic, reveal a good deal of sophistication, especially in terms of their frequently punning language, and are undoubtedly the work of religious experts rather than private dabblers.⁷¹

Although only a limited amount is known about how such experts at dream-divination operated, it is at least known who these practitioners were: in Sumerian documents dream interpreters were primarily referred to as *ENSI* and in Akkadian as *šā'īlu* (*šā'iltu* feminine), and sometimes the figure of *bārû* (seer) was associated with the *šā'īlu*.⁷² It is also possible that the aforementioned term *zaqīqu* could refer not only to dream spirits, but also to experts who gave prophecies or else supervised incubation, though this is far from

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- 68 Berlin, Staatl. Mus., VAT 7525, eds. Köcher/Oppenheim 1957–58. The document is a collection of omens relating to the observed behavior of individuals as they sleep (*i.e.*, “sleep omens,” such as speaking aloud or falling out of bed), but among the fifty-nine *protasis-apodasis* tandems are a few pertaining to dreams (see Zgoll 2006, 443–444; cf. Butler 1998, 43).
- 69 R.S. 18.041 (= *KTU*³ 1.86); text and translation in Pardee 2002, 144–147; trans. Hallo/Younger, *Context* 1:293–294, No. 1.93 (D. Pardee). According to an alternate reading, the text may instead preserve a list of animals (see Xella 1978, 385–386).
- 70 *KUB* XLIII 11 + 12 (= *CTH* 558 = Mouton 2007, 170–171, No. 45); see Mouton, *ibid.*, 49–51, Haas (V.) 2008, 160–163, and Beckman 2010, 30 (the latter also citing *KUB* XXIX 9, rev. (= *CTH* 532.11), dupl. *KUB* XXIX 10 (= *CTH* 536.1), a Hittite translation of a Mesopotamian treatise that refers to “sleep omens” rather than dreams *per se*, and considering the other text likewise to be a translation rather than a Hittite handbook).
- 71 See Noegel 2007, 19–24 *et pass.*, the primary treatment of the subject of punning and dreams. For the importance of puns in the Egyptian dream literature, which became much less significant in later periods, see n. 120.
- 72 For dream specialists in the ancient Near East, see Zgoll 2006, 401–437 and Noegel 2007, 32–34. In addition to what has been preserved regarding such dream-experts in the written sources there may also be an artistic representation of a dream interpreter, though this depends on whether a scene on an Early Dynastic Period (c. 2700–2350 BCE) cylinder-seal was originally understood correctly: according to the interpretation of Julia M. Asher-Greve, the high-ranking woman lying in bed awake while a male figure kneels beside her is a representation of an *ENSI*-priestess in a ritual bed, either sharing a dream-oracle or interpreting a dream; however, Laura Battini subsequently argued that the scene represents one of childbirth (Chicago, O.I. A 27902 (= Asher-Greve, *Frauen*, 113–114, 207, No. 593 + Pl. 30); see Asher-Greve 1987, followed by Noegel 2007, 33n.115, Battini 2002 and Battini 2006, 14–15).

certain.⁷³ The importance of such experts is also attested in a badly damaged ritual text from pre-Sargonic Mari (25th/24th centuries BCE) which in providing instructions for dream-divination states that an expert diviner (IGI-DU₈) is to sit beside a woman as she sleeps and explain her dream—a practice quite likely set in a temple, especially since immediately after the reference to dream interpretation there is an incantation addressed to the goddess Inanna, demonstrating the religious nature of the ritual.⁷⁴

2.1.5 *Incubation by Non-elites in the Ancient Near East?*

Just as the majority of documents from the ancient Near East that record specific dreams pertain to those received by royalty, royal officials, and priests, while sources for ordinary people having dreams are virtually nonexistent,⁷⁵ the bulk of the evidence for incubation among these different civilizations would seem to suggest that only members of these elite groups could deliberately solicit dreams from the gods at sanctuaries. Only among the Hittites is there reason to think that ordinary individuals would engage in incubation (or incubation-like rituals) for private purposes rather than the betterment of the king and state,⁷⁶ though a late Mesopotamian ritual handbook featuring instructions for different forms of private divination, entitled *Rituals to Obtain a purussû* (i.e., oracular decision), may represent evidence for private dream-divination.⁷⁷ The Hittite sources showing people engaging

73 For *zaqīqu* as “dream spirits,” see p. 41; for this additional meaning see Butler 1999, 81–83 (but *contra*, see Zgoll 2006, 305n.535).

74 T.H. 80.111, cols. ii', l. 4' and iii', ll. 2'–4', ed. and trans. Bonechi/Durand 1992 (with commentary on these lines at pp. 154–157). The text is considered one of the oldest Semitic documents, and the earliest Mesopotamian attestation of dream-divination (*ibid.*, 158–159; see also Zgoll 2006, 376, 415, 464–465).

75 See n. 25.

76 See Mouton 2003, especially pp. 83–89. There is, however, an unverifiable—and certainly suspect—claim in a lost Greek novel that in Greco-Roman times unspecified women would engage in incubation at a temple of Ištar (i.e., Aphrodite) at Babylon (Iamblichos, *Babyloniaka*, epit. Phot., *Bibl. cod.* 94, p. 26, ed. Habrich; see Appendix 1.6.1).

77 *Rituals to Obtain a purussû*, ed. Butler 1998, 349–377 (composite text with translation and commentary); see also Zgoll 2006, 327, 330–333 *et pass.* and Kim 2011, 32–34. This compilation, surviving on Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian tablets, was evidently devoted to private divination, but the text itself was apparently copied from an original kept in a temple. It thus raises the question of whether this phenomenon was a recent development—i.e., a democratization, similar to what can be seen in the rise of private divination in Egypt, as reflected in the practice of rituals that previously were performed only in temples and with the involvement of priests (see p. 77)—or instead this relatively late text gives a glimpse of a tradition not preserved in contemporary or earlier documents,

in incubation for personal reasons are significant for another reason besides their lack of clear parallels elsewhere in the ancient Near East: with the exception of a fragmentary text that may show a leather-worker having engaged in incubation in an unknown context suspected of having been a festival,⁷⁸ some of these documents, though a minority, concern rituals strikingly similar to therapeutic incubation rather than divinatory.⁷⁹ With the exception of the

since most of these originated in royal and temple archives. The text, which states that it was “Written (according to) the exemplar of Esabad [*i.e.*, a temple of Gula] (by) Nabu-shabshi, the young apprentice (scribe), the son of Nabu-eriba, the scribe” (*rev.*, ll. 139–140; trans. Butler), consists of a series of incantations and accompanying rituals for obtaining an omen or dream, or else engaging in another form of divination, in a manner quite reminiscent of the later Greek and Demotic magical papyri as well as the earlier Demotic papyrus devoted to an Imhotep ritual (P.Heidelberg Dem. 5; see p. 75). Though referred to by Butler (*ibid.*, 222–223) and Zgoll as incubation rituals, what is described in this document is more likely to pertain to dream-divination performed either by ordinary individuals or perhaps professional diviners, if professional diviners engaged in dreaming for pay, since there is no reference to a temple or priest, and while some of the passages suggest inquiries being made on behalf of another, one of the rituals clearly was to be used by someone requiring divine guidance regarding his own journey (“If I will achieve my purpose on the journey I am preparing to start, may they (the dream visions) give me something! If I will not achieve my purpose on the journey I am preparing to start, may they receive something from me!” (*obv.*, ll. 74–75; cf. l. 76)). Moreover, while a domestic context appears to be implied for some of the rituals, in one case specific reference is made to “the head of your bed” (*obv.*, l. 50), and other passages instruct the user to perform the ritual up on the roof (ll. 66–68, 82–84, 88–91). (See Butler, *ibid.*, 236, suggesting a domestic context. A parallel is found in the Hittite ritual of Paškuwatti, which began outdoors and continued inside the inquirer’s home (see Appendix III.4). However, since the Assyrian Recension S of *Atrahasis* refers to his using a “bed” in the area that the hero consecrates for incubation (*rev.*, col. v, l. 32; see p. 39), there is the possibility that this bed likewise was not one’s own. For roofs as a site for incubation, see also Zgoll 2006, 323.)

Even more ambiguous is the *Nusku Ritual to Obtain a Pleasant Dream* (ed. Butler 1998, 339–348, composite text with translation and commentary), an incantation text for a favorable dream addressed to the nocturnal god Nusku, which neither indicates the setting or associated rituals, nor the status of the person expected to use the incantation. (Zgoll 2006 does not discuss the ritual, but at p. 261 includes it with *Rituals to Obtain a purussû* in a table devoted to incubation rituals, whereas Butler does not venture to make such a link.)

78 *KBo* X 16, col. iv, ll. 9–12 (= *CTH* 658 = Mouton 2007, 302, No. 125).

79 See Mouton 2007, 66–74; see also Mouton 2004, 297–298, treating the practices described in the sources as “private therapeutic incubations” but noting that in only one was a dream involved. In her brief survey of the known reasons for people to engage in incubation according to the Mesopotamian sources, Butler concludes that the evidence for medically motivated dream-divination was not intended to obtain an immediate cure or

texts about seeking dreams in order to learn the cause of an ailment,⁸⁰ the pertinent texts are not without problems, however: the small group of documents recording dreams about medical remedies (or how to remedy medical problems) do not indicate how those dreams were obtained, and they all concern royal ailments (which is suggestive, though not proof, of ordinary individuals having had similar experiences);⁸¹ only one text, preserving a ritual designed to cure sexual impotence, specifically involved seeking a dream, but only so as to confirm the success of the ritual, not as the means of achieving that success;⁸² and, in other cases it might have been the act of sleeping in a sanctuary and engaging in rituals rather than obtaining a dream that was thought to bring about the cure.⁸³ Moreover, some of these texts show that one could sleep at

prescription, but “only the revelation of the gods’ decision about the patient’s recovery” (Butler 1998, 237; for an example, *SAA X* 305, see pp. 58–59). See, however, what has been recognized by Mouton as a possible example of Mesopotamian therapeutic incubation: a Neo-Assyrian tablet with fragmentary instructions for a ritual linked to sickness (l. 14) and that involved sleeping on a roof (l. 16), a practice linked to dream-divination (Brit. Mus. Rm. 2160, rev., ed. and trans. Mullo-Weir 1929; see Mouton 2007, 70n.22; for roofs, see n. 77).

- 80 See Mouton 2007, 66–68, on texts recording ritual inquiries that are more analogous to those associated with Roman-era “confession inscriptions” (collected in *BIWK*) than Greek incubation, in that suffering individuals seeking to learn the cause of their ailment might do so by receiving dreams informing them of a transgression against a god.
- 81 The texts are: *KUB XV* 3, col. i, ll. 17–21 (= *CTH* 584.2 = Mouton 2007, 266–267, No. 99), concerning a vow that the queen must make to the goddess Ningal in order for the king’s foot ailment to be cured; *KUB XV* 1, col. i, ll. 1–11 (*CTH* 584.1 = Mouton, *ibid.*, 260–266, No. 98), recording the queen’s dream concerning asking the goddess Hepat’s help for the king’s throat problem; and *KUB XV* 1, col. ii, ll. 1–4 (= *ibid.*), in which the king himself appears to have asked the god Zababa for help in a dream. In contrast to these texts recording dreams about requests for divine aid, a passage in a lengthy oracular text concerns a dream that the queen received in which was identified a plant that could be used to cure the king’s eye ailment (*KUB XXII* 61, col. iv, ll. 1–26 (= *CTH* 578 = Mouton, *ibid.*, 208–210, No. 66); see Mouton 2006b). Another text, too fragmentary for its context to be ascertained, records a dream that the queen received concerning the king’s left eye (*KUB XLVIII* 121, rev., ll. 1–12 (= *CTH* 590 = Mouton, *ibid.*, 287–288, No. 113 = de Roos 2007, 214–215)). See Mouton, *ibid.*, 68–70 on these texts, which all appear to be associated with Hattušili III.
- 82 *CTH* 406; see Appendix III.4.
- 83 See Mouton’s conclusion regarding the texts that make no reference to dreams: “Exception faite du rituel de Paškuwatti et de ceux de naissance, qui cherchent à faire apparaître un rêve-message au patient, la plupart des incubations thérapeutiques documentées par les textes hittites ne font aucune allusion au songe. Il faut par conséquent supposer que l’efficacité que l’on attribuait à ces incubations ne provenait pas du rêve mais plutôt du sommeil et de la nuit” (Mouton 2003, 87).

home rather than a sanctuary, with purification of the house being sufficient to meet ritual needs.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, these documents suggest that therapeutic incubation, or something very much like it, was being practiced in Anatolia nearly a millennium before the first ailing worshipers are known to have descended on Epidauros or Oropos, and that it probably was not limited to royalty. Unfortunately, the limited number of texts in which such practices can be detected makes it impossible to determine how widespread a phenomenon therapeutic incubation might have been among the Hittites. Regardless of this, though, there is no reason to conclude that they had temple complexes akin to the Greek *Asklepieia*, at which numerous worshipers would crowd into incubation dormitories seeking to be cured or given prescriptions by Asklepios.⁸⁵

2.1.6 *Dreams and Incubation in the Hebrew Bible*

In general, in addition to descriptions of specific dreams, among the books of the Hebrew Bible there are several passages that reveal the importance of dreams and dream-divination in the religious life of the Israelites:⁸⁶ in

84 See Mouton 2007, 73–74.

85 While there is no evidence of this for the Hittites, Durand has implied that there may have been therapeutic incubation practiced at the temple of Itūr-Mer in Mari and that this god may have been “un Asclépios mariote,” based on the evidence of him as a healer and his link to dream-divination (see Durand 2008, 631).

86 Dreams would play a much more prominent role in the *Book of Daniel* and non-canonical works composed during Hellenistic times as well as in Jewish texts from Roman times. These sources are explored in Flannery-Dailey 2004, which includes a discussion of apocryphal retellings of biblical narratives that either introduce incubation as a new element or make it less ambiguous than in the original that incubation had occurred, and also examines numerous incubation scenes in such apocryphal works as 1–2 *Enoch*, 4 *Ezra*, and the *Testament of Levi* (pp. 153–164). As Flannery-Dailey demonstrates, these elements represent Hellenic influences—so even if belief in the importance of dreams is found in the Hebrew Bible, much of what appears about dreams and dream-divination in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic Period does not strictly reflect such native traditions.

The existence of such works may explain a passage in Strabo that reports an otherwise unattested prominence for incubation in ancient Judaism. In discussing Moses, whom he describes as an Egyptian priest who left for Judaea over religious differences with his fellow Egyptians regarding the nature of God, and summarizing his theological pronouncements regarding a single all-encompassing deity, Strabo attributes to Moses a statement encouraging incubation (Strabo 16.2.35, p. 761):

ἐὰν δεῖν πάσαν ξοανοποιίαν, τέμενος δ' ἀφορίσαντας καὶ σηκὸν ἀξιόλογον τιμᾶν ἔδους χωρὶς ἐγκοιμάσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλους τοὺς εὐονεῖρους.

Deuteronomy they are warned not to heed, and indeed to execute, any prophet or “dreamer of dreams” urging that another god be worshiped, which shows both the potentially destabilizing nature of certain dreams and that dreams could be viewed on par with prophecy;⁸⁷ Jeremiah twice warns against heeding misleading prophets and diviners as well as dreams and dreamers giving false hope to people that the Babylonian exile was nearing an end,⁸⁸ while Zechariah likewise warns against being deluded by certain dreamers;⁸⁹ and, *Job* states,

For God speaks in one way, and in two, though people do not perceive it.
In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falls on mortals,
while they slumber on their beds,
then he opens their ears, and terrifies them with warnings,

It is necessary to abandon all image-carving, and having marked off a sacred precinct and worthy enclosure to give honor without a seated statue; and for some to sleep within on their own behalf and others who dream well (to sleep within) on behalf of the others.

The precise meaning of εὐονείρους in this context is unclear, since rather than the “dictionary definition” of “having auspicious dreams” (*LSJ*, p. 724, s.v. “εὐόνειρος”), which appears to be based on the use of the term in the context of sleep or nighttime bringing positive dreams (e.g., Heliod., *Aeth.* 3.5.1 and Iambl., *VP* 15.65, 25.114), here it may indicate that some people were thought better at obtaining *useful* dreams than others—a parallel for which can be found in Damascius’s reference to some Alexandrians being “well suited by nature and good fortune to receive dreams” (εὐφρεῖς τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖς ὄνειροπολεῖσθαι) (Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 9C, ed. Athanassiadi; see p. 380n.117). Either way, the practice of engaging in incubation among the Israelites is unknown, and thus such a reference to it most likely represents one of the numerous examples of Greek or Roman authors demonstrating unfamiliarity with Judaism and Jewish history. (In this case that author appears not to have been Strabo alone, but also Poseidonios of Apamea or another writer: see Radt (S.) 2002–11, VIII:322, with discussion of Strabo’s source and references at p. 321; to this should be added Gager 1972, 38–47 on Strabo’s treatment of Moses, in which he argues against Poseidonios as the source, and instead for a Hellenized Jew familiar with Stoic philosophy. While Strabo is thought to have drawn from the work of Poseidonios or someone else, the ultimate source of this information concerning Moses may be one of these Hellenistic retellings of a biblical tale.)

87 *Deut.* 13:2–6. See Husser 1994, 159–162, Husser 1996, 1520–1521, and Bar 2001, 120–124.

88 *Jer.* 27:9–10, 29:8. See Husser 1994, 164–165 *et pass.* and Husser 1996, 1519–1520 (pp. 141–145 of 1999 translation), and Bar 2001, 113–117.

89 *Zech.* 10:2. See Husser 1994, 168–170 and Husser 1996, 1521 (pp. 145, 169 of 1999 translation), and Bar 2001, 117–120.

that he may turn them aside from their deeds, and keep them from pride, to spare their souls from the Pit, their lives from traversing the river.⁹⁰

There is also evidence for dreams received at tombs rather than holy sites, representing a somewhat different phenomenon.⁹¹ Despite numerous references to dreams and dreaming, the description of Solomon's visit to Gibeon is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible that clearly describes incubation.⁹² While some biblical passages may allude to royal or non-royal incubation but are too ambiguous for certainty, and others at best can be recognized as describing dream-divination, still others pertaining to dreams cannot even be linked to dream-divination, let alone ritual incubation.⁹³

Two episodes involving Jacob may also feature incubation, though ambiguously. Jacob's vision or dream-vision at Beer Sheva instructing him to journey to Egypt may well have been obtained in this manner, but—as with Solomon at Gibeon—the text makes no overt link between his sacrifices and the

90 *Job* 33:14–18 (trans. H.G. May & B.M. Metzger (NRSV)). See Margalit 1989, 262, Husser 1994, 215–219 and Husser 1996, 1530–1531 (pp. 90, 159 of 1999 translation), and Bar 2001, 138–140.

91 *Isaiah* 65:4. See p. 32.

92 *1 Kings* 3:3–15 (quoted p. 54) and *2 Chron.* 1:2–13.

93 See especially Bar 2001, 223–226. There is insufficient information regarding the circumstances leading to the foreign diviner Balaam's dreams (*Num.* 22:7–21, surely some form of dream-divination; see Husser 1994, 172–180, 194–200 and Husser 1996, 1523–1524, 1544 (pp. 147–149 of 1999 translation)) or the dream of Daniel (*Dan.* 2:17–18), and it is similarly unclear whether Saul's failure to receive dreams from God reflects unsuccessful incubation rather than merely unanswered prayers for a dream or another form of message (*1 Sam.* 28:6). Moreover, in the cases of certain lines in *Psalms* (e.g., 3:6, 4:9, 17:15; see Husser 1999, 174–175; cf. Delekat 1967, 44–57, 70–71 *et pass.*) and Hagar having her eyes “opened” by God following an angelic message (*Gen.* 21:16–19) there is no way to be certain that a dream was even involved, let alone incubation. The nature of the circumstances surrounding the revelation received by Samuel when he was sleeping at or near the Ark of the Covenant at Shiloh and repeatedly heard himself summoned by God is also unclear, and since there is no indication that he had solicited this communication it would appear to fall into the category of “unintentional incubation” (see pp. 13–14), albeit with the added complication of his possibly having experienced a waking vision rather than a dream (*1 Sam.* 3; see Bar, *ibid.*, 173–181, fully exploring the dream vs. vision debate and concluding that this episode was unintentional incubation, and Gnuse 1984, especially pp. 140–152, arguing that Samuel had experienced an “auditory message dream,” but arguing against “unintentional incubation” being a legitimate category because it is a modern concept rather than an ancient one; see also Husser 1996, 1543–1544 (pp. 152–154, 176–177 of 1999 translation)).

revelation he received that night.⁹⁴ The other passage concerning Jacob that has been repeatedly associated with incubation, his dream at Bethel, also may well be read as an account of his having engaged in some form of the practice, but is problematic, and the full range of pertinent issues and parallels from other ancient peoples has not been fully explored. According to the account in the *Book of Genesis*:

Jacob left Beer-sheba and went toward Haran. [11] He came to a certain place and stayed there for the night (*wayyālen*), because the sun had set. Taking one of the stones of the place, he put it under his head and lay down (*wayyīškab*) in that place. [12] And he dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth, the top of it reaching to heaven; and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it. [13] And the Lord stood beside him and said, "I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and to your offspring; [14] and your offspring shall be like the dust of the earth, and you shall spread abroad to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south; and all the families of the earth shall be blessed in you and in your offspring. [15] Know that I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done what I had promised you." [16] Then Jacob woke from his sleep and said, "Surely the Lord is in this place—and I did not know it!" [17] And he was afraid, and said, "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God (*Beth-el*), and this is the god of Heaven." [18] So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up for a standing-stone (*maššēbāh*) and poured oil on the top of it. [19] He called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the city was Luz at the first. [20] Then Jacob made a vow, saying, "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and clothing to wear, [21] so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then the Lord shall be my God, [22] and this stone, which I have set up for a standing-stone, shall be God's house; and of all that thou givest me I will give the tenth to thee."⁹⁵

94 *Gen.* 46:1–5. Considered incubation in Bar 2001, 169–173 (but omitted from his discussion of incubation at pp. 223–226); see also Butler 1998, 220–221, expressing a note of caution, and Lanckau 2006, 286–289, arguing more forcefully against the possibility.

95 *Gen.* 28:10–22 (trans. H.G. May & B.M. Metzger (NRSV), modified). See Husser 1994, 93–125 and Husser 1996, 1510–1513 (pp. 128–132 *et pass.* of 1999 translation), and Bar 2001, 183–190; see also Ackerman 1991, 115–120, which argues in favor of incubation but does not address

This episode appears to have been intended to explain the origin of the sanctuary and its rituals, among which may eventually have been incubation, with the link to Jacob enhancing the site's status. Jacob is not said to have intended to sleep there—he stayed “because the sun had set”—or to have known in advance that he was in a holy place, which would argue against the passage describing a form of incubation. Arguing in favor of it, however, is that the site is referred to as *hammāqōm*, which literally means “the place” but in biblical Hebrew was often used as a term for “sanctuary” or “shrine,” and would have been recognizable to the reader as such. But even if Jacob was oblivious to the cultic nature of “the place,” the placement of a stone beneath his head followed by his converting it into a dedicatory object the following morning suggests a ritual, as does the term used for the stone, *maṣṣēbāh*. The significance of the stone is not immediately obvious from the passage itself, but a range of Hittite, Semitic and even Minoan sources suggest that it was employed by Jacob as part of a deliberate effort at divination. Among the Hittites there was a practice, known in documentary sources from the late-thirteenth century BCE, of erecting and venerating in temples and open-air shrines “*ḫuwaši* stones,” steles which were used as non-anthropomorphic representations of the gods,⁹⁶ and this use of such sacred stones has been recognized as a likely explanation for Minoan images of figures sleeping on a stone, and in turn for Jacob's choice of headrest.⁹⁷ This interpretation of the significance of Jacob's stone is supported by the Semitic evidence for cultic steles not only representing a god, but *housing* one within: the etymology of one Semitic term for a cultic stele, *sikkānum/skn*, can convey a concept of divine habitation, and this appears to have a parallel in a few examples of *byt 'l* (i.e., *beth-el*, “house of god”) being applied to a stele—a phenomenon reflected in the use of the Greek βαίτυλος (i.e., *baetyl*) beginning in Hellenistic times.⁹⁸ Thus while Jacob's performing a ritual at a place that came to be known as the “House of God” and then receiving a dream may be thought indicative of incubation, if the “house of god” referred to in the passage was the stone employed in that ritual, and Jacob was knowingly

all of the pertinent issues, and makes some untenable comparisons to Greek practices. (I am grateful to Frances Flannery-Dailey and Scott B. Noegel for their thoughts on the issues discussed here.)

96 See Mettinger 1995, 129–130.

97 See Marinatos 2004, 32–36.

98 See Mettinger 1995, 130–132, which relies on the more extensive discussions in de Pury 1975, 403–409 (on pertinent non-biblical sources) and 424–430 (on *bēt elohīm* appearing to have designated a *baetyl* rather than a temple or sanctuary in *Gen.* 28:17 and 22, as well as *Judges* 17:15).

following an ancient practice of treating a stone as an aniconic object possessing divine power when he put it under his head and received a divine epiphany in a dream, then the case for incubation would be even stronger. Moreover, the verb *lwn* combined with *škb* (i.e., to lie down and spend a night) was associated with incubation in an earlier Semitic source, and even though the examples of *lwn* used alone elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible are less likely to pertain to the practice, the combination of the two in reference to Jacob's activities suggests a divinatory sleep.⁹⁹ Whether in later times others engaged in divinatory sleep at the site is not known, and while the narrative appears to be aetiological, it should not be assumed that it was specifically intended to tell of the origins of incubation being practiced at Bethel.

2.1.7 Conclusion

Overall, sources from the ancient Near East reveal that dreams could be thought to have great significance, and thus dream-divination was an important method for obtaining prophetic messages, omens, and in some cases even cures. As with the Greeks and Egyptians, there is no reason to think that the majority of dreams believed to have been sent by a god were deliberately solicited, but it is clear that it was not uncommon for this to be done by means of rituals and offerings—in some cases privately, but in other cases at a sanctuary. In contrast to these other two civilizations, the sources on incubation from the ancient Near East are purely documentary, literary and sub-literary, with archaeological remains from sanctuaries at which incubation was practiced and reliefs or other artistic representations of those doing so completely absent. Nonetheless, it is still possible to determine that over a wide geographical and chronological span the Babylonians, Hittites, Assyrians, people of Mari, Israelites and others would solicit divine dreams at cult sites, either directly or with a priest serving as an intermediary or facilitator. To what extent these divinatory traditions influenced those of the Egyptians, Greeks, and certain

99 See Ackerman 1991, 113–115. Most importantly, the terms *lwn* and *škb* are used in the context of incubation at the beginning of the Ugaritic *Legend of Aqht* (*Aqht*, Tablet 1, col. i, ll. 4–5, 14–15 (= KTU³ 1.17); see n. 15). While reasonably pointing to this parallel, Ackerman is on shakier ground when treating the account of David's unsuccessful prayers for the survival of his child by Uriah's wife as incubation in part because of the appearance of these terms (2 *Sam.* 12:15–23), since nothing in the passage is reminiscent of dream-divination and instead it appears that David was spending time at the temple devoting himself to fervent prayer. Moreover, her belief, following Caquot 1958, 25–26, that *lwn* in *Psalms* 91:1 is “indicative of an incubation ritual in which an ill incubant sleeps in the temple in Jerusalem in hopes of receiving a dream visitation of healing from Yahweh” is at least as questionable.

other peoples is impossible to know, but it is likely that these later civilizations were at least indirect recipients, making incubation—particularly divinatory incubation—yet another of the cultural inheritances from the ancient Near East.¹⁰⁰

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- 100 Such a link was suspected by M.L. West, in the broader context of various divinatory techniques acquired by the Greeks from their predecessors to the east (West 1997, 48) and also the subject of a brief discussion by Chiara Terranova (Terranova 2013, 249–251), though the first in-depth exploration of the problem has only recently been provided by Juliette Harrison (Harrison 2014). However, this study incorrectly concludes that while the three basic elements of incubation—sleeping at a cult site, engaging in rituals that would encourage communication from a god, and being able to ask about a specific matter that was to be answered in a dream—were present in the ancient Near East, “it was only in Greece that these ideas coalesced into a ritual that could be repeated regularly by any suppliant, no matter what their social status was” (p. 289), a position that she reaches by wholly overlooking the essential Hittite evidence and some other ancient sources, along with certain important works of scholarship (most notably Zgoll 2006). See also Burkert 1992, 41–53, 79–82 for a more detailed exploration of the subject of the origins of Greek divination. Although the central concept of sleeping in a sanctuary and engaging in rituals in order to obtain a dream-oracle may have been unchanged, the Greeks did not inherit the pre-incubation rituals of the ancient Near East, instead making offerings that were more suitable to Greek religion, especially sacrificing animals (and sometimes sleeping on their skins). Similarly, even though some of the ancient Near Eastern rituals resemble certain rituals found in instructions for dream-divination in Egyptian sources, these are far more reflective of Egyptian religious practices, and thus a direct influence should not be assumed. The sources from Mesopotamia and Hittite Anatolia that describe incubation are limited, but from several of the literary and non-literary texts discussed above it is possible to gain a general sense of the procedures involved, including the consecration of a ritual space (if one was not already in a sanctuary), purification of oneself, prayer, libation of beer, offering of meal or grain (perhaps a forerunner of the Greeks’ bloodless offerings) as well as incense, and sleeping atop one’s clothing (which may have evolved into sleeping atop an animal skin in Greek religion). For these and other aspects of ancient Near Eastern incubation rituals, see Zgoll 2006, 320–343 *et pass.*, on which the following summary is partly based.

Unlike the Greek sources, information regarding the setting for incubation is inadequate: the *Song of the Plowing Oxen* refers to “the bedding on the roof” (l. 69) in a damaged passage which Miguel Civil identified as possibly pertaining to awakening from a dream, which had been received at a “house” or temple of Nanše (Civil 1976, 83, 94 (note to ll. 67ff.); for the *Song*, see p. 44). A parallel for engaging in dream-divination on a roof, albeit in an evidently domestic setting, is to be found in the *Rituals to Obtain a purussû* (see p. 63). But other than the accounts from *Atraḫasis* and *Gilgamesh*, as well as the instructions in the Hittite Paškuwatti ritual that one sleep before the offering table (CTH 406, §10; for the ritual, see Appendix III.4), ancient Near Eastern sources do not indicate precisely where an individual had been lying when he or she attempted to solicit

dreams at a consecrated site. The sources do, however, provide some amount of information regarding what one was to sleep on: in some Hittite sources pertaining to festivals there is reference to a “holy bed” (*šuppi šašta-*) in an inner room of a temple or dwelling in which a king made food offerings (see Mouton 2004, 295), while sleeping atop one’s ritual garments is specified in the Paškuwatti ritual (CTH 406, §11; see Hoffner 1987, 286–287), and in the *Legend of Aqht*, according to one possible reading, Dan’el “lay down upon his robe and went to sleep” (see n. 15). (For the issues of bedding and physical location as well as positioning of the body, see Zgoll, *ibid.*, 331–338.) Similarly, some of the sources reveal that the area itself, at least in certain cases, needed to be purified, and individuals likewise had to be pure: thus, for example, in the *Rituals to Obtain a purussû* (see p. 63) it states that one was to sprinkle pure water to form a circle on a rooftop (l. 67; cf. l. 83, referring to sprinkling water on a roof but not specifying a circle), while the *Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual* refers to the washing of hands and feet (l. 34; see n. 43). (For purifications see Zgoll, *ibid.*, 330–331.) The most well attested element of incubation rituals, other than prayer (see Appendix v), was the preliminary use of certain food stuffs, a practice to be found in several sources. *Gilgamesh* and *Atraḥasis* both refer to similar grain-based offerings, though *Gilgamesh* offered *mašḫatu* (i.e., scented floury meal) to Mount Lebanon in an unspecified manner (*Gilgamesh*, Tablet iv, ll. 85–86; quoted p. 40), while *Atraḥasis* offered *maššakku* (i.e., mixture of grain and *mašḫatu*) at the *miṭirtu*-canal by spreading it on the waters and praying for it to be accepted (I.M. 124473, rev., ll. 59–69; quoted p. 39). In another early source Gudea, the king of Lagaš, refers to casting grain—apparently barleycorn—upon water before possibly engaging in dream-divination (Gudea, Cylinder A, col. xx, ll. 5–8). Such rituals, however, may not have been ordinary pre-divinatory offerings, since scattering powdered grain or other substances and interpreting the pattern that formed was itself a form of divination, i.e. *aleuromancy* (see Al-Rawi/George 1996, 173–174, on this and other issues pertaining to divinatory applications for *mašḫatu*/*maššakku*; see also Butler 1998, 229–231). But in some cases the use of foodstuffs is clearly intended as an offering, as when loaves were given. Most notably, the Babylonian *Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual* states that for the ritual associated with the dream-incantation “You install a tamarisk table before Sin. You scatter twelve thyme(?) loaves, twelve sesame loaves, dates, and *sasqû*-flour. You set out a confection (made of) honey (and) ghee. You libate beer” (ll. 29–31; trans. Butler). The giving of loaves, which can also be seen in a ritual invoking Sin’s aid against a lunar eclipse (Brit.Mus. 121037 (= Caplice, *Namburbi Texts* v, 166–168, No. 65, obv. 9’–14’); see Butler, *ibid.*, 395), is more likely to be a forerunner to the Greek practice of offering cakes to their gods (see p. 250n.350). The use of incense can also be found as early as the Gudea narrative, in which he burns juniper and cedar before invoking Ningirsu (Gudea, Cylinder A, col. viii, ll. 10–12), and also in the Babylonian *Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Crown Prince* Kummâ burns juniper as incense (Berlin, Staatl. Mus., VAT 10057, obv. l. 29; quoted pp. 55–56); see Zgoll, *ibid.*, 325–326 for the use of incense by dream-specialists. Among the *Rituals to Obtain a purussû* are several references to the use of cheap, scented flour evidently made from barley for dream-divination: one could “draw (your) own personal god (out) of cheap scented flour” before lying down to obtain an “oracular decision” (i.e., dream-oracle) (l. 51), burn this type of flour with juniper on a rooftop as part of a divinatory ritual (ll. 65a-67, 88–90), or scatter it on a rooftop before lying down.

2.2 Incubation in Egypt

2.2.1 Introduction

Unlike some of their contemporaries in the ancient Near East, among whom divinatory and possibly therapeutic incubation was already being practiced at sanctuaries during the second millennium BCE, there is no evidence for the inhabitants of Pharaonic Egypt having been doing so until the Late Period (664–332 BCE), despite the fact that dreams had long played a role in Egyptian religion.¹⁰¹ Just when it was that dreams were first solicited at an Egyptian sanctuary remains a mystery, in no small part because of the relative rarity of sources for the daily life of ordinary individuals in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt. Despite much scholarly debate on the matter a firm conclusion cannot be drawn. Over the years little doubt has been expressed that therapeutic incubation appeared in Egypt because of Greek influences,¹⁰² and the apparent lack of a native tra-

101 For nearly half a century, the primary study of dreams in Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic Egypt was that of Serge Sauneron (Sauneron 1959, with discussion of incubation at pp. 40–47). While still a significant work, it is now very much dated, and has always lacked detailed analysis. Fortunately, Kasia Szpakowska has superseded much of it with an important study on all aspects of dreams and Egyptian society during the Pharaonic Period, especially the New Kingdom, in which she also challenges some of the prevailing notions regarding dream-divination (Szpakowska 2003a, with incubation at pp. 142–147). Szpakowska has also written or co-written several noteworthy articles on the subject: Szpakowska 2001 (with a timeline of recorded dreams at pp. 39–40); Szpakowska 2003b; Szpakowska 2003c; Noegel/Szpakowska 2006; Szpakowska 2007; Szpakowska 2010b; Szpakowska 2011. To these studies can be added Edda Bresciani's useful but rather general overview of the phenomenon from the Pharaonic Period through Roman times (Bresciani 2005). Other general studies of dreams in Egypt include Zibelius-Chen 1988 and von Lieven 1999, 108–114 *et pass.*; cf. Vernus 1985. An in-depth study of dreams in the Late Period and post-Pharaonic eras, which would incorporate the numerous texts published since Sauneron and analyze all pertinent hieroglyphic, Demotic and Greek texts in detail, remains sorely lacking, though dream books have been receiving significant attention over the past decade (see pp. 94–95n.145). Furthermore, a number of Demotic documents from this period that refer to or record dreams remain unpublished (as noted by Ray 1987, 85, who at the time counted thirty-five published and unpublished texts).

102 Those attributing therapeutic incubation to Greek influences over the decades have included: Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, III:381; Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, p. 34; Grapow 1956, 140; Schenke 1963, 76–77; Vidman 1970, 24; Wacht 1997, 200; cf. Sfameni Gasparro 1999, 411 (p. 338 of 2002 version), Lloyd 2006, 92n.30, and Alvar 2008, 330–331. Sauneron took a more cautious view, stating that incubation was believed to be a Greek contribution but also noting two sources—both since discredited—that at least suggested inconclusively that the practice had Egyptian roots (Sauneron 1959, 40–41). Similarly, Dunand, citing one

dition involving prescriptive dreams or those producing miraculous recoveries has suggested that this was indeed the case, despite the strong link between religion and medicine in Egypt.¹⁰³ However, an unpublished Demotic papyrus at Heidelberg that discusses dream-divination casts serious doubt on this conclusion, since if indeed from the sixth century BCE it not only predates significant Greek influence within Egypt, but also the sources for therapeutic incubation anywhere in Greece; however, this damaged text does not state where the dream in question was to be solicited, leaving open the possibility that it describes a private ritual.¹⁰⁴ In contrast, most who have addressed the

of the same sources, has concluded that incubation was either brought to Egypt by the Greeks or, as appears likely to be correct, given an expanded role in religious practices because of them (see Dunand 2006, 13–14; cf. Dunand 1973, 1:64, 1:170).

- 103 For a study that explores the association of medicine and religion in Egypt primarily during Pharaonic times, see Westendorf 1999; cf. Brunner 1977 and Walker (J.) 1993. Several other studies survey the subject over one or more periods, each touching on the topic of incubation briefly: Dunand covers both the Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic periods (Dunand 2006, with therapeutic incubation at pp. 11–14 *et pass.*), as has Jane Draycott in a similarly short treatment (Draycott 2012, 32–37); Philippa Lang has recently addressed incubation and other forms of temple medicine during the Ptolemaic Period at length (Lang 2013, 45–100 *et pass.*, with dreams and incubation at pp. 49–54); Marguerite Hirt Raj has done so more briefly for the Roman Period in her study of medicine in Egypt (Hirt Raj 2006, 289–300); and, covering an even greater span of Egyptian religious history, Christian Cannuyer has now surveyed healing divinities from Pharaonic to Byzantine times, though with greatest emphasis on healing saints (Cannuyer 2013, with incubation at pp. 33–37). (In addition, modern dreams in Egypt, especially Cairo, have recently been studied in Mittermaier 2011.)

Of particular significance is the evidence of what was being read at Egyptian temples. According to Galen, the temple of Ptah at Memphis had an important medical library (Galen, *Comp. med. gen.* 5.2, ed. Kühn XIII, pp. 778–779), and actual medical treatises have been found at temples: in addition to texts known to have originated at the Tebtunis Temple Library (see Ryholt 2005, 154 and Zauzich 1991, 8 for brief notices, and see now Ryholt 2013 for an illustrated Greek herbal from the site), and an unpublished medical treatise of the fourth or third century BCE discovered at Saqqâra itself that has since disappeared (see Turner 1975), there is a medical book of unknown provenience thought to have come from a priestly library somewhere in the Fayum (P.Vienna D 6257, ed. Reymond 1976; a new edition has been announced by Friedhelm Hoffmann in Hoffmann (F.) 2010 and Hoffmann (F.) 2013, 25; I am grateful to Hoffmann for his thoughts on the text's origin), while other texts remain unedited (see Hoffmann (F.) 2012). See also Lang, *ibid.*, 72–75 on medical books at temples.

- 104 P.Heidelberg Dem. 5, to be published by Joachim F. Quack, who dates it on paleographical grounds; see brief discussion in Quack 2014b, 58. The text involves rituals for invoking Imhotep and receiving his advice, especially regarding the uses of drugs, and since

issue of divinatory incubation have agreed that it arose in Egypt from native traditions that predate the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁰⁵ While the growing consensus of the past three decades that divinatory incubation can be dated as far back as the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BCE) is based on sources that have been effectively questioned or rejected by more recent studies,¹⁰⁶ the Heidelberg

it repeatedly refers to “this night” dreams are the most likely medium of communication. Quack has identified it as a parallel to a “magical papyrus,” P.Leiden 1 384, *verso*, col. i, ll. 1–29 (= *PDM* xii.21–49; trans. J.H. Johnson in Betz, *GMP*), which he is re-editing alongside the Heidelberg papyrus. (I am grateful to Quack for sharing an early draft from part of his book. He has also informed me that P.Brook. 47.218.47, *verso*, an unpublished “late hieratic manuscript in early demotic language . . . provides a further parallel,” and therefore will be edited in the same volume, to appear in the series “Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion.”)

- 105 That the Egyptians engaged in practices similar to incubation, if not incubation itself, before the Ptolemaic Period was suggested by: Volten 1942, 44n.3; Bonnet, *Real.*, p. 837, s.v. “Traum”; Sauneron 1959, 40–41; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 121–122; and Frankfurter 1998, 158–159; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, 111:381, Wacht 1997, 199–200, and Dunand 2006, 13–14.

- 106 Excluding an inconclusive interpretation of a “Letter to the Dead” from late in the third millennium BCE that pertains to a solicited dream but not necessarily a form of incubation (see Appendix xiii) and an ambiguous account of part of the “Opening of the Mouth” ritual from the New Kingdom (see p. 93), those assigning the origins of incubation in Egypt to the Pharaonic Period have each dated it to the New Kingdom specifically because of up to three sources that have all now been discredited. Most notably, the shrine of the serpent-goddess Meret Seger (or Meresger), whose domain was the “Peak” of western Thebes overlooking the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens (see Valbelle 1980 and Sadek 1987, 118–121), has often been linked to incubation because of a dedicatory stele recording a worshiper’s overnight stay at her shrine after performing rituals beside a pool formed within a natural grotto (Brit.Mus. EA 278, edited in KRI VI, No. 40). This link was first made in Bruyère 1930, 23–31 *et pass.*, and has since been followed by a large number of scholars: Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, p. xxiv and Bataille 1952, 109; Bonnet, *Real.*, p. 837, s.v. “Traum”; Daumas 1957, 52; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 122; Wacht 1997, 199–200; Vernus 2000, 334n.9 (citing Pinch 1993, 352 as a treatment of “les difficultés d’interprétation,” though this is not the case) and Vernus 2002, 241–242; Bommas 2005, 104; and Luiselli 2011, 47–48). As Sauneron and Szpakowska have noted, however, this stele makes no reference to dreams or divination, and instead appears simply to represent further evidence that during the New Kingdom worshipers would occasionally sleep in a sanctuary in order to achieve proximity to a god (Sauneron 1959, 40; Szpakowska 2003a, 140, 143–146 and Szpakowska 2011, 108–109; cf. Dunand 2006, 13–14). Another problematic text is a graffito from a grotto at Deir el-Bahari which was taken by Marek Marciniak to be evidence for a New Kingdom healing sanctuary, and this reading was cited elsewhere as evidence for incubation (Marciniak 1981, followed by Pinch, *ibid.*, 223, 352), but Allan K. Philips has shown that the text is unrelated to healing and incubation (Philips 1986; cf.

text does suggest that the practice of incubation did, at least, have native roots. After all, if it does pertain to seeking a therapeutic dream through incubation rather than private dream-divination then it would indirectly suggest that divinatory incubation likewise was being practiced in the Late Period, since in both the ancient Near East and Greece divinatory incubation appears to have preceded therapeutic; but, even if it instead reflects private dream-divination it still argues for the Egyptian nature of such rituals, which at some point came to be practiced at temples.¹⁰⁷ Regardless of when incubation was first practiced in Egypt, it remains unclear whether it began at the temples and later, as can be seen in the magical papyri, became democratized as individuals began to engage in dream divination in a private setting, or, alternately, if the popularity of dream-divination led it to be included among the forms of divination being performed at Egyptian temples, possibly with Greek influence playing a role in this development.

It has been demonstrated that both dreams and oracular consultations played an increasingly important role in personal religion during the New Kingdom, and thus it would not be surprising to find that the solicitation of

Peden 2001, 73–74 and Szpakowska 2003a, 144), and Chloé Ragazzoli in her forthcoming edition of the text confirms that it was initially misread (C. Ragazzoli, *La grotte des scribes et ses graffiti: la Tombe MMA 504 à Deir el-Bahari* (MIFAO, forthcoming), No. P.2.15). Likewise, Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal has cited a passage from the *Teachings for Merikare* that originally was thought to pertain to god-sent dreams (Laskowska-Kusztal, *ibid.*, p. 122 n. 29), but this has since been demonstrated to be a misreading (see Szpakowska 2003a, 70–71, following Quack 1992, 81n.; trans. Hallo/Younger, *Context* 1:61–66, No. 1.35 (M. Lichtheim)). In addition to different texts that have been misinterpreted as evidence for incubation in Pharaonic Egypt proper, the archaeological remains at one site, Hathor's sanctuary at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai, were initially thought to reveal a Middle Kingdom incubation sanctuary, but this has been disputed (see Szpakowska 2003a, 144).

107 Unfortunately, as noted above, the damaged nature of the Heidelberg text has obscured the context of the ritual. Even if this particular ritual text was for domestic dream-divination, as would later be the case with texts from the magical papyri (see Johnston (S.) 2010, 79–80 for a list of such texts), it of course does not mean that such rituals were *exclusively* practiced away from temples—indeed, the Heidelberg papyrus's ritual and others like it may have originated at temples before entering the domestic sphere. A similar ambiguity can be seen at the end of the “Chester Beatty Dream Book” in its apotropaic invocation to Isis and the accompanying reference to bread and herbs being ready for the dreamer “who wakes up on his place,” as this suggests a domestic context, especially for someone suffering from nightmares, but the dream book itself appears to have been created for use by priests (*P.ChesterBeatty* 3, *recto*, col. x, ll. 10–19; for this and other Egyptian dream books, see p. 94; on this passage and the ambiguities of the invocation's physical context, see Szpakowska 2003a, 163–164, with translation at pp. 197–198).

dream-oracles first occurred then as well, but there are no sources documenting this.¹⁰⁸ Even though divinatory incubation can no longer be considered a New Kingdom phenomenon based on existing sources, it does appear that the practice arose during Pharaonic times—but the Late Period is most likely to have seen its development, and possibly that of therapeutic incubation as well.¹⁰⁹ With the exception of one temple-like structure that has been inconclusively proposed as a site for incubation and might date to the Late Period,

108 For oracular consultations by ordinary worshipers during the New Kingdom, see especially Černý 1962, 40–43, McDowell 1990, 107–141, and Römer (M.) 1994. Of particular interest is a text that combines the two: an oracle question dating to the New Kingdom, written on a small *ostrakon*, in which the inquirer wished to know, “As for the dreams which he may see, will they be good ones?” (Ashm. H.O. 1010 (= Černý 1972, 51, No. 40 + Pl. 15); see Černý 1962, 45–46 and Szpakowska 2003a, 143; trans. *ibid.*, 199). The scanty evidence for oracles in Egypt before the New Kingdom is discussed in Baines 1987, 88–93, to which can be added Baines/Parkinson 1997, proposing that an inscription from the 5th Dynasty might allude to an oracular consultation (Gardiner/Peet, *Sinai* 13, inscribed at Maghara c. 2355–2317 BCE; see also Kammerzell 2001). For the role of oracles in Pharaonic religion in general, see also Szpakowska 2010a, 522–524 and Naether 2010, 38–44 *et pass.*; cf. Kákosy 1982b. For oracle questions, see n. 154.

The role of oracles in Egyptian religion well before recorded historical sources may be attested by the discovery of a pre-Dynastic (Late Naqada III) or 1st-Dynasty granite falcon (*i.e.*, Horus) statue with its weight distributed so that a light touch under the tail causes it to rock forward, suggesting that it was used for oracular inquiries (Brook. L65.2 (formerly) (= Needler, *Brooklyn Museum*, 368, No. 294); see [Baumgartel] 1967–68, especially pp. 73–75, but see Needler’s suggestion that the object may have been a dedication rather than a cult statue). (I am grateful to Robert K. Ritner for this reference.)

109 Szpakowska, arguing against those claiming an early start date for incubation in Egypt, originally wrote that the “earliest concrete evidence” for it comes from the Late Period, which overstated the reliability of the evidence (Szpakowska 2003a, 11), but she has more recently modified her position, recognizing that the evidence “so far seems to date from no earlier than the Ptolemaic period” (Szpakowska 2011, 108). Szpakowska has also made the interesting suggestion that incubation might have developed at Egyptian temples during the Late Period as the priesthood’s deliberate effort to maintain control of popular religious activities by encouraging worshipers to solicit dreams at cult sites rather than in private (Szpakowska 2003a, 146–147). This would find some support if the unedited Heidelberg papyrus does indeed pertain to private dream-divination, but it would be less likely if therapeutic incubation was the result of Hellenic influences towards the end of the Late Period. An alternative to Szpakowska’s hypothesis, though not necessarily an incompatible one, is John Baines’s contention that incubation was being practiced in the Late Period as part of a trend of temples gaining greater importance relative to funerary cult as Egyptian society became increasingly urbanized beginning late in the New Kingdom era (Baines 1991, 198). Either possibility is compatible with the hypothesis discussed just below concerning incubation’s potential origin as a ritual limited to royalty and priests.

all of the evidence from this period is textual.¹¹⁰ This evidence is by no means limited to the Heidelberg papyrus that may reveal the practice of therapeutic incubation before the Ptolemaic era. Of particular note is a Demotic text from the early Ptolemaic Period that refers to an unnamed pharaoh receiving a presumably solicited dream while sleeping at Apis's bull catacombs at Saqqâra—a story which, even if completely fabricated, would nevertheless show that by that time, and perhaps even by the end of the Pharaonic Period itself, the concept of incubation was known to native Egyptians.¹¹¹ Similarly, the Greek version of the *Prophecy of Petesis*—long known as the *Dream of Nektanebos*—may tell of the pharaoh Nektanebos II engaging in incubation at Saqqâra, since it describes a (presumably solicited) dream that was received soon after the king, who was visiting Memphis, had sacrificed and asked the gods to reveal the future (Νεκτοναβῶ | τοῦ βασιλέως καταγινομένου ἐ<μ> Μέμφει καὶ θυσίαν | ποτὲ συντελεσμένου καὶ ἀξιώσαντος τοὺς | θεοὺς δηλῶσαι αὐτῷ τὰ ἐνεστηκότα, ἔδοξεν | κατ' ἐνύπν<ι>ον. . .).¹¹² While the use of a precise date—corresponding to the night of July 5, 343 BCE—appears intended to give a veneer of historicity to this episode and thus should not be considered as corroborative, if the *Prophecy* was composed during the Persian occupation of Egypt that began the following year it could represent evidence for either the awareness or actual practice of incubation in Egypt several decades before the Ptolemies.¹¹³ Evidence for the concept of incubation being known during the Late Period might also be represented by two episodes in “*Setna II*,” a tale belonging to the Setna Khaemwaset cycle, with one involving a magician sleeping in a temple of Thoth and the other the prince Setna's wife Meheweskhe receiving a dream at an unknown location that may have been a temple.¹¹⁴ This and the other Setna tale that survive as lengthy narratives are believed to have been put into their current written form during the Ptolemaic Period and early Roman Period, respectively, but might have developed from older oral or written traditions.¹¹⁵ Such sources certainly do not prove that incubation was a prominent feature

110 Temple-like statue: Saqqâra, Block 5. See pp. 402–403n.27.

111 Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. D 1994; quoted p. 415.

112 UPZ I 81, col. ii, ll. 2–6; see n. 138.

113 On the date, see Koenen 1985, 184 and Spalinger 1992a; cf. Bennett 2011, 38, Ryholt 2002a, 227 and Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 165–166.

114 Magician: P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, col. v, ll. 7–15; see pp. 502 and 623. Meheweskhe: P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, col. i, ll. 1–4, ed. Griffith; see Appendix III.3.

115 “*Setna I*” is thought to date c. 332–200 BCE (P.Cairo CG 30646, ed. Griffith, *Stories*, 82–141; re-edited in Goldbrunner (S.) 2006), while “*Setna II*” is Roman (P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, ed. Griffith, *ibid.*, 142–207); translations in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 111:125–138 (*Setna I*), 138–151 (*Setna II*) and by R.K. Ritner in Simpson, *Literature*, 453–469 (*Setna I*), 470–489 (*Setna II*); annotated translations by F. Hoffmann in Hoffmann/Quack,

of Egyptian religion before the Ptolemaic Period, but they do raise the possibility, at least in terms of the ritual practices of royalty—and since the earliest evidence for specific, ordinary individuals engaging in incubation dates to Ptolemaic times it is possible that this is not a coincidence, and incubation began as a form of divination limited to kings and priests before becoming popularized.¹¹⁶

In addition to increasing the likelihood that incubation had a native origin, the Heidelberg papyrus suggests that dream-divination was being practiced by priests or even ordinary individuals before Alexander the Great's conquest

Anthologie, pp. 118–137 (*Setna* 11), 137–152 (*Setna* 1). For an overview of these and the other Setna tales, of which only shorter fragments survive, see Quack 2009a, 35–48.

- 116 For the earliest dated examples of incubation in Egypt by ordinary individuals, see p. 96. Egyptian literature evidently featured other examples of royal incubation, as is indicated by a Greek source that most likely had a Demotic antecedent: Diodorus's reference to Athyrdis, the daughter of the semi-legendary 12th-Dynasty pharaoh Sesostri/s/Senwosret III (Sesoösis in Diodorus), as one who had the gift of prophecy and practiced divinatory incubation as well as other forms of divination (μαντική χρωμένην καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προγινώσκουσιν ἕκ τε τῆς θυτικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐγκοιμήσεως τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἔτι δ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν γινόμενων σημείων) (Diod. Sic. 1.53.8; on Sesostri/s in Egyptian and Greco-Roman sources, see Quack 2013a, 63–66, Ryholt 2010, 430–434, and Simpson (W.) 1984; on this passage and the likely identification of Athyrdis as the goddess Hathor, see Burton 1972, 163–167). Even if Athyrdis and her father were both legendary figures, Diodorus's treatment of them as historical is evidence for the Greeks associating incubation with Egypt by the end of the Hellenistic Period. (For incubation by royalty in the ancient Near East, see Sect. 2.1.3; for pharaohs and dreams, see Sect. 2.2.2.)

In addition to pharaohs and their kin engaging in incubation, Egyptian literature also sometimes had priests do so, as is to be seen in the Demotic tale that tells of a prophet of the god Horus-of-Pe who receives a dream-oracle concerning how he might finally become a father (P.Petese Tebt. A, col. viii, ll. 19–24; see p. 610). Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether this episode, which is preserved in a Tebtunis manuscript dating c. 100 CE, was featured in earlier versions of the story, as the one fragment from a parallel version found at Saqqâra, which dates to the fourth century BCE if not earlier, preserves a different part (*P.DemSaq* 1 4; cf. *P.Petese* 1, p. 11). Moreover, the fragmentary nature of the papyrus makes it impossible to determine whether the prophet had engaged in fertility incubation, but there is a good likelihood that this was the case. It would be a mistake to read too much into this passage, especially since it is heavily restored, but since fertility incubation appears to have been practiced at sanctuaries of gods primarily associated with therapeutic incubation this tale could represent indirect and tenuous evidence for therapeutic incubation in Egypt before Ptolemaic times (see Appendix 111). Similarly, the episode in *Setna* 11 involving the “magician” Horus-son-of-Paneshe sleeping at Thoth's Hermoupolis Magna temple represents tempting evidence, since while the papyrus dates to Roman times the story is older (P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, col. v, ll. 7–15; see Chapter 9.4).

of Egypt, at a time when Greek influence within Egypt was growing but far from dominant. Moreover, this increasing presence of Greeks in Egypt beginning in the Saite Period (*i.e.*, 26th Dynasty, 664–525 BCE) raises the possibility that even if incubation had indeed begun as a native religious tradition there may have been Hellenic influences on its evolution.¹¹⁷ To weigh the different possibilities properly, it is necessary to examine the development of the role of dreams in Egyptian religion. A millennium before the first documented instances of Egyptians engaging in incubation, there is evidence for the growing importance of dreams in popular religion during the New Kingdom—apparently part of a trend in which a range of religious practices, including divination, became democratized instead of being limited to priests and royal personages—though none of the pertinent sources indicates that a dream had been solicited rather than spontaneous.¹¹⁸ For example, two texts from this

117 The Egyptians' increasing use of incubation as a means of obtaining dream-oracles, though possibly a sign of Hellenic influences and not clearly evident in any form until the end of the Late Period, may also have had another cause: it could owe something to a greater desire for divine guidance through both solicited oracles and unprompted divine messages (*i.e.*, dreams and omens) that can be detected beginning in the mid-seventh century BCE, possibly attributable to the presence of the foreign invaders from Assyria and Persia who ruled Egypt for long stretches of the Late Period (see Szpakowska 2001, 30, 36–37 and Szpakowska 2003a, 55–56). Szpakowska has suggested that this change appears to have included not only a greater belief in the significance of dreams, but also a change in their “tone, function, and form of expression” (Szpakowska 2001, 30), as well as the need to have them be interpreted by an expert. However, as with so many theories regarding life in Pharaonic Egypt that may be confirmed or disproved by future discoveries, this could be a problem of sources rather than an actual change in personal piety. For the possibility that the Egyptian art of dream interpretation, first evident during the New Kingdom, was directly influenced by the ancient Near Eastern tradition during the Saite Period, see Noegel 2006, 102–105 (but see Quack 2010c, 79n.42, expressing a note of skepticism).

118 It is possible that the phenomenon of soliciting dreams significantly predates the surviving sources, but, as first suggested by Ray, it appears that the use of dreams for consulting the gods reflects an evolution in Egyptian religious mentality (see *O.Hor.*, p. 130; for the possibility of consultations at tombs during earlier periods, see Appendix XIII). As Szpakowska has further argued, it is likely that this growing importance of dreams in personal religion during the New Kingdom is representative of a general increase in the types of religious activities and methods for communicating with the gods available to secular, non-royal worshipers in the aftermath of the domestic and external crises that had afflicted Egypt (Szpakowska 2003b, 121), and also should be viewed in the broader context of the innovations and changing attitudes detectable in numerous areas of Egyptian society at the time (Szpakowska 2003a, 142–143). (For other examples of the development of personal piety during the late New Kingdom, see Smith (H.) 1994, 81–84.)

period, both from Deir el-Medīna, appear to show the importance of dreams as omens to ordinary individuals, but it is unclear whether the dreams referred to would have been sought, or involved a particular god: one, a private letter dating to the 19th Dynasty and thus roughly the same period as the Ramesside Dream Book discussed below, refers ambiguously to a woman driven by a dream to travel to and consult an oracle of the divinized 18th-Dynasty queen Ahmose Nefertari, possibly about whether the dream had been a good or bad omen, while the other, an *ostrakon*, preserves a question for the oracle of Amenhotep I regarding whether the inquirer would receive propitious dreams.¹¹⁹ The earliest indications of personal relationships between gods and their non-royal worshipers becoming manifest in their dreams are provided by the “Chester Beatty Dream Book,” also widely known as the “Ramesside Dream Book,” as well as two inscriptions.¹²⁰ An invaluable source on dreams in ancient Egypt, this work shows that already by the time of Ramesses II (reigned 1279–1213 BCE), and quite possibly well before,¹²¹ people envisioned the gods (or symbols representing the gods) in their dreams, and such dreams were interpreted as signs that the gods were active interveners in human affairs: protecting people,

119 Ahmose Nefertari: *P.Deir el-Medina* I 6 + Pl. 22–22a (= Wentz, *Letters* 211); see Szpakowska 2003a, 20–21, 65–66, with translation at p. 194, and Szpakowska 2011, 108. Amenhotep I: Ashm. H.O. 1010 (= Černý 1972, 51, No. 40 + Pl. 15); see Szpakowska 2003a, 66, 199 and Szpakowska 2011, 108; on Amenhotep's oracle, see p. 448n.1. Also, for a badly damaged New Kingdom inscription from Karnak that might refer to dream interpretation, depending on how it is restored, see J.-C. Goyon in Goyon/Traunecker 1980, 140–142, No. 6 + Pl. 42.

120 *P.ChesterBeatty* 3, *recto*. See Szpakowska 2003a, 66–114, 124–135 and Szpakowska 2011; see also Szpakowska 2001, 33–34, Szpakowska 2003b, 113–116, Bresciani 2005, 47–90, Noegel/Szpakowska 2006, and Szpakowska 2007. The papyrus belonged to a scribe from Deir el-Medīna named Qenherkhopshef, whose ownership reflects his being a collector of books and various texts rather than an amateur dream interpreter; however, it is certainly possible that he consulted it regarding his own dreams (see Szpakowska 2003a, 67–68 *et pass.* and Szpakowska 2011, 105, 107). As Szpakowska and Noegel have noted, the dream book indirectly reveals that the art of dream interpretation was already established during this period, especially since the use of puns in the text indicates that specialized knowledge was required to use it (see Noegel/Szpakowska, *ibid.*, 212; see also Szpakowska 2007, 394, on the dream book's signifying that a priest was needed to act as interpreter). (Puns play much less of a role in the Demotic dream books, as noted in Quack 2010c, 79, which shows that wordplay was not a necessity to dream interpretation in later times; see also Prada 2013, 91n.28, expressing reservations regarding some of Noegel's earlier and related work on puns in Egyptian dream literature.)

121 See Quack 1994, 50, arguing against the New Kingdom date that has been generally preferred. In an unpublished paper Quack notes that the text appears to be based on a Middle Egyptian archetype rather than merely featuring archaizing language, which would not be expected for a text such as a dream book (personal communication).

providing for them, judging them, or being intent on punishing them.¹²² Such dreams, however, are not reported to have contained specific messages, and do not appear to have answered questions addressed to the gods. The two aforementioned inscriptions, however, do reveal that by this time ordinary individuals at least occasionally would believe that a divinity had come to them in a dream and communicated a specific message. This is demonstrated by two hymns dating to the New Kingdom in which worshipers recounted encounters with the goddess Hathor in their dreams—ecstatic experiences that both individuals considered special enough to merit proudly describing in detail, though in one case the worshiper seems to have had the ulterior motive of justifying his tomb's location.¹²³ One of these, the undated and unprovenienced "Stele of Ipuy," records a dream received by a workman in the daytime during a festival of Hathor, and states his wishes that future generations learn of the goddess's glorious nature from him.¹²⁴ The other document was inscribed in the tomb of an official named Djehutiemhab, an overseer of sacred land belonging to Amun during the reign of Ramesses II, and goes into greater detail regarding the dream, even quoting Hathor's instructions to him.¹²⁵ Both inscriptions are noteworthy because of the experiences they relate, but also

122 For dreams of gods in the Chester Beatty papyrus, see Prada 2014, 257–258, part of a broader study of such dreams in Egyptian dream books that mostly focuses on the Ptolemaic and Roman eras.

123 On the two documents, see Szpakowska 2003a, 135–141, Szpakowska 2003b, 116–121, and Szpakowska 2003c, 229–233. Cf. Smith/Depauw 2004, 89–90 (with additional references).

124 Vienna, KHM ÄS Inv. 8390, ll. 1–19, ed. Satzinger 1985, 249–254; trans. Szpakowska 2003a, 194–195 and Frood, *Biographical Texts* 50. For the apparent link between dreams and festivals, see Appendix xv.

125 Theban Tomb No. 194, Text 119, ll. 1–16, ed. Seyfried 1995; trans. Szpakowska 2003a, 195–196. See Assmann 1978 (especially pp. 44–45); for the tomb and its contents, see Seyfried, *ibid.* An ambiguous line, "How joyful it is, when the one who enters your shadow rests by your side!" (l. 9), may allude to Djehutiemhab's having slept in the presence of Hathor's statue—something presumably possible for him due to his position in the cult, even though the statue would have stood in an area of the sanctuary that was off-limits to most worshipers—but even if this was the case he gives no indication of having deliberately solicited the dream, and the situation could have been comparable to the future Thutmose IV falling asleep at the feet of the Giza Sphinx and seeing that god in a dream (see Szpakowska 2003a, 138–142; on Thutmose IV, see p. 86). However, divination of some sort cannot be ruled out, since the dream concerned Hathor's instructions regarding the location of Djehutiemhab's tomb, and as patroness of Thebes's West Bank, a large area devoted to royal and non-royal funerary complexes and funerary cults, the goddess would have been the appropriate divinity to consult. (For a Babylonian prayer, thought to be by a priest, that refers to sleeping beside a statue of Marduk and receiving a dream, see n. 63.)

their uniqueness: the lack of similar texts indicates either that the common people of the New Kingdom still were not routinely dreaming of the gods and ascribing significance to such dreams, or that they were but normally did not see fit to record such dreams.¹²⁶

2.2.2 *Royal Dreams and Incubation in Egyptian History and Literature*

The earliest datable evidence for specific individuals in Egypt receiving god-sent dreams, however, pertains not to ordinary worshipers, but to kings and princes both real and legendary, and this is true for most of the other records of dreams received during the Pharaonic Period.¹²⁷ References to such figures receiving dreams—sometimes, but not always, while sleeping in sacred precincts—are to be found in several royal inscriptions, as well as literary

126 This lack of interest in recording dreams continued during the Third Intermediate Period, but from this era a different type of source for the gods being seen in dreams survives: the so-called “Oracular Amuletic Decrees,” which perhaps represent implicit evidence for Pharaonic-era dream interpretation, though this is unclear. More than twenty of these oracular pronouncements attributed to different gods promising to protect the person wearing them—normally in a cylinder around the neck—against various harmful forces, sometimes including evil dreams are known, some of which refer to dreams (collected in Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, with most recent discussion in Wilfong 2013; for the texts pertaining to dreams, see Szpakowska 2003a, 181–183 and Szpakowska 2010b, 25–26). The “Decrees” could also promise benefits to their wearer, one of which was that he or she would receive favorable dreams, or that someone else might see such a dream on his or her behalf: e.g., “Thoth, the great god . . . said: ‘. . . I shall make her dreams good; I shall make those which another will see for her [good]’” (P.Philadelphia E 16724, frag. A; trans. Edwards, *ibid.*, p. 111). (Although Sauneron 1959, 40–41 thought that such texts referring to the possibility of one person receiving dreams for someone else might allude to incubation, this need not have been the case, since people would sometimes receive unsolicited dreams with messages intended for a friend or relative, and thus indirectly obtained dream-oracles were not always specifically sought via an intermediary.)

127 On the phenomenon of royal dreams, see Szpakowska 2003a, 47–57; cf. Szpakowska 2001, 31–32. The earliest known dream was previously thought to be one recorded by the Middle Kingdom pharaoh Senwosret I (reigned 1956–1911 BCE) in a damaged portion of the building inscription from his temple of Satet at Elephantine (Schenkel 1975, 116–118), but its editor Wolfgang Schenkel now believes that the text makes no reference to a dream (see Szpakowska, *ibid.*, 58–59n.41). The “Letter on a Stele,” dating to the First Intermediate Period (c. 2160–2055 BCE), records a request for a dream but does not note whether the dream was received, and, moreover, pertains to seeking a dream from a dead mortal rather than an immortal (see Appendix XIII). The “Stele of Ipuy,” on the other hand, *would* qualify as earliest but its date within the New Kingdom is unknown, so there is only a chance that it predates one or both of the first known royal dreams.

narratives and other forms of *pseudepigrapha*.¹²⁸ While these could possibly indicate that incubation was practiced in Egypt much earlier than is currently accepted, it would be a mistake to rely on such sources as evidence for popular incubation. After all, royal personages were themselves semi-divine, and their occasional tendency to sleep in sanctuaries and receive dreams need not mean that the common people would sleep at the same sites and achieve the same success.¹²⁹ Furthermore, not all of these episodes involved solicited dreams or dreams received in sanctuaries: the three earliest examples of dreams received by kings, all from the New Kingdom, give no indication that incubation was involved.¹³⁰ In the case of two pharaohs, Amenhotep II (reigned 1427–1400 BCE)

128 This group of *pseudepigrapha* includes the so-called “*Königsnovellen*,” which scholars have generally viewed as a form of Egyptian literature that usually involved a king receiving divine inspiration or otherwise being influenced by the gods (see, e.g., Shirun-Grumach 1993, Loprieno 1996, and Hofmann 2004, as well as Török 2002, 342–367 for Kushite *Königsnovellen*), but which have recently been argued not to represent a distinct genre (see Quack 2012a, 282–286). On dreams in *pseudepigrapha* and other fictional tales of Egyptian kings, see Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 51–53, and, more broadly, for dreams and the terminology associated with them in the Demotic narratives, see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 199–208. According to Ryholt more than half of the longer tales featured at least one dream account, and among the fifteen narratives that he lists are some that remain unpublished, including one, the *Castration Story* (P.Carlsberg 448 + PSI Inv. D 54 [Now CNIP 42]), that features a dream received at a temple (*ibid.*, pp. 199–201). Also among these are a tale that he edits for the first time, *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyon*, which features two incubation episodes at the temple of the lion-god Miysis at Leontopolis, the first of which involves the king himself (see Chapter 9.7). In addition, Ryholt argues that just after the break in the surviving text of the sequel to the *Prophecy of Petesis* (i.e., the *Dream of Nektanebos*) the pharaoh, who has just completed making offerings and libations for the god Haroeris at his temple, would have slept there seeking a dream-oracle, based on the language describing these rituals being almost identical to the description of Horus-son-of-Paneshe sleeping at a temple of Thoth in *Setna II* (*ibid.*, 166–167; for this text, see n. 138; for the *Setna II* passage, see Chapter 9.4). (For arguments that the *Prophecy* should not be categorized among the *Königsnovellen*, a form of literature without a precise definition—if it was indeed a distinct genre—and therefore subject of ongoing debate, see Ryholt 2002a, 239–240, differing from Koenen 1985 and others.)

129 For the *topos* of kings in ancient Near Eastern literature seeking dream-oracles from the gods and thus showing the closeness of their relationship, see Chapter 2.1.3.

130 To these three might be added two other episodes only found in non-Egyptian sources. Most notably, the biblical account of an unidentified pharaoh experiencing two prophetic dreams that could only be interpreted by Joseph does not specify where these dreams were received, but it can be inferred that the pharaoh was in his bedchamber (*Gen.* 41:1–32). On this episode, see: Vergote 1959, 42–94; Husser 1994, 231–248 and Husser 1996, 1495–1498 *et pass.* (pp. 106–111 of 1999 translation); Bar 2001, 54–59, 190–198 *et pass.*; Shupack

and Merenptah (reigned 1213–1203 BCE), a god appeared to the ruler on the eve of a battle or military campaign in order to steel him for the fight—as recorded in their Memphis stele and “Great Libyan War Inscription” from Karnak, respectively—and in neither case is there an indication that the dream was received in a sanctuary.¹³¹ In contrast, the son of Amenhotep II, the future Thutmose IV (reigned 1400–1390 BCE), claimed to have fallen asleep at the feet of the Giza Sphinx while strolling about at midday, and dreamed that this god, Harmachis, visited him and promised him kingship, as he later recounted in the famous “Sphinx Stele” that he erected there.¹³² As is sometimes noted, the

2006; and Lanckau 2006, 237–282 *et pass.*, extensively discussing the other dreams of the Joseph narrative as well. There is also a possibility that a pharaoh—called “Mesphres” by Pliny the Elder, but whose identity is uncertain—commissioned an obelisk in Heliopolis in compliance with a dream, as is recorded not in an Egyptian source, but the discussion of obelisks in Pliny’s *Natural History*: “Mesphres, who was ruling in the City of the Sun, was the first of all the pharaohs to build an obelisk, having been commanded in a dream; this very fact is inscribed on it, since those carvings and figures which we see are Egyptian letters” (*Primus omnium id instituit Mesphres, qui regnabat in Solis urbe, somnio iussus; hoc ipsum inscriptum in eo, etenim scalturae illae effigiesque quas videmus Aegyptiae sunt litterae*) (Plin., *H.N.* 36.14.64). Although there is no way to be certain if a real pharaoh was intended, the name “Mesphres” (which would have evolved from “Mensphres”) is somewhat similar to that of Thutmose III, *mn-hpr-rʿ*—but, if so, his obelisk would not have been the first to be erected in Egypt.

131 Amenhotep II: *Urk.* IV 1306.11–1307.2 (= Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 242–253, No. G5), at PM 111².2, pp. 846–847; trans. *ANET*³, 245–247 and Hallo/Younger, *Context* 11:19–22, No. 2.3 (J.K. Hoffmeier). On this dream, see: Oppenheim 1956, 190–191; Manuelian 1987, 71; Szpakowska 2003a, 48–50 and Szpakowska 2003b, 112–113; and Spalinger 2006. Spalinger has accepted the dream as authentic, stressing that Amenhotep received it just before succeeding his father and co-regent, Thutmose III, as pharaoh. Rather curiously, the dream is not mentioned in a copy of the text on a stele from Karnak (*Urk.* IV 1310–1316.4 (= Klug, *ibid.*, 260–270, No. G9), at PM 111², p. 177(R); see the parallel editions in Edel 1953, 122 at l. 102). Merenptah: *KRI* IV.1, No. 2, ll. 28–30 (p. 5, ll. 10–15); trans. Oppenheim 1956, 251, No. 16; see Szpakowska 2003a, 52–54 and Manassa 2003, 40–41, 117–119. As Szpakowska has noted, Amenhotep’s dream is both the earliest known royal divine dream in Egypt and the earliest example of a god appearing and speaking to a dreamer (*ibid.*, pp. 49, 51). (However, if the phrase “spoke in a revelation of truth” or “spoke revealing truth” at the beginning of the *Instruction of King Amenemhet* alludes to a dream, as is sometimes thought (see, e.g., Szpakowska 2003a, 10 and Parkinson 2002, 241–242), then this Middle Kingdom wisdom text would be the earliest example, albeit a pseudepigraphic one (§1a, ed. Adrom 2006; trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1:135–139 and Simpson, *Literature*, 166–171). For an overview of this work see Burkard/Thissen 2012, 115–122; see also the discussion in Goedicke 1988, 61–78. If a dream, it should likewise be considered unsolicited.)

132 Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, No. H2 (= Zivie 1976, 125–145, No. NE 14, ll. 8–11); trans. *ANET*³, 449 and Oppenheim 1956, 151, No. 15; see Szpakowska 2003a, 50–52.

experience of Amenhotep II, which has been seen as a primary example of the phenomenon termed “unintentional incubation,”¹³³ finds an echo during the Late Period in the “Dream Stele” of the Kushite king Tanutamun (reigned 664–653 BCE, but just 664–656 BCE in Egypt), who claimed that a dream he had received was interpreted as a sign that he would one day rule the whole of Egypt, and this preceded his ultimately ill-fated attempt to take back Lower Egypt.¹³⁴

133 See pp. 13–14.

134 Cairo JE 48863, ll. 4–7, ed. Grimal, *Quatre stèles*, pp. 3–20 + Pls. 1a–1v (= *Urk.* III 61.4–63.7 = *FHN* I 29); see Breyer, *Tanutamani*, especially pp. 92–108 (text, trans. and comm.); see Szpakowska 2001, 36–37 and Szpakowska 2003a, 55–56, Török 2002, 406–413 *et pass.* and Török 2014, 76–77, and Noegel 2006, 101–102; cf. Wenig 1985). The experience of Tanutamun is different from that of Amenhotep II in two crucial ways: the dream is not reported to have been received at a cult site, and the god himself did not appear in it. Thus whereas Thutmose’s dream can at least be considered a form of early “unintentional” incubation, there is no support within the text for the claims by some scholars that Tanutamun’s vision of two serpents that unidentified individuals interpreted for him as symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt was obtained through incubation (*e.g.*, Török 2002, 410 and Breyer, *ibid.*, 281–282), since the stele only states that the king “saw a dream in the night.” While different in these respects, both Thutmose’s and Tanutamun’s steles are primarily significant as works intended to legitimize their rules, and in this they have later parallels in the lengthy wall inscription of the late-fifth- and early-fourth-century Kushite king Irike-Amannote and the stele of the fourth-century BCE Kushite king Harsiyotef, each of which records oracles intended to achieve the same propagandistic purpose (see Török 1997, 241–246 for Amun’s repeated role in legitimizing Kushite kings; for the problems with dating the reigns of the two, see Peust 1999, 69–70). Since it is possible that among those oracles are dream-oracles, these likewise have been treated by some as derived through incubation, but with insufficient cause. More problematically, these documents and the “Dream Stele” have been employed as mutually reinforcing evidence, so that a claim that one refers to a dream-oracle obtained through incubation will be cited elsewhere as reason to conclude that one or more of the others likewise should be seen as derived in this manner. The Irike-Amannote inscription, found covering much of a wall in the Hypostyle Hall of Amun’s temple (Temple T) at Kawa, states that as part of the prelude to his coronation he had spent four days and nights alone with Amun there and soon after this again secluded himself and emerged with an oracle (*Kawa* I.1, 50–67, No. IX + Pls. 17–26, cols. lxxxvii–xcviii (= *FHN* II 71); see Török 2002, 439–445 and Török 1997, 217–218, 378–382 *et pass.*; for Temple T, see *Kawa* II.1, 61–106 *et pass.* and Török 2002, 80–134), but as László Török concludes this should be viewed as a “mystic union of the King with his divine father” and the oracle an example of a “Königsorakel” (*i.e.*, a direct encounter limited to royalty) (*FHN* II, p. 426), and not incubation (as claimed in Breyer, *ibid.*, 280–281). In the case of Harsiyotef, the king recorded—on a stele erected at the same site as Tanutamun’s stele, the temple of Amun-Re at Gebel Barkal—that he had received an oracle that was interpreted by an unidentified “old man” as indicating the need to rebuild part of Amun’s sanctuary in Napata, following which he stated that “I went before Amun of Napata, my good father” to ask for rule over Nubia and received from Amun a promise that he would

In addition, another inscription may allude to a dream received by a prince during the Third Intermediate Period, though the nature of his experience is by no means certain: according to a lengthy inscription from the Bubastite Gate of the temple of Amun at Karnak, *The Chronicle of Osorkon*, this eldest son of Takelot II (reigned 850–825 BCE) had appealed to Amun when Thebes revolted against his father's rule, and on Amun's behalf Herishef (Ἑρσαφης or Ἑσηφ in Greek), the chief god of Herakleopolis Magna, "came to him . . . so that he might suppress the wrong."¹³⁵

Unlike these inscriptions, which are all roughly contemporary to the events they describe, the other accounts of royal dreams received by known figures in the Pharaonic era are found either in *pseudepigrapha* dating to the Late Period or Ptolemaic Period or Demotic tales in Roman-era manuscripts, and

become sovereign, his land would prosper, and his enemies would be defeated (Cairo JE 48864, ll. 4–17, ed. Peust, *ibid.*, pp. 13–14, 24–33, 53–58 *et pass.* (= *FHN* II 78); see Török 2002, 358–360 *et pass.*). Even though no dream is mentioned, the oracle that was explained by the "old man" has been treated as incubation by Török, who considers Harsiyotef's subsequent encounter with Amun to have been a "Königsorakel" (*FHN* II, p. 460; Török 1997, 218, 242, 384–385; Török 2002, 410). But even if the initial oracle was indeed a dream-oracle the passage would still contain no direct evidence for incubation. (A terminological problem is worth noting: Török 1997, 242 indicates that he uses "*incubatio*" for dreams that could be received at temples "unexpectedly and spontaneously as an act of the legitimization in the human sphere," with the exception of Harsiyotef's "solicited non-royal oracle" dream, and thus he evidently refers to "unintentional incubation" as equivalent to ritual incubation, both in this work and his other studies.)

Another text concerning a Kushite king that has also been associated with a dream-oracle and thus perhaps incubation cannot be reliably included in this group. The stele, concerning the rise to power of Nastasene in the fourth century BCE, at one point refers to him and his followers spending the night at an oasis on the way to Napata, and textual problems have led to one interpretation of the passage as referring to a dream-oracle indicating his future kingship, perhaps received by someone in his retinue rather than Nastasene himself (Berlin, ÄM 2268, Main Text, l. 7, ed. Peust, *ibid.*, 14, 34–45, 60–65 *et pass.* (= *FHN* II 84); see Török 1997, 222–223, 242 and Török 2002, 361–362, 438–439, 447–448 *et pass.*). However, even though Török at *FHN* II, p. 497 and elsewhere has concluded that the text pertains to a prophetic dream, Peust's treatment shows that the text could describe nothing more than an ordinary overnight stay and Nastasene subsequently hearing news that his reputation was growing.

¹³⁵ *Chronicle*, A, cols. xxii–xxiii; see Caminos 1958, §§39–40 (translation and commentary, based on the text reproduced in *Bubastite Portal*, Pls. 16–22), located at PM II², pp. 34–36. For another inscription that records a dream from Herishef, the "Stele of Somtutefnakht," see p. 95. For the Greek rendering of the god's name, see Thissen 1992, 58.

thus do not represent reliable sources, even when reasonably close in time.¹³⁶ This is true not only of tales pertaining to dreams that were unsolicited,¹³⁷ but

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- 136 To these will be added the unpublished *Nakhthorshen*, a Demotic story that appears to be about a 25th-Dynasty ruler and includes a dream episode apparently involving him (P.Carlsberg 400; see p. 607n.16).
- 137 Examples written in Egyptian are preserved in inscribed *pseudepigrapha*, a ritual treatise, and a Demotic narrative. Those from the *pseudepigrapha* are to be found in two well-known steles: the dream of Khnum attributed to the Old Kingdom pharaoh Djoser in the “Famine Stele,” a large rock-cut inscription on Sehel Island in the Upper Nile that dates to the Ptolemaic Period, and is likely a fabrication from the same period (ed. Barguet 1953, cf. Gasse/Rondot, *Séhel* 542 + pp. 562–567 (photos + facs.); trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 111:94–103 and Hallo/Younger, *Context* 1:130–134, No. 1.53 (M. Lichtheim); annotated translation in Peust 2004; see Quack 2012c, 342–352; for the problems of dating the text, see Haiying 1998); and, the tale of the prince of Bakhtan, who envisioned the god Khonsu while sleeping in his own bed, as recounted in the “Bentresh Stele,” an example of priestly propaganda from the Late Period or Ptolemaic Period which is disguised as a Ramesside monument (Louvre C 284, edited in KRI 11, 284–287; see Broze 1989, 72–74; trans. Lichtheim, *ibid.* 111:90–94 and Hallo/Younger, *Context* 1:134–136, No. 1.54 (M. Lichtheim)). In addition, the fragmentary Roman-era *Book of the Temple* begins with a passage reminiscent of royal *pseudepigrapha*, in which troubles in Egypt lead the obscure 2nd-Dynasty pharaoh Neferkasokar to receive a dream in which he is instructed to travel throughout the land and restore its temples and rites (P.Berlin ÄMP. 23071, verso, ll. 5–8, ed. Burkard 1990 (with translation and commentary); see Quack 1999, especially pp. 274–275 (new translation) and Quack 2004, 12–13, preliminary studies leading up to a full edition of the *Book*). Another Demotic work, the tale of Djoser and Imhotep found in a Tebtunis papyrus of the Roman Period and known as the *Life of Imhotep*, features a dream in which the pharaoh receives an unsolicited instruction (P.Carlsberg 85; see p. 423n.77).

Two other examples of unsolicited dreams are preserved in Greek literary sources. The earlier of these, yet another example of “unintentional incubation,” is Herodotus’s tale of Sethos, a priest of “Hephaestos” (*i.e.*, Ptah) who became pharaoh (but actually, the Ethiopian Shabataka, who reigned from 702–690 BCE), visiting the god’s temple to voice his concern about an invasion, and after doing so falling asleep and receiving a dream in which the god encouraged him to face the enemy (Hdt. 2.141; see Lloyd 1975–88, 111:99–105 and Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 342–344; see also Török 2014, 73–80 for an analysis of Herodotus’s treatment of Shabataka). The other is a mangled retelling of the Exodus story ascribed to Chaeremon, according to which Amenhotep III received a dream in which Isis rebuked him over the destruction of her temple during recent fighting, leading a sacred scribe (ἱερογραμματεὺς) to advise the pharaoh to expel the polluting populace (*i.e.*, the Israelites) from Egypt (Jos., *Ap.* 1.32.288–1.33.295 (= *FGrH* 618 F 1); see van der Horst 1984, 49–51 and Redford 1986, 287–288). (But see the alternate version of this tale attributed to Manetho and preserved in the same ancient work, according to which this pharaoh had inquired of his royal advisor, the future god Amenhotep, son of Hapu, what action he should undertake in order to be able to see the gods (Jos., *Ap.* 1.26.232–1.28.256 (= *FGrH* 609 F 10a)).)

also stories of specific pharaohs engaging in incubation.¹³⁸ It is also true of Demotic tales in which unidentified—and possibly fictional—pharaohs

¹³⁸ To date, just one or two examples are known: *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyon*, in which this Delta king clearly engages in incubation at the temple of Miysis (see Chapter 9.7), and the *Prophecy of Petesis* (traditionally known as the *Dream of Nektanebos*), if it does indeed pertain to incubation. The latter, among the best sources attesting to dream-divination during the Late Period, survives in an incomplete Greek translation preserved in the Ptolemaios Archive at Saqqâra (*UPZ* I 81, re-edited in Koenen 1985; see p. 79) and a Demotic fragment found at the Tebtunis Temple Library (P.Carlsberg 562, ed. Ryholt 1998; see also Gauger 2002 and Ryholt 2002a, the latter discussing a fragmentary Demotic sequel to the *Prophecy* (P.Carlsberg 424+499+559 + PSI Inv. D 60, *verso*), which he has now edited as Ryholt, *Narrative Literature* 9). For a study of both versions that explores issues of cultural interaction and the text's background, see Legras 2006 and Legras 2011, 216–225. At the beginning of the tale, the pharaoh Nektanebos II, visiting Memphis in July 343 BCE, makes offerings to the gods so that he can have the future revealed to him and then receives a dream in which he sees Isis and the other gods of Egypt, and has his downfall prophesied. Since the papyrus only states that the pharaoh was “in Memphis” it is impossible to determine whether he was supposed to have received his dream at a temple and, if so, whether it was located in the city itself or at nearby Saqqâra (see pp. 445–446). Despite the attempt to make this tale credible by providing a precise date, the *Prophecy* is clearly a work of fiction; but, if the ingenious arguments of Ryholt are correct it may have been written during the Second Persian Occupation that began in 342 BCE when Artaxerxes III ousted Nektanebos, and thus have served as anti-Persian propaganda (see Ryholt 2002a, 235 and Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 165–166). If so, this work at the very least would show a familiarity with the concept of incubation before the Ptolemies, and if Ryholt rightly speculates that priests at the temple of Onuris-Shu at Sebennytos were involved in the tale's composition (*ibid.*, 241) it would attest to priestly recognition of incubation as a valid method of divination, at least for kings. Moreover, the fact that the dream is said to have been received during the new moon provides further evidence for a uniquely Egyptian link between incubation and the sacred calendar (see p. 739n.13). It is also significant that, as noted above (n. 128), the “sequel” to the *Prophecy*, evidently written after Alexander the Great had conquered Egypt, breaks off just before what was most likely an episode of royal incubation at the temple of Haroeris at Wenkhem. Thus two related Demotic narratives, written years apart, most likely featured the same pharaoh, Nektanebos II, engaging in incubation.

To these will be added an unpublished Demotic tale concerning Necho I (P.Carlsberg 57+465, being prepared for publication by Kim Ryholt; briefly noted in Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 200), in which the pharaoh awakens and recounts a dream to his court magician, who would have functioned as a dream interpreter (Ryholt, *ibid.*, 42–43; for the role of “magicians” as dream interpreters, see p. 719). Although the surviving text does not state where Necho had slept, there is a reference a few lines later to the pharaoh and another figure—perhaps the magician—leaving a temple of Horus-Khentykhet, which suggests that it had been at the temple (personal communication).

engaged in the ritual,¹³⁹ as well as tales concerning members of royal families doing so.¹⁴⁰ The earlier accounts of royal dreams, both those publicized by the pharaohs themselves and those ascribed to them centuries later, established a pattern that can be seen in reference to two Ptolemaic kings: the dream of

- 139 The most notable example is a Demotic text, apparently a student's exercise, dating to early Ptolemaic times that tells of an unnamed pharaoh entering the Apis bull catacombs of the Memphis *Sarapieion*, presumably in order to engage in incubation, and receiving a dream in which an apparition instructed him to demonstrate his piety in specific ways (Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. D 1994; quoted p. 415). The chronological setting of the episode, unfortunately, is unknown, since the earliest bull burials at these catacombs date back to the 18th Dynasty. In addition, a Demotic tale, *The Blinding of Pharaoh*, might be considered evidence for royal dreams and incubation during the Pharaonic Period because, even though the papyrus dates to c. 100 CE, the story it partly preserves, about a pharaoh whose name is lost receiving an oracular dream, appears to have the same source as one told by Herodotus concerning a ruler generically named Pheros (*i.e.*, "Pharaoh") who receives a similar oracle in an unspecified manner (Hdt. 2.111, with later versions in Diod. Sic. 1.59 and Plin., *H.N.* 36.15.74 likewise not specifying the oracular medium; see Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 320–322 and Quack 2013a, 66–69). According to the different versions of this story, the pharaoh is blinded by the gods as punishment for an offense he committed while in a rage, and is told by an oracle that if he washes his eyes with a liquid (tears or urine) from a virtuous woman his eyesight will return—but finding such a woman turns out to be impossible within the royal court, requiring him to look beyond the women of the palace, all of whom he executes for their vices after finally regaining his sight when a virtuous woman is found elsewhere (see *P.Petese* 11, p. 41). In the Demotic version, that oracle is issued in a dream presumably received at a temple, and the prescription he receives comes from an unidentified divine source:

[...] *pr-ꜥ3 lgy=f n di.t=f fy=w s | .[--- sdr Pr-ꜥ3 n=f n pꜣy grh n rn=f i.ir]r=f p'[r]y r-r=f n' rswy | iw=w mdw irm=f 'dd' .[di=w nꜣ lmi.w n w.t shm.t mnh.t hn] ir:t=k di=y grg=[w] nꜣy=k | nwe pꜣy=f 'hn' [tꜣ rswy r nꜣy nꜣw-nwe]r=f r-r=w šm pr-ꜥ3 r pr-Pr-ꜥ3* (*P.Petese* C, frag. 1, col. ii, ll. 2–5, with commentary at *P.Petese* 11, pp. 38–39, 43; trans. Ryholt).

[...] Pharaoh that he might recover again. He let himself be carried [...] Pharaoh slept in this night.] He saw himself in a dream in which he was told as follows: "[Let the tears of a virtuous woman be placed in] your eyes, and your sight will [be] restored." He awoke with a start from [the dream, these being the things] that [he had seen]. Pharaoh went to the royal palace.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether the version of this story involving a dream-oracle predates the Ptolemaic Period but was unknown to Herodotus, or was a later innovation.

- 140 The most prominent example is prince Setna's wife apparently engaging in incubation (see Appendix III.3), but see also Diodorus's reference to the (most likely fictional) princess Athyrtis divining in this manner regularly (see p. 80n.116).

Ptolemy IV recorded in the “Raphia Decree” during his reign,¹⁴¹ and the story preserved only in later and questionable non-Egyptian sources linking the origins of Sarapis to a dream of Pluto received by Ptolemy I.¹⁴² However, these accounts do not represent conclusive evidence that incubation was practiced in Egypt before the final decades of the Late Period or beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, nor do they indicate that ordinary worshipers were engaging in incubation before Ptolemaic times.

2.2.3 *Incubation and Dream-Divination among Non-Royals in Pharaonic and Post-Pharaonic Egypt*

While there is clear evidence for sanctuary personnel engaging in incubation on behalf of themselves and others in Ptolemaic times, similar sources do not

¹⁴¹ According to the trilingual “Raphia Decree,” which was issued by a synod of priests after the victory of Ptolemy IV over Antiochos III at Raphia in 217 BCE, the gods had protected Ptolemy during the recent military campaign, and before the battle “they revealed themselves to him, called to him, and gave him an oracle in a dream, that he would prevail over [all] his enemies [and that they would not] abandon him at any time which he would pass in the face of danger to himself, they being with him as protection to preserve him” (*kṛp*=w st r-r=f š=w n=f d=w n=f wšh n rsw(.t) d jw=f (r) dre r nzy=f ddy[.w dr=w mtw=w tm] | we r-r=f n š nb nt-jw,f ir=w wbš tzy=f sht(.t) jw=w mtw=f (n) sš r tj wgd=f) (*Raphia Decree*, Demotic Text, ll. 9–10, ed. and trans. Simpson (R.) 1996 (with modifications); see Thissen 1966, 52–53 and Hölbl 1994, 144–145). As Thissen has stated, it is not possible to determine whether Ptolemy received his dream through incubation. For the possibility that Sarapis and Isis were the gods to whom Ptolemy IV credited his victory at Raphia, see Bricault 1999.

¹⁴² For Sarapis’s origins, see pp. 403–405. Sarapis’s initial introduction to Alexandria was attributed to this dream, in which Ptolemy saw the colossal statue of Pluto in Sinope, and according to this tradition he subsequently contrived to bring it to Alexandria, whereupon it was recognized by the religious authorities as Sarapis (Tac., *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 28 (= *Mor.* 361F–362A)). On this tradition, see: Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 38–46; Sfameni Gasparro 2003, 138–142; McKenzie/Gibson/Reyes 2004, 79–81; Caroli 2007, 310–315; Barat 2010; Belayche 2011; Paarmann 2013, 260–269 *et pass.* (with often overlooked patristic sources at p. 262); and Quack 2013b, 247–249; cf. Mooren 1975, 32–33n.6 on the “friends” sent to Sinope to retrieve the statue. For other instances of the cult of Sarapis spreading in the aftermath of a dream, see the inscriptions recording the cult’s introduction to Delos and Opous, respectively (*IG* XI.4, 1299 (= *RICIS* 202/0101 + Pl. 39, cf. *RICIS Suppl.* III, p. 146); *IG* X.2, 1, 255; for these two documents, see pp. 390–391), and the papyrus regarding the establishment of a new and lesser *Sarapieion* in the Greek quarter of Memphis (*P.CairZen* I 59034; see pp. 421–422). The subject is discussed in Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 193–197 *et pass.* and Moyer 2011, 168–170 *et pass.* (For a parallel pertaining to Egyptian religion in the Seleucid kingdom, see Lib., *Or.* II.114, referring to a dream received by Seleukos II in which Isis told him she wished to move to Antioch, whereupon her statue was brought from Egypt by boat. On this passage, see Norris 1982, 190–192.)

exist for the Pharaonic Period. This may well be just a function of the types of sources that survive from Egypt's earlier periods: after all, since the "Chester Beatty Dream Book" required a specialized expertise to use it and appears to have been intended for priests who would interpret symbolic dreams, it is difficult to conclude that royalty would receive god-sent dreams but priests could not. Conventional priestly incubation of the sort later practiced at certain sites in Ptolemaic Egypt and elsewhere in the Greek world—*i.e.*, priests or cult officials seeking dreams on behalf of others—appears to have been unknown in Pharaonic Egypt, but a New Kingdom source on the elaborate ritual known as the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony may reveal that one of the numerous steps involved a *sem*-priest sleeping within an enclosed area in order to obtain a dream, which he subsequently conveyed to other participants.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, there are other viable interpretations of this episode, so it is impossible to conclude with certainty that part of the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony involved priestly incubation, and one certainly cannot extrapolate from this that during the New Kingdom incubation was being practiced by priests at sanctuaries. And, even if priests did do so under such circumstances, this cannot be taken as proof of incubation by ordinary worshipers, for which the evidence is likewise post-Pharaonic.

As discussed above, the earliest evidence for individuals—both royal and non-royal—receiving god-sent dreams dates to the New Kingdom, but after a period of more than half a millennium from which there are no surviving sources there is again evidence for divine dreams and dream-divination beginning in the Late Period, with the number and variety of the sources produced then and in Greco-Roman times greatly exceeding those from earlier times. While this could be attributed to an enhanced status for dreams in personal religion beginning in the Late Period, it is at least as likely to reflect changes in writing practices, with the recording of dreams becoming more desirable or conventional beginning then: thus the fact that no dream-related texts from between the New Kingdom and Late Period (*i.e.*, the Third Intermediate Period) survive does not necessarily suggest that dreams were considered insignificant, but rather may simply reflect differences in the epigraphical, pseudepigraphical

143 Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, Scenes 9–10. See Fischer-Elfert 1998, 8–39 *et pass.*, Szpakowska 2003a, 147–151, and Quack 2006b, 78–80; cf. Zibelius-Chen 1988, 281–282. The nature of the area in which the priest would sleep, the "Goldhaus," is unclear, and while it may have been a workshop (see Szpakowska, *ibid.*, 149, following Fischer-Elfert), evidence from Edfu suggests a rooftop location (see Coppens 2010, 53–54). For priestly incubation, see Appendix IV.

and literary habits of the time, as well as problems of preservation.¹⁴⁴ This is true both for dream books, which after the Ramesside-era “Chester Beatty Dream Book” do not reappear among surviving sources until the Late Period,¹⁴⁵

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- 144 The one text from the Third Intermediate Period potentially referring to a specific dream is the *Chronicle of Osorkon*, but it is not certain that Osorkon's revelation was received through the medium of a dream (see p. 88).
- 145 The earliest dream manuals other than the “Ramesside Dream Book” are two incomplete hieratic works dating to the Late Period (P.Berlin ÄM P 29009 and 23058, ed. Quack 2010b; see also Quack 2006a, 179–182). There are also Demotic dream manuals dating to the Roman Period and, in one case, the end of the Late Period or the early Ptolemaic Period: P.Carlsberg XIII and XIV verso, ed. Volten 1942 (with annotated partial translations in Quack 2008, 359–362, Nos. 4.4.1–4.4.2, and additional fragments and new readings to be published by Quack and Ryholt in an article in K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond* (forthcoming)); P.TebtTait 16–17; P.Berlin ÄM P 15683, ed. Zauzich 1980, 92–96, which proves to belong to one of several copies of a dream book, also including P.Berlin ÄM P 8769 + 15796 + P.Vienna D 6104 + 6633–6636 + 6644 + 6668, that Luigi Prada has edited in his dissertation (*Dream Books in Ancient Egypt: The Evolution of a Genre from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period; With the Edition of an Unpublished Demotic Dream Book* (diss. Oxford, 2014); see Prada 2012a, Prada 2012b, Prada 2014 and Prada 2015 for some of the early results of this work, as well as Prada 2013); P.Jena 1209, ed. Zauzich 1980, 96–98, which has been linked to newly identified fragments being edited by Prada (see Prada 2012a, 322 and Prada 2015, 265n.6 on P.Jena 1210 and 1403); and Quack 2006a, 182 notes that he is currently editing a second-century CE Demotic dream book from Tebtunis (P. Carlsberg 649 + P. CtYBR 1154 + PSI Inv. D 78 verso). (This dream book, which is another manuscript of the one partly preserved at Berlin and Vienna, will appear with two others, P. Carlsberg 490 + PSI Inv. D 56 and PSI Inv. D 61, in the aforementioned *Carlsberg Papyri 11* article by Ryholt and Quack.) There is also a fragment of a Greek dream book from Oxyrhynchus that dates to the third century CE and is thought possibly to be a translation from an Egyptian original, or at least closely connected to its Demotic counterparts (P.Oxy xxxi 2607, now masterfully reexamined in Prada 2016a; see also Prada 2013, 96–97). In addition, Quack has identified and just published a Ptolemaic dream book in the collection at Giessen (P.Giessen D 102, recto; see Quack 2016), while Prada has announced the discoveries of a dream book partly preserved in P.Berlin ÄM P 13591 and other fragments in the same collection dating to late-Ptolemaic and early-Roman times, as well as a Roman-era dream book likewise in Berlin (P.Berlin ÄM P 15507; see Prada 2015, 265). Prada has also reexamined some Cairo fragments that were edited by Spiegelberg and previously called into question by Quack and Ryholt (P.Cair 111 50138–50141 + Pl. 59; see Quack 2006a, 178 and Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 199n.204), showing that only one is from a dream book and the others pertain to animal omens (see Prada 2016c; previously

and inscribed accounts of dreams.¹⁴⁶ As seen above, some of these Late Period references to dreams are to be found in pseudo-epigraphical narratives about kings and princes, in addition to one public inscription in which a ruler, the Nubian Tanutamun, recorded a prophetic dream of particular note.¹⁴⁷ But, as had been the case during the New Kingdom, non-royal individuals were also being visited by gods in their dreams during the Late Period, as is demonstrated by a single document that was unearthed at the temple of Isis in Pompeii but must have originated at the temple of Herishef in Herakleopolis Magna. Known as the “Stele of Somtutefnakht,” this stele was most likely erected during the early Ptolemaic Period, but the unsolicited dream it records was received in 333 BCE, just after this “chief of the *wab*-priests of Sekhmet” had witnessed the Battle of Issos as one of the Egyptians in the Persian army.¹⁴⁸ According to Somtutefnakht’s brief account, Herishef had appeared in this dream and urged him to return to Herakleopolis, where he served the god for many years; and, since Somtutefnakht thanks the god for a long life, it is evident that the stele was prepared well after the dream was received. In addition to this record of a specific dream, the unpublished Heidelberg papyrus shows that during the Late Period there were already rituals associated with dream-divination at either a temple or in a domestic context.¹⁴⁹ Documents recording individuals’ dreams are much more common during the Ptolemaic Period, and a good number must have been unsolicited. However, the majority, at least among the published texts, belong to two Saqqâra archives from the mid-second century BCE—those of the low-level cult official Ḥor of Sebennytyos and semi-permanent resident Ptolemaios—and while these sometimes featured either Greco-Egyptian or native Egyptian gods, with the exception of some of those in the Ḥor Archive the contexts of the dreams were not preserved and it is usually only possible to speculate whether a dream was unsolicited, and if so whether it was thought to have been sent by a god.¹⁵⁰ There is, however,

announced in Prada 2012a, 322n.62). On Egyptian dream books, see also Quack 2010c. (I am grateful to Luigi Prada for suggesting improvements to this note.)

146 A comparable phenomenon is evident among the Greeks and Romans, both of whom were experiencing what they considered god-sent dreams long before it became a standard epigraphical practice to record them (see Renberg (in preparation), *a* & *b*).

147 Cairo JE 48863; see p. 87.

148 Naples, M.A.N. 1035, ed. Tresson 1931; trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 111:41–44; see Perdu 1985. For a discussion of this and other imported *Aegyptiaca* that found their way to Pompeii, see Swetnam-Burland 2007, 124–134 (especially pp. 126–127).

149 P.Heidelberg Dem. 5; see p. 75.

150 For the Ḥor and Ptolemaios archives, see Chapter 7.1 and Appendix XIV. Of Ḥor’s dreams that have been preserved, in contrast to those certainly or almost certainly received

significant evidence from the Ptolemaic Period for dreams that had been solicited through incubation.

The earliest known instances of an inhabitant of Egypt engaging in incubation date to the 260's BCE. The first of these, a Demotic *ostrakon* from 265 BCE, involves an Egyptian named Thotortaios sleeping in the sanctuary of Amun at Karnak and receiving a dream that prompted him to visit Amenhotep's sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari and seek a dream-oracle from Amenhotep that would cure his blindness—a document without parallel in Egypt.¹⁵¹ Another *ostrakon* from just four years later, dating to 261/0 BCE, was composed in Greek by an individual named Polyaratos, probably a Macedonian, who successfully engaged in therapeutic incubation at this same sanctuary of Amenhotep.¹⁵² In addition, another Demotic *ostrakon* dating five months earlier than Thotortaios's presents a less clear situation, since its dream-narrative cannot be linked to incubation, but it is thought to come from the area of Thebes, and may well have originated at Deir el-Bahari, too.¹⁵³ Another situation that is similarly ambiguous concerns a unique bilingual papyrus of unknown provenience from the third century BCE. Featuring an incomplete letter in Greek that refers to a dream and provides a (now fragmentary) dream-narrative written in Demotic, this text appears to pertain to divinatory incubation because the author, a man named Ptolemaios, records that just before going to sleep he had written two brief letters, which evidently served as oracle questions.¹⁵⁴ Some decades

through incubation (*O.Hor* 13, and perhaps 28 and 59), only *O.Hor* 1 (cf. 2–3), 8 and 9 appear to have both been unsolicited and featured divinities, while two of the dreams in the Ptolemaios Archive involved gods, though without knowing their context it cannot be concluded that either was thought to have been god-sent (*UPZ* I 77, col. ii, ll. 22–30 (see pp. 438–439n.117); *UPZ* I 78, ll. 35, 38). To the sources from these two archives can be added the Zenon Archive's letter by an individual named Zoilos reporting apparently unsolicited dreams from Sarapis that were most likely received at Saqqâra as well (*P.CairZen* I 59034; see pp. 421–422).

151 O.Brook. 37.1821E + Krakow, M.N. XI 989 (see Chapter 9.3).

152 *I.Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1 (see pp. 461–463).

153 O.Brit.Mus. 5671 (see p. 468n.58). Paleographical similarities with other *ostraka*, both the published O.Nicholson R. 98 (quoted pp. 468–470) and the unpublished O.Brit.Mus. 41260+50599, make it likely that this unprovenienced text originated at Deir el-Bahari, in which case it might have been the result of incubation (see p. 466n.54).

154 P.Cairo CG 10313+10328+30961 (see Chapter 9.5). For a survey of the role of oracle questions in Egyptian divination during all periods of antiquity, see especially Naether 2010, 359–410. In Greco-Roman times oracle questions there were written in Greek (see Schubart 1931, Papini 1992, and Brashear 1995, 3452–3456), Demotic (see Zauzich 2000 and Depauw 2006, 301–307), and Coptic (see Papini, *ibid.*, and Husson 1997). Regarding unpublished materials, see Di Cerbo 2004, 110–114 for an overview of nearly 200 Demotic

later, Ḥor of Sebennytyos engaged in incubation on several occasions, as the invaluable archive of Demotic and Greek *ostraka* he left behind attests. Such sources reveal that by the mid-Ptolemaic Period both ordinary individuals and those serving in cults appear to have been engaging in incubation as well as receiving god-sent dreams in non-incubatory contexts.¹⁵⁵ Overall, it is apparent that by the end of the Ptolemaic Period the phenomenon of ordinary individuals believing themselves to have received god-sent dreams had become a widespread feature of Egyptian religious life—even if it is not known when this first became so—and as a related development the inhabitants of Egypt appear to have been deliberately seeking therapeutic and prophetic dreams in increasing numbers.

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- and Greek oracle questions from the temple of Soknebtunis at Tebtunis discovered in 1997 and Gallazzi 2012 for a survey of 300 from the site, and Martin (C.) 2004 for the Demotic oracle questions from Soknopaiou Nesos. See also Frankfurter 1998, 159–162 *et pass.*, and Husson/Valbelle 1998 for the issue of priestly involvement in obtaining the oracles.
- 155 This even appears to have been reflected in later Egyptian fictional literature, especially if a partly preserved tale belonging to a Demotic cycle of stories about the priestly community at Heliopolis is at all representative of other works that are now lost. In one narrative, one of the main characters, a woman who marries the son of the chief scribe and apparently is herself the daughter of a prophet, may have been engaging in the practice: soon after her marriage, she goes to a place where she descends and either encounters or envisions a female figure who gives her a prophecy regarding her death (P.Carlsberg 422 + PSI Inv. D 11, summarized in Ryholt 2002b, 365–366). Because of the condition of the papyrus it is impossible to tell whether the young woman saw a goddess in a dream while engaging in incubation, but this is a distinct possibility. (The date of composition for this cycle of stories is unknown, but the surviving fragments date to the early Imperial Period. I have been informed by Kim Ryholt that new fragments of the papyrus have been identified.) Furthermore, a fragmentary passage of *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyān* may represent another instance of a non-royal, non-priestly figure engaging in incubation, since it concerns someone awakening from a dream—quite possibly the Hagrite, who in the tale may have been a courier—and afterwards going to a temple accompanied by servants, subsequently experiencing another dream that may have been received there (*Wenamun*, frag. 2, ll. 1, 6–8; see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 54–56 on the Hagrite, and 61–62 on the dreams; for this tale, see p. 510).

A Ptolemaic papyrus fragment preserving a small part of a narrative featuring a dream might also be pertinent, if its unidentified subject was not from a royal family, since even though the surviving text does not refer to incubation the mention of libations and offerings before the dream strongly indicates incubation (*P.DemMichaelidis* 3, ll. 6–7), which is an element found in *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyān* and elsewhere (see p. 17n.46). The fragment was published with another that is clearly mythological, and may or may not have been from the same narrative, though this cannot be determined (according to Joachim F. Quack, personal communication).

As shown above, if incubation was practiced at Egyptian sanctuaries before the Ptolemaic Period, no reliable evidence has survived, and at best there are scattered indications that those of royal lineage or priestly status may have done so, while the Heidelberg papyrus can only reveal that individuals might summon Imhotep for a prescription as they slept in an unspecified location. Thus none of these sources indicates that incubation had become commonplace by the end of the Late Period. However, when Egypt became Hellenized in the aftermath of Alexander the Great's annexation, more regular and widespread exposure to Greek religious beliefs and practices changed the nature of religion in Egypt, as occurred with so many aspects of Egyptian culture, and one such change appears to have been that incubation became a prominent form of divination and a staple of Greco-Egyptian religion into Late Antiquity. In other words, even if incubation was not of Greek origin, the sudden implantation of a Macedonian ruling class and numerous settlers, who joined the Greeks already present in Egypt going back to the seventh century BCE, would have accelerated the increase in cults and cult sites employing this form of divination. Perhaps significantly, one of the two earliest pieces of reliable evidence is the document showing that in 261/0 BCE the Macedonian or Greek named Polyaratos had visited the shrine of the native god Amenhotep and engaged in incubation, which suggests that at Deir el-Bahari and elsewhere a mutually beneficial situation was developing: the growing foreign-born population wished to continue their own traditional approach of consulting a god directly, and the native priesthood saw this as an opportunity to draw a new clientele to the worship of the gods they served. As is especially clear at both Deir el-Bahari and Saqqâra, by the second century BCE native Egyptians, both ordinary individuals and those serving a god, had adopted this divinatory method—and as the early-Ptolemaic documents discussed above suggest, this process of ritual incubation penetrating mainstream Egyptian religion would have started many decades before the bulk of the evidence. While in the case of Sarapis, a god purportedly introduced by Ptolemy I in the aftermath of a dream and one who held much greater appeal for the Greek-speaking population than his native forerunner Osorapis, the ethnicity of those consulting him through incubation is unknown,¹⁵⁶ in the case of other gods, most notably the “Egyptian saints” Imhotep and Amenhotep, sources do reveal ethnicity, with both Greeks and Egyptians attested for Amenhotep and Egyptians for Imhotep in Ptolemaic times (though the lack of evidence for Greeks seeking dreams

156 Sarapis was most likely being consulted primarily by Greeks, judging from the limited evidence for his worship among native Egyptians (see pp. 403–405).

from Imhotep is almost certainly a matter of sources not being preserved). During the Roman Period, the practice of incubation—both divinatory and therapeutic—is attested at additional cult sites, indicating that its popularity had grown.¹⁵⁷ Nor did the decline of these cults in Late Antiquity fully mark the end of this practice: at several churches and shrines in Egypt, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, a practice akin to incubation if not an actual form of incubation at some point became an element of Christian worship, primarily centered at tombs of martyrs and other saints.¹⁵⁸ Thus the Egyptians' belief in the significance of dreams—a belief that dreams existed “to show the way to the dreamer in his blindness” ((*n*) *tꜣy myꜥ n pꜣy=f nb iw=f gnm*), as stated in a

¹⁵⁷ The extent of this growth is unknown, since with the exception of the new cult of Antinous during the reign of Hadrian (see Chapter 9.8) and possibly that of Mandoulis at Talmis (see Appendix 1.8.10), the sites at which incubation is first detected in Roman times might already have had the practice introduced there centuries earlier. It is impossible to know, therefore, whether the evidence for incubation's level of popularity in Roman Egypt has rightly been associated with the noteworthy profusion of oracles during this time, or is merely a function of the large number of sources (on which see Frankfurter 1998, 174–179). In addition to the sources attesting to incubation in specific cults and at known cult sites discussed in later chapters, there are others that might pertain to incubation in Egypt in Roman times—suggesting that incubation in Egypt was not limited to the few sanctuaries that have provided the bulk of our evidence, and thus was a more widespread phenomenon than the other surviving sources reveal—but are each problematic. Foremost among these is a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus that dates to the third or fourth century CE and was identified as a fragmentary letter, and is notable for its reference to a one-eyed astrologer and the unknown writer's report that “having withdrawn I went to sleep” (ἀναχωρήσας ἐκοιμώμην) before returning in the evening, which has been interpreted by the original editors and Frankfurter as a possible reference to his having made a brief journey to a site where he engaged in incubation in daytime (*P.Oxy* LXI 4126, with commentary by A. Świderek and J.R. Rea; cf. Frankfurter 1998, 175, 212). If this is indeed a letter referring to incubation, it is impossible to determine whether it was divinatory or therapeutic, though the appearance of the adverb δεινῶς (“terribly”) has been thought to pertain to some sort of physical suffering. However, there is a strong possibility that the text is literary, in which case, even if a narrative concerning incubation, it would be of little value. (I am grateful to Dirk Obbink for his thoughts on this papyrus.) See also the papyrus by the priest Harsiesis referring to a prophetic dream that might have been obtained through incubation (*P.Leiden* T 32, col. vii, ll. 28–33; see p. 741).

¹⁵⁸ On “Christian incubation” in Egypt, see discussion in Appendix xvi. On the various divinatory media available in Egypt during Late Antiquity, see Frankfurter 2005a. For a brief discussion of a practice in modern Egypt that is essentially incubation by proxy, involving the consultation of demons on behalf of sick individuals, see El-Khachab 1978, 38.

first-century BCE Demotic wisdom text¹⁵⁹—continued long after the gods of Egypt had been abandoned.

2.3 Early Evidence for Incubation in Greece

As noted above, rather than developing originally among the Greeks, incubation appears to have been yet another religious practice that they adopted from the older cultures of the ancient Near East. It is impossible to determine just when Greek worshipers first began to visit specific sites in order to receive dream-oracles: some of their early legends may provide brief allusions, but can hardly be relied on. At Dodona, for example, a form of priestly incubation may have been practiced as far back as Homer's day, since a cryptic passage in the *Iliad*, the meaning of which was debated even in antiquity, contains a prayer by Achilles to Zeus that begins,

Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου, ἄμφι δὲ Σελλοὶ
σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.¹⁶⁰

Lord Zeus, Dodonian, Pelasgian, dwelling afar,
ruling over wintry Dodona; you around whom dwell the Helloi,
your interpreters, having unwashed feet and wont to lie upon the ground.

The reference to lying on the ground can be interpreted as an ascetic practice somehow believed to enable these individuals to perform their prophetic functions, but it may instead allude to ritual incubation undertaken by these “interpreters” within the sacred precinct.¹⁶¹ Since there are reasonable

159 P.Insinger, col. xxxii, 1, l. 13 (text from TLA, ed. G. Vittmann); trans. Lichtheim, *Wisdom Literature*, p. 230).

160 Hom., *Il.* 16.233–235; cf. Callim., *Hymn* 4.284–286. On the *Iliad* passage, including arguments favoring a reading of ΣΕΛΛΟΙ as σ' Ἑλλοί rather than as Σελλοί, see Janko 1992, 348–350. For the forms of divination employed at the Dodona sanctuary, see Tzouvara-Souli 1997 and Dieterle 2007, and for a general treatment of the site see Karademetriou 2004; cf. Frieze 2010, 365–367, Cat. No. 1.1.1.3. Oracle questions discovered at the site are collected in Lhôte, *Lamelles oraculaires* and *I.ChrestDodona*, with discussion in Eidinow 2007, 72–138. For priestly incubation, see Appendix IV.

161 One Byzantine source, Eustathius's commentary on the *Iliad*, claims that these prophets engaged in incubation while sleeping on animal skins atop the ground (χαμαὶ γάρ, φασί, δοραῖς ἐγκοιμώμενοι δι' ὀνείρων τοῖς χρωμένοις χρηματίζουσιν ἐκ Διός), but he cites no ancient

arguments both supporting and opposing the possibility that incubation was practiced at Dodona during the late Archaic Period, this is likely to remain an open question; however, it is certain that from the Classical Period onwards Zeus was not communicating through incubation there, nor is he ever linked to incubation elsewhere. Similarly, at Delphi, which in historical times was not associated with incubation, it has been suggested that there was an Earth oracle that issued dreams before Apollo's renowned oracle was installed, since Euripides, who elsewhere refers to the goddess Earth as "mother of black-winged dreams" (μελανοπτερύγων μάτερ ὀνείρων), in one play tells of nightly apparitions issuing from the oracular shrine after Apollo had ousted Themis—this, however, is more likely to have been a literary innovation.¹⁶² Neither of these works specifically refers to incubation, but one of Pindar's odes, dating to 464 BCE, proves that the concept was already known among the Greeks of the early Classical Period, even if it does not prove that they were practicing it. According to a version of the Bellerophon myth recounted by Pindar, the hero was instructed by a diviner (μάντις), identified in the *scholia* as Polyidos of Corinth, to sleep upon Athena's altar (ἀνὰ βωμῷ θεᾶς / κοιτάξατο νύκτ' ἀπὸ

authorities (Eust., *Il.* 16.235), and this detail may have been an assumption, reflecting knowledge of animal skins having been used for incubation elsewhere (for animal skins in incubation, see pp. 255–258). H.W. Parke lays out the arguments against incubation having been practiced by the Helloi/Selloi, making reasonable points, but with one exception: the limited evidence for priests at other sanctuaries engaging in incubation on behalf of inquirers discussed in Appendix IV should cast doubt on Parke's conclusion, followed by Anastasios K. Karademetriou, that if incubation had been practiced at Dodona it would have been visitors to the sanctuary rather than official diviners who attempted to receive prophetic dreams in this manner (Parke 1967, 9–10; Karademetriou 2004, 90). For the arguments supporting incubation at Dodona, see Delcor 1972 (following a line of scholars going back to Welcker 1850, 90–92; cf. Deubner (L.) 1900, 24, noting the possibility but not explicitly arguing it, and Kern 1903, 1260, an early opponent of the interpretation). On this topic see also the more recent discussions of Eidinow 2007, 60, 70–71 and Dieterle 2007, 33–34, the latter echoing Parke's assertion; cf. Nicol 1958, 135. In his commentary on this passage, Richard Janko does not discuss the incubation issue, but does provide examples of priests from other cultures sleeping on the ground (Janko 1992, 350); similarly, Chryseis Tzouvara-Souli in her lengthy treatment of divination at Dodona discusses these priests at length, but in her comments on the Homer passage make no reference to the possibility of incubation (Tzouvara-Souli 1997, 35, 41).

162 Eur., *IT* 1259–1282. "Black-winged dreams": Eur., *Hec.* 71. The main proponent of this possibility was E.R. Dodds (Dodds 1951, 91–92n.66, 110, 126n.49), who picked up on a suggestion by Rohde (Rohde 1921, 11:58–59 (p. 290 of 1925 translation); cf. Wacht 1997, 181, 183). Against the historicity of this and other myths concerning Apollo's predecessors at Delphi, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1987.

κεί/νου χρήσιος) in order to receive her advice on how to tame Pegasus, and the goddess rewarded him with a dream or waking vision in which she gave instructions and left him with a “horse charm” (φίλτρον . . . ἵππειον).¹⁶³

Putting aside Herodotus’s presumably unreliable account of Periander of Corinth (reigned c. 627–587 BCE) consulting the *nekyomanteion* at Thesprotia,¹⁶⁴ the earliest historical reference to incubation at an oracular site is Herodotus’s account of a man named Mys, who had been sent by the Persian commander Mardonios to consult several Greek oracles during the winter of 480/479 BCE, enlisting an unnamed individual to sleep at Amphiaraios’s shrine, which is clearly identified by the author as an incubation oracle:

ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντειλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. . . [134] οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἐξ τε Λεβιάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκητο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο . . . τοῦτο δὲ ξειόνον τινα καὶ οὐ Θηβαίων χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφεας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως, διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἐωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμαχῶ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.¹⁶⁵

163 Pind., *Ol.* 13.61–82. Since Athena was never again linked to incubation, and the cult site at Corinth with which this story is associated, that of Athena Chalinitis (“Bridler”) (Paus. 2.4.1), was not otherwise reported to be a place for divination (see Will 1955, 129–168 for the myth and cult; cf. Dümmler 1896, 1971), there is little reason to conclude that the myth hints at the real-life practice of incubation at the site. On Bellerophon’s incubation, see Dorati 2013, and for Polyidos, see Suárez de la Torre 2009, 172–173.

164 Hdt. 5.92.7; see Appendix 1.1.4.

165 Hdt. 8.133–134. See also Plut., *Vit. Arist.* 19.1–2 and Plut., *De def. or.* 5 (= *Mor.* 412AB), the latter preserving a somewhat different tradition, according to which the unnamed individual, identified as a Lydian in the *Life of Aristides*, dreamed of a cult official (ὑπηρέτης) of Amphiaraios appearing in the dream, rather than the divinity himself, and hitting the Lydian in the head with a large stone—the type of blow which turned out to be the cause of Mardonios’s death in battle. (Hdt. 9.64.2 records that Mardonios was killed by the Spartan Arimnestos, but not the manner of death.) Herodotus also lists Amphiaraios among the oracular divinities consulted by Croesus when he was seeking to establish which Greek oracle was the most reliable—which gives an indication of the site’s prominence—but no reference is made to the manner of consultation (Hdt. 1.46, 1.49, 1.52). For the Mardonios and Croesus episodes, see Sineux 2007a, 68–72, 190–192 *et pass.* and Terranova 2013, 107–113, 118–121. On Mys and his subsequent visit to the oracle of

He [*i.e.*, Mardonios] sent to the oracles a man from Europos named Mys, ordering him to go all over for the purpose of inquiring of as many as he was able to put to the test. . . . This Mys appears to have come to Lebadeia and bribed one of the locals to descend into the presence of Trophonios, and also to have come to the oracle at Abae in Phokaia. And moreover, he first came to Thebes, on the one hand making inquiry of Apollo Ismenios . . . and on the other bribing a certain foreigner, one who was not a Theban, whom he had lie down in the sanctuary of Amphiaraos. It is not possible for any of the Thebans to seek an oracle there for the following reason: communicating through oracles, Amphiaraos ordered them to select whichever of these options they wished, to employ him as a diviner or as an ally, giving up the other—and they had chosen him to be their ally. Due to this it is not possible for any of the Thebans to engage in incubation there.

The passage shows that this was considered to have been among the most important oracles in Greece, but which cult site Herodotus was discussing has been in dispute: some have claimed that the passage refers to the Oropos shrine, but it is more likely that Mys's consultation occurred in Theban territory, where the cult of Amphiaraos appears to have originated at a site that eventually declined and was overshadowed by the Oropos sanctuary.¹⁶⁶ Regardless of this issue, Herodotus's work represents good evidence that by the mid-fifth century BCE—and probably for some time earlier—Amphiaraos was considered an oracular divinity who communicated through dreams. At his Theban site it is likely that these dreams only pertained to oracular matters, but sometime after the establishment of his extra-urban Oropos sanctuary, located in the border district between Attica and Boeotia, the god was believed to be issuing therapeutic dreams, too.¹⁶⁷ While the possibility that Amphiaraos did so

Apollo Ptoios (Hdt. 8.135), see Robert (L.) 1950, who at pp. 31–38 argues that despite his Greek name Mys was probably a Carian from the city of Euromus, whose inhabitants were referred to as “Europeus.” For textual problems in the Plutarch *Moralia* passage that suggest it is not a source fully independent of Herodotus, see Flacelière 1946.

166 For the issues associated with the Theban site and its relationship to the Oropos *Amphiareion*, as well as the development of the latter, see Appendix x.

167 For the history of the Oropos *Amphiareion* through the Hellenistic Period, see Sineux 2007a, 73–109, 115–117; cf. p. 120n.1, providing references to the Roman Period. See also Terranova 2013, 261, on the importance of oracular dreams to the early cult. On therapeutic incubation at the *Amphiareion*, see Chapter 4.2 (with references to the primary studies of the cult at p. 272n.3); on divinatory incubation there, see Chapter 5.2.

from the start cannot be excluded due to the limited number of sources,¹⁶⁸ his medical functions are not attested until near the end of the fifth century BCE, when Aristophanes in his play *Amphiaraios* of 414 BCE, which was undoubtedly set in Oropos, appears to have presented characters engaging in therapeutic incubation and the god appearing in at least one dream.¹⁶⁹ It is far more likely, then, that it was at Oropos that *Amphiaraios* first functioned as a healing god, having been transformed under the influence of the cult of *Asklepios*, whose popularity in Attica grew rapidly in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE.¹⁷⁰ It is also possible that the Periclean Plague, which either precipitated or contributed to *Asklepios*'s relatively sudden prominence, provided an impetus for *Amphiaraios* to evolve into a healer who came to be valued for therapeutic dreams comparable to those of *Asklepios*.¹⁷¹

168 Noted by Schachter 1981–94, 1:23.

169 For the surviving passages of *Amphiaraios*, see Kassel-Austin, *PCG* 111.2, 41–51, frags. 17–40. On the play, see Sineux 2007a, 15–16, 76, 201–202. The exact plot is unknown, but appears to have involved an old man and his wife coming to the sanctuary either for reasons of health or to regain their youth. A one-line fragment quoting the god speaking to his daughter Iaso reveals that at least one of these characters saw *Amphiaraios* in a dream, while another fragment appears to be addressed to him by one of the characters (frags. 21 and 28, respectively). Another fragment may quote from an oracle, but there is reason to conclude instead that it was a parody of a magical incantation, although it is possibly both (frag. 29; see Faraone 1992).

170 See Petropoulou 1985, 176, who attributes *Amphiaraios*'s evolution into a healing god to the influence of *Asklepieia*, and Sineux 2007a, 20–21, 116–117, on the Athenians assimilating *Amphiaraios* to *Asklepios*, whose own cult was introduced to Athens around the same time that the cult of *Amphiaraios* at Oropos was beginning to flourish under the Athenians. For the god's establishment in Attica, see p. 186n.169 and next note.

171 Parker has suggested that the *Amphiareion*'s establishment was prompted by the Periclean Plague that began in 430 BCE (Parker 1996, 148–149). Even though the sanctuary may have been established before its advent (see Appendix x), it is certainly plausible that the god's transformation from purely oracular god into healing god was linked to this plague, as argued by Sineux (Sineux 2007a, 211–213). Such a conclusion would seem to find support in *Asklepios*'s introduction to Athens around the same time, which has traditionally been viewed as a response to the plague. (A new twist is to be found in Mitchell-Boyask 2008, 105–121, linking the god's establishment adjacent to the Theater of Dionysos to an association between drama and healing that became more pronounced during the plague. See also Lawton 2009, 79–80, suggesting that increased building and votive activity at Artemis's Brauron sanctuary was linked to the plague.) However, Wickkiser has now challenged this view, arguing that diplomatic politics more than plague—which by then was weakening—was the primary factor, with Athens seeking to gain favor in Epidaurus, an important Peloponnesian coastal city, during the Peace of Nicias (Wickkiser 2008, especially pp. 62–105, and Wickkiser 2009a; see also Saladino 2009, partly building on

Overall, as these sources suggest, the earliest form of incubation practiced in Greece appears to have been divinatory, whereas therapeutic incubation cannot be detected before the advent of the cult of Asklepios in the fifth century BCE and the development of the Oropos *Amphiareion* as a healing sanctuary sometime after this.¹⁷² By the end of the Hellenistic Period, incubation was well established in the Greek world, having become a feature of both Greek and non-Greek cults. Also, as discussed above, both types of incubation appear to have become more widespread in Egypt than they might otherwise have been, if not for the influence of the Greeks and later Macedonians who began living there during the Archaic Period. In contrast to the evidence from Egypt, which makes it all but certain that the number of sites offering incubation expanded in Ptolemaic and then Roman times, it is far less clear to what extent the number of incubation sanctuaries in the Greek world grew over time, and it is possible that the number was relatively stable by the Hellenistic Period. While the number of *Asklepieia* at which incubation was practiced grew along with the

Wickkiser's work in order to argue that Hippolytus's hero cult in the area of the *Asklepieion* was likewise politically motivated, and Lefantzis/Tae Jensen 2009, 114–115n.15). Regardless of whether Wickkiser's proposed political scenario is correct, her point that Asklepios was not known for treating people suffering from plague can also be applied to the cult of Amphiaraos, and therefore the cult's development, since Amphiaraos's function as a healer evidently was modeled on Asklepios's (Wickkiser 2008, 64–66 and Wickkiser 2009a, 57–58). Indeed, Wickkiser's observation that "Asklepios arrived too late and without the proper credentials to relieve Athens of the plague itself" could also be true of Amphiaraos if the estimates of his establishment at Oropos soon before 414 BCE are correct (see p. 674n.34 for the date). Moreover, the distance of Oropos from Athens and lack of evidence for the plague affecting so distant a frontier suggests that if Asklepios and Amphiaraos did treat those suffering its effects the lesser role would have been Amphiaraos's. It is thus difficult to conclude that the Periclean Plague was the cause of the *Amphiareion*'s establishment; however, even if it was not, the plague nonetheless may have brought about a renewed interest in healing gods, as Wickkiser points out, and therefore it is certainly possible that this crisis might have encouraged Amphiaraos's transformation at Oropos from an oracular divinity to one sought both for oracles and cures. Thus, even if Asklepios and Amphiaraos were not gods called upon to fight plague, they *were* protectors of health—or, in the case of Amphiaraos, would become one by the war's final decade—and this would have made them appealing to the inhabitants of Attica during the time and aftermath of the plague, regardless of any diplomatic considerations.

172 The earliest evidence for healing at the Epidaurus *Asklepieion* dates to the mid-fifth century BCE, although the relatively recent discovery of an older stoa beneath the remains of the one used for incubation at the height of the sanctuary's popularity suggests that it might have been practiced there as far back as the late-sixth century BCE (see Chapter 3.2.2).

cult's expansion, and at least one cult—that of Amphiaraos—evidently sought to emulate the sanctuaries, there is far less evidence regarding the practice's development at other cult sites, especially those associated with divinatory incubation. With few exceptions, most of these are known from evidence of the Roman Period, but this might say more about the available sources than about the importance (or lack thereof) placed on soliciting dream-oracles in earlier times. On the other hand, the well-documented interest in oracles evident at the height of the Roman Empire, which coincided with a similarly strong interest in dreams, suggests that some sites not previously associated with incubation might have begun to offer worshipers the opportunity to engage in the practice around that time. Thus the origins of both divinatory and therapeutic incubation among the Greeks as well as the chronology of their spread remain largely hidden from us.

2.4 Incubation among Other Peoples

At least as far back as the Classical and Hellenistic periods, incubation was also a fixture among certain tribes that were known to the Greeks. According to Herodotus (later echoed by Tertullian), the Nasamones, a Libyan tribe, would engage in incubation at tombs in order to obtain oracular dreams:

μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται· τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐνύπνιον, τοῦτω χρᾶται.¹⁷³

They divine by approaching the tombs of their ancestors and, having made prayers, they sleep upon [or, next to] them. Whatever they see in their dream they treat as an oracle.

Several centuries later the first-century CE geographer Pomponius Mela attributed precisely the same practice to a Libyan tribe identified as the “Augilae”:

*Augilae manes tantum deos putant, per eos deierant, eos ut oracula consulunt, precatique quae volunt, ubi tumulis incubuere, pro responsis ferunt somnia.*¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Hdt. 4.172; Tert., *Anim.* 57.10. On the Nasamones, see Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 698–699 and Kuhlmann (K.) 2013, 153–154.

¹⁷⁴ Pompon. 1.8.46. Cf. Plin., *H.N.* 5.8.45.

The Augilae think that only the *Manes* [*i.e.*, spirits of the dead] are gods: they swear oaths by them, consult them as oracles, and pray to them for what they want; when they sleep at their burial mounds the *Manes* bring dreams as oracular responses.

However, since Herodotus stated that the Nasamones annually visited the Augila oasis to harvest dates it appears that Mela's "Augilae" were in fact the Nasamones.¹⁷⁵ As among these Libyans, the practice of obtaining dream-oracles at tombs appears to have been popular in part or parts of Galatia, since Tertullian, citing the Hellenistic poet Nicander of Colophon as his source, stated that people vaguely identified as "Celts" would "spend the night among the tombs of heroic men" (*apud virorum fortium busta . . . abnoctare*) in order to obtain dream-oracles.¹⁷⁶ Knowledge of this type of practice in the Greek world may also be reflected in Aristotle's *Physics*, since in a discussion of human consciousness of the passage of time he refers to the insensibility of "those in Sardinia who are reported to sleep with the heroes" (τοῖς ἐν Σαρδοῖ μυθολογουμένοις καθεύδειν παρὰ τοῖς ἥρωσιν), linked by a later and questionable source to nine sons of Herakles whose bodies in death were so well preserved that they gave the appearance of being asleep and became the focus of hero cult.¹⁷⁷ While Aristotle's brief comment alone cannot be taken as evidence

175 For the likelihood that the seasonal visits by the Nasamones to the nearby Augila oasis (modern Awjilah) may have led them to be mistakenly identified as "Augilae," see Desanges 1980, 473. However, it cannot be ruled out that a tribe permanently inhabiting the region of the oasis (the Augilae) engaged in the same form of divination as nomadic visitors there (the Nasamones).

See Benseddik 2010, 1:342–347 for the persistence of incubation, including at tombs, in certain parts of North Africa up to modern times.

176 Tert., *Anim.* 57.10 (= *FGrH* 271–272 F 43). In a previous discussion of whether incubation was practiced in the Latin West I concluded that this passage must refer to one or more tribes in Gaul or Celtiberia (Renberg 2006, 118). However, as was subsequently pointed out to me by Kent J. Rigsby (personal communication), the fact that Nicander was an Attalid courtier whose poetic works were partly devoted to praising the king suggests that the "Celts" in question were the Galatians, *i.e.* the Celts of Asia Minor. If so, this would even further undermine the contention that incubation was practiced among non-Greek peoples of the western Mediterranean, since this had appeared to be one of the better pieces of evidence to support it, and thus its exclusion as evidence for western practices further supports my overall conclusion in that article. (For more recent claims of incubation in Celtiberia that point to Nicander, see Appendix I.11.)

177 Arist., *Ph.* 4.11 (= 218b23). Reference to Sardinian heroes in sleeplike repose and those who apparently slept close to them is first found in this passage, and then the sources are silent until Late Antiquity, when it is addressed in three commentaries on the *Physics*.

for an actual incubation shrine, it does appear to allude to the practice of sleeping at the tombs of heroes. Since one of the sixth-century commentators on this passage, Philoponus, linked Aristotle's heroes to therapeutic sleep, and the other, Simplicius, thought that sleeping there might have been done because of dreams, it is at least possible that in later centuries incubation or some other form of ritual sleep, perhaps therapeutic in nature, was practiced at an unknown cult site associated with them somewhere on Sardinia, at least for a time.¹⁷⁸

The most detailed of these references is to be found in Simplicius's sixth-century CE treatment, which provides a link between the heroes and Herakles's sons by the daughters of Thespios, and briefly discusses the nature and possible purpose of sleep that occurred near them (Simpl., *in Phys.* 4.11 (= *Comm. in Arist. Graeca* IX, 707.28–708.9, ed. Diels)). His contemporary Philoponus provided very different information, linking the heroes to ritual sleep lasting for five days that was intended to cure the sick (Phlp., *in Phys.* 4.11 (= *Comm. in Arist. Graeca* XVII, 715.14–24, ed. Vitelli)), while nothing significant was added by the fourth-century orator Themistius in what is merely a paraphrase of Aristotle (Them., *in Phys.* 4.11 (= *Comm. in Arist. Graeca* V.2, 144.5–7, ed. Schenkl)). See also Tertullian's possible allusion to the nine when he referred to a single Sardinian hero noted by Aristotle (Tert., *Anim.* 49.2, with Waszink (J.) 1947, 516–517; see next note). Giuseppe Minunno has now written the definitive study of these heroes and their worshipers, in which he undermines the identification of the heroes with the offspring of Herakles and the Thespiades—and with any link to a known myth, for that matter—and discusses the nature of the ritual or rituals to which these sources might allude (Minunno 2013). Minunno also suggests that μυθολογουμένοις in this context does not mean “in myth,” as it is traditionally interpreted, but rather indicates the report of something unusual, and thus that Aristotle was not alluding to a myth (*ibid.*, 554).

- 178 Though Rohde well over a century ago in an influential two-part discussion raised doubt about whether these sources should be linked to incubation, noting that Aristotle describes a sleep characterized by a loss of perception and therefore is contrary to the very purpose of incubation (Rohde 1882, 466 (pp. 205–206 of 1901 reprint); see also Rohde 1880), and this was echoed by J.H. Waszink (Waszink (J.) 1947, 517), several scholars have assumed that Aristotle and the later writers had in mind a site at which incubation was practiced (see Wacht 1997, 199, Didu 1998 and Didu 2003, and Caria 2009, 42–46, as well as the works cited in Minunno 2013). In addition to the brief question raised regarding the reliability of these sources as evidence for incubation in Renberg 2006, 110, see Minunno's more detailed examination of the issue, in which he emphasizes both Rohde's point and that Aristotle's reference to the sleepers' obliviousness is contradicted by Simplicius's claim regarding those who slept among the heroes doing so “for a dream or some other need” (δνειρων ἐνεκεν ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς χρείας), while also entertaining other explanations that have been raised by various scholars (Minunno, *ibid.*, 557–559). This includes such possibilities as that sleeping near these Sardinian heroes was thought to be therapeutic (which finds support in Philoponus's comment about a five-day period of sleep leading to

Scattered references to traditions of seeking dream-oracles at tombs among the Israelites and Egyptians suggest that this may have been a more widespread phenomenon than extant sources reveal: in addition to the passage in *Isaiah* quoted in the previous chapter and Jerome's commentary on the passage in which he refers to the same practice in his own day, the abbot Shenoute of Atripe in a partly preserved Coptic homily of the mid-fifth century CE entitled *Those Who Work Evil* railed against "Those who sleep in tombs for the sake of a vision and who question the dead [*i.e.*, martyrs] for the sake of the living," indicating that it was continuing in Egypt during Late Antiquity.¹⁷⁹

a recovery), or was done as a rite of passage. He also considers that the later sources may pertain to the so-called "tombi di giganti" found on Sardinia—*i.e.*, the roughly 400 enormous aboveground, communal tombs of Nuragic culture, mostly thought to date from the mid-second to the early-first millennia, that are scattered all over the island (see Hoskin 2001, 175–192, especially pp. 183–188; cf. Didu 1998, 81–82)—which might have been explained as tombs of figures from Greek myth. Minunno even considers that Tertullian's odd reference to a single hero according to Aristotle "depriving incubators at his shrine of visions" (*Aristoteles heroem quendam Sardiniae notat, incubatores fani sui visionibus privantem*) reveals that "the aim of sleeping near heroes would have been to become free of obsessive visions" (a practice one would not expect at a Hellenic site, and which Minunno rightly questions, suggesting that *visionibus privantem* is based on Aristotle's comment about insensate sleep). (On the possibilities of the Tertullian passage alluding instead to the cult of Sardus Pater and of the perhaps related hero Iolaos providing dream-oracles on Sardinia, see p. 526n.2.) To Minunno's various points should be added two more: unlike the two later commentators, Themistius would have been in a position to know if incubation was being practiced at whatever site Aristotle had in mind, or had been practiced there until the Christian emperors began their assaults on pagan temples and rituals, and thus his silence on the matter is perhaps telling; and, as is discussed later, those consulting Trophonios at his oracle apparently experienced an altered state of consciousness that was not necessarily dreaming, and this might represent a parallel of sorts for the Sardinian site (for the *Trophonion*, see Appendix 11.2; see Minunno, *ibid.*, 557, on the possibility that Aristotle pointed to the Sardinian site because the experience there *had* no Greek parallels). Overall, it is possible that one or more of these sources may allude to a *heroon* or some site associated with ancestral burials at which incubation was practiced, but the evidence is much too unreliable—even if, as Minunno does, one simply defines incubation as "ritual sleeping in a sacred place" (*ibid.*, 558), or treats "Sardinian incubation" as distinct and specifically referring to "a dreamless ritual sleep performed near the graves of one's ancestors" (*ibid.*, 559).

179 For *Isaiah* 65:4, see p. 32; for the problematic claim that incubation was being practiced at the tomb of the Seven Maccabee Brothers near Antioch in Late Antiquity, see p. 778n.66. For Jerome, see pp. 256–257. Shenoute, *Those Who Work Evil*, ed. and trans. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Shenoudi* 1:220 (translation based on Amélineau's). On this passage, see Frankfurter 2010, 32. A passage in a fragment from a lost homily of Shenoute that

Such a comment echoes a criticism leveled by the emperor Julian against the Christians a full century earlier in his lost *Against the Galilaeans*, though in both cases it is unclear whether an informal folk belief in sleeping at tombs in order to seek dreams was intended, or the eventually formal practice of sleeping at martyrs' tombs seeking aid that would sometimes come in a dream, and from the hagiographic sources appears to have been almost exclusively therapeutic in nature (i.e., "Christian incubation").¹⁸⁰ In contrast to references for other peoples engaging in incubation at tombs, there is also a single source for incubation at what was most likely a sanctuary: far to the east, near the coast of the Caspian Sea, the city of Anariake was famous for an "oracle for incubaters" (μαντεῖον ἐχοιμωμένων) in Strabo's day.¹⁸¹ To this might be added a passage in

briefly refers to "people who dream dreams like those in places for oracles" and warns against "their deceptive enticements which they utter privately" appears to allude to the same form of dream-divination attacked by him in *Those Who Work Evil*, or a similar form (Young, *Coptic Manuscripts*, 23–25, No. 1; see Wiśniewski 2013, 208). Also relevant is a passage in one of Athanasius's festal letters, preserved in a Coptic translation, that shows him in 370 CE criticizing a form of divination practiced among tombs, but using ambiguous language that has raised the possibility that the bishop was criticizing incubation rather than the popular process of interrogating demon-possessed individuals at tombs, whereas Shenoute in *Those Who Work Evil* clearly refers to both dream-divination and such interrogations (Athanasius, *Ep. Fest.* 42, ed. and trans. Lefort 1955, 1:66 (text), 11:47 (trans.); Italian translation in Camplani 2003, 538–544, at §31; on this letter, see Camplani 1989, 273–275; for the interpretation of the passage as referring to possession rather than incubation, see Wiśniewski 2005, 146–148 and Wiśniewski, *ibid.*, 208n.30, following Brakke 1998, 469–470; cf. Brakke 1994, 414 and Brakke 1997, 17, and Frankfurter 2010, 31).

180 Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 82, ed. Masaracchia (= 339E-340A, ed. Neumann); for Christian incubation, see Appendix XVI (quoting Julian at pp. 754–755). Cyril of Alexandria quoted Julian's reference to the Isaiah passage and his mention of the continued practice among Jews and Christians as part of a rebuttal of the former emperor's broader accusations regarding Christian reverence for the dead (presumably martyrs), thus preserving the emperor's comments in a work that is now lost (Cyril, *C. Iul.* 10, 335–343 (= PG 76, 1016C–1029A)). A possibly related phenomenon dating to a much earlier period might be revealed by the New Kingdom "Letter on a Stele" (see Appendix XIII); more significantly, a form of incubation set among tombs of prominent figures was a widespread feature of medieval and pre-modern Islam, including in Egypt (see Green 2003, 307–309).

181 Strabo 11.7.1, p. 508; cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. "Ἀναρίακη." The prominence of the site's dream-oracle was thought by Ernst Herzfeld to be reflected in the name "Anariake" itself (Herzfeld 1968, 125–126; not accepted by Radt (S.) 2002–11, VII:274), but connecting it to the Greek dream term (e.g., ὄνειρος) creates a false etymology. Instead, the name "Anariake" would ultimately be of Iranian origin, meaning "non-Iranian" or "unmanly," and perhaps by extension "exotic," "alien," or "unnatural," but more immediately may have come from a loan word in Armenian, *anari* ("monstrous"), derived from one of two roots, **a-narya*

Josephus describing the Jewish high priest Jaddus apparently engaging in incubation (κατακοιμηθέντι . . . ἐχρημάτισεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους) on the Temple Mount in the time of Alexander the Great, which may not be historical but perhaps nonetheless reveals that in post-exilic Judaism incubation could be practiced by priests, at least in times of crisis.¹⁸² Similarly, there is reason to suspect the possibility that a specialized form of incubation was practiced at the therapeutic baths of Gadara by the local population in Greco-Roman times, though this may have been started by the Christians in early Byzantine times.¹⁸³ Such sources as these and the ones discussed above, perhaps complemented by the cryptic comment by Tatian in his *Oration to the Greeks* that “the most esteemed of the Telmessians discovered divination through dreams” (Τελμησσέων . . . οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τὴν δι’ ὀνείρων ἐξεύρον μαντικήν),¹⁸⁴ suggest that incubation was to be found among a number of ancient peoples on the peripheries of Greek and Roman civilization, though due to the relatively limited focus on them among ancient authors it is impossible to know to what extent this was the case.

(“unmanly”) or **an-arya* (“not Iranian”). The latter is to be found in the Greek text of the trilingual “*Res Gestae*” of Šapur I inscribed near Persepolis in reference to his being “king of kings of Iranians and non-Iranians” (Σαπῶρης βασιλεύς βασιλεῶν Ἀριανῶν καὶ Ἀναριανῶν) (*I.Estremo Oriente* 261, l. 1), and seems a more likely explanation of the name, though one indicating the strangeness of the place and its people cannot be ruled out. (For the linguistic issues associated with Armenian *anari*, though not the name “Anariake” itself, see de Lamberterie 1989. I am grateful to James Russell for suggesting this explanation of Anariake’s name.)

182 Jos., *AJ* 11.326–328. See Gnuse 1993, arguing that Josephus’s treatment was influenced by biblical narratives concerning Solomon and others receiving dreams, and that the episode itself was a “literary fiction.” See also Flannery-Dailey 2004, 161–162 *et pass.*

183 See Appendix xvii.

184 Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 1.1. Based on the unrelated sources associating Carian Telmessos with divination and lack of comparable evidence for Lycian Telmessos, Tatian’s comment almost certainly applied to the former, including the Telmessians among the non-Greek peoples from whom the Greeks had gained divinatory expertise (see Harvey 1991).

PART 2

Greek Cults



Therapeutic Incubation in the Greek World: Asklepios

3.1 Introduction

The sanctuaries and shrines of many different gods and heroes in Greece, the Greek islands, and the rest of the Greek-speaking world were regularly visited by those seeking dream-oracles, but few of these sites ever equaled the major *Asklepieia* in terms of fame and popularity.¹ This is quite understandable:

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- 1 For detailed treatments of incubation in the cult of Asklepios, most of which are included in broader studies of the cult or other subjects, see: Pietschmann 1896, 1686–1690; Lefort 1906; Herzog 1931; Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:139–180 *et pass.* (with pertinent testimonies collected in 1:194–254, Test. Nos. 382–442); Roos 1960; Taffin 1960; Behr 1968; Martin/Metzger 1976, 62–109; Guarducci, *EG* IV:143–166; Müller 1987 (especially pp. 223–233); Graf 1992; Dillon 1994; Wacht 1997, 187–195, 211–226; Wells 1998, 13–101, 251–338; Steger 2004, 104–165 *et pass.*; Sineux 2004a, Sineux 2006a, Sineux 2006b, Sineux 2007b, Sineux 2007c, Sineux 2008, and Sineux 2012; Naiden 2005; Riethmüller 2005, 1:382–392 *et pass.*; Wickkiser 2006; Renberg 2006–07, 128–134; Manuwald 2007; Marksches 2006a, 188–197 (pp. 63–74 of 2008 reprint) and Marksches 2007, 166–177 (essentially identical; cf. Marksches 2006b, 1233–1237, a shorter version); Gebbia 2007; Wickkiser 2008, 46–50 *et pass.*; Nissen 2009, 227–259; Benseddik 2010, 1:216–218 *et pass.* (but a work to be used with caution, as it excludes almost all important scholarship appearing after the author's 1995 doctoral thesis); Versnel 2011, 400–421; Israelowich 2012; Martzavou 2012; Cilliers/Retief 2013; Petridou 2014. Three books that primarily devoted to the inscriptions pertaining to incubation are especially valuable: Lynn R. LiDonnici's text, translation and commentary of the supremely important Epidauros testimonies (LiDonnici 1995); Maria Girone's volume devoted to all of the healing-related texts *other than* these testimonies (Girone, *Iamata*); and, the study of Greek healing inscriptions, almost all testimonies or first-person accounts linked to Asklepios, by Clarisse Prêtre and Dr. Philippe Charlier, the latter a paleopathologist, which represents the first analysis of these materials undertaken jointly by an ancient historian and a medical expert (Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*).

See also: Rosenthal 1956, 60–76 *et pass.*, an often overlooked work on a lost treatise ascribed to Galen, the *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath*, which is an important source for the mythological origins of Greek medicine (on which see now Van Nuffelen 2014, 345–351); Kudlien 1981, surveying Galen's religious beliefs but with a primary focus on Galen and Asklepios; Oberhelman 1993, including incubation dreams in a broader study of dreams in ancient medicine; Krug 1993, 120–187, a general but useful treatment of the cult; Armpis 1998; Hart 2000, a well-researched and well-illustrated work on the cult of Asklepios aimed at a somewhat broad readership; Dorati 2001, comparing the accounts of healing miracles

dozens of divinities produced omens or oracles and thus there were countless alternatives to the relatively few sites devoted to obtaining dream-oracles through divinatory incubation, but there was only one Panhellenic god who exclusively practiced medicine,² and was so revered for his success that he was

at Epidauros with those later attributed to saints; Gorrini 2002–03, a survey of all hero cults in Greece linked to healing, with extensive discussion of Asklepios (at pp. 174–179 *et pass.*); Kranz 2004, a study of the god's iconography in sculptures and Pergamene coins; Weisser 2006, on Asklepios coins from Athens, Epidauros and Pergamon; Perilli 2006*b*, on the evidence for libraries with medical writings at *Asklepieia*, along with physicians; Melfi 2007*a*, a detailed archaeological study of *Asklepieia* in Greece; Melfi 2007*b*, a comprehensive study of the Lebea *Asklepieion*, one of the most important sites for the study of incubation; Melfi 2007*d*, on Asklepios and intellectual elites; Nissen 2007, a study of Asklepios and physicians drawing from the epigraphical evidence; Sineux 2007*a*, 159–214, a discussion of incubation in the cult of Amphiaraos that makes abundant use of sources from the Asklepios cult; Sfameni Gasparro 2007*b*, focusing especially on the letter of Ps.-Thessalos, magic, medicine, and Asklepios's Egyptian counterpart Imhotep/Imouthes (see Chapter 7.4); Stafford 2008, partly exploring the origins of Asklepios's cult and sacrificial practices for the god; the articles published in De Miro/Sfameni Gasparro/Calì 2009; Hupfloher 2009, on healing cults in Achaia, but largely focusing on Asklepios; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, a work focusing on Aristides and Pergamon containing much that is useful, though its theoretical approach is characterized by numerous questionable statements and passages (cf. Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, largely replaced by the monograph); Brockmann 2013, devoted to Galen and Asklepios; and Nutton 2013, 104–115, 282–286, putting Asklepios's healing in the context of ancient medicine and providing a broad overview of the cult and the sources for it. The belief that a god could appear in people's dreams and cure them has drawn attention from those interested in psychology and dreams, and thus several studies have at least partly focused on the cult of Asklepios from this angle: *e.g.*, Taffin 1960, Siefert 1980 (at pp. 343–344), Meier 1985; Rousselle (R.) 1985; Aché 1989; Kivalo 1989; Cilliers/Retief, *ibid.*, 82–86. [See also p. 270 *addendum*.]

- 2 “Exclusively” may be a slight overstatement, as there is scattered evidence for Asklepios being consulted on matters that were not health-related. This, however, has been overlooked by all but a few (see Herzog 1931, 112–123, Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:104–105 (with additional references), and Dillon 1994, 242–243; cf. Ginouvès 1962, 337–339, 373, unconvincingly linking the use of water in his cult to the god's prophetic powers). The earliest example would be three testimonies in the fourth-century BCE Epidaurian “Miracle Inscriptions,” which both emphasized Asklepios's helpful qualities as well as his divinatory powers: in one the god shows a father where to find his missing son, leading to the child's discovery trapped among the large rocks where he had gone swimming (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 19–26 (= Test. No. 24)); in the next, he hints to a widow where she will find her husband's hidden treasure (*IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 8–21 (= Test. No. 46); see Stramaglia 1991 for this story's folkloric elements); and, in the third, despite the text's fragmentary nature it is possible to infer that a man had sailed from Peiraeus and slept at the sanctuary seeking information on missing gold (*IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 117–123 (= Test. No. 63)). (A more curious example is the case of Asklepios teaching a winning *pankration* move to a patient who had come to the sanctuary because of a headache, and therefore was

frequently referred to by the epithet Σωτήρ (“Deliverer” or “Protector”).³ Such was Asklepios’s association with health that he was considered the father of the goddess Hygieia (“Health”) herself, who was often represented with him

seeking a therapeutic dream (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 50–55 (= Test. No. 29)). See Aristid., *Or.* 42.11 for a similar claim regarding a contemporary boxer who received infallible tips from Asklepios in a dream, though it is not stated where that dream was received (quoted p. 9n.17).)

The bulk of the evidence for Asklepios being a god from whom dream-oracles were received comes from well after the Classical Period, however. The most explicit statements regarding the god’s oracular powers are in two passages from the Christian theologian Origen’s attack on Celsus which preserve this pagan philosopher’s statements regarding Asklepios healing and predicting the future (Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.3, 3.24; see p. 203). A rare example of a recorded oracle (χρησις) of Asklepios, though not necessarily one solicited through incubation, is found in an inscription from Pergamon dating to the mid-second century CE. Inscribed on a statue base, the text quotes an oracle announcing to the admirers of a recently deceased individual, as well as the city of Pergamon itself, that this prominent figure had been a great hero in a previous life (perhaps Achilles), and presumably this oracle was issued in a dream (*I.Pergamon* 3, 34, ll. 16–21 (= *Steinepigramme* 1, 583, No. 06/02/03); see Jones 2003, 129–130, arguing that the oracle pertained to an ancestor of the sophist Hermokrates of Phokaia (*Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 483 (K. Stebnicka)) rather than the sophist himself). Aristides’s *Sacred Tales*, in which the recorded dreams primarily pertain to the author’s health, also preserves an example of this individual receiving a dream from Asklepios on a matter pertaining to whether he should serve as tax-collector (Aristid., *Or.* 50.94–99), and later in the work Aristides states that he must consult Asklepios before accepting a vote that he should serve as priest (Aristid., *Or.* 50.102; for the *Sacred Tales*, see n. 196). At the Kos *Asklepieion*, where the evidence for incubation is more limited, a *diagraphē* document recording architectural and decorative improvements around 170–150 BCE refers to oracles (χρησμοί) from the god and epiphanies that prompted the effort, suggesting dream-oracles possibly obtained through incubation (*IG* XII.4, 1, 311, ll. 29–37 (= Interdonato 2013, 235–240, No. 13)). Other evidence for Asklepios’s oracular function is implicit or indirect. An example of indirect evidence is in Lucian’s account of Alexander the “false prophet” and his oracle at Abonuteichos, in which the god Glykon refers to himself as the “new Asklepios” (Ἀσκληπιὸς νέος), and since Glykon issued oracles as well as prescriptions this might be partly alluding to Asklepios’s oracular powers (Lucian, *Alex.* 43). Similarly, these powers may be implicit in a passage in Lucian’s *Council of the Gods* in which Momus reads aloud Hypnos’s proposed decree specifying, among other things, that just as Athena should no longer cure, Asklepios should no longer issue oracles, and Apollo should no longer do so many things himself (ἐργάζεσθαι δὲ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον, καὶ μήτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἰᾶσθαι μήτε τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν χρησμοῦδεῖν μήτε τὸν Ἀπόλλων τοσαῦτα μόνον ποιεῖν) (Lucian, *Deor. Conc.* 16).

- 3 Though uses of the epithet Σωτήρ and forms of the related verb σώζειν with respect to Asklepios are rarely attested in literary sources, these appeared regularly in dedications to Asklepios and other inscriptions pertaining to his cult, as is especially well documented at Pergamon (see *I.Pergamon* 3, p. 196, s.v. “Asklepios Soter”), but also evident elsewhere, including

and worshiped at his sanctuaries beginning in the late-fifth century BCE if not earlier,⁴ and whose prominence in the cult is attested by Aristides's comment that Hygieia was the equal of all her sisters (ἡ πάντων ἀντίρροπος).⁵ In a world of countless health hazards, gods who healed were constantly in demand, especially when human medical practitioners had reached the limits of their expertise.⁶ With the exception of what appears to have been a small number

Lebena (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 24, 26 *adn.* (= Melfi 2007*b*, Nos. 43, 46)), Athens (*IG* 11² 4368; *SEG* 23, 124 (quoted n. 163)), Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 11.1, 750 (= *Steinepigramme* 1, 504, No. 05/01/06)), and Rome (*IGUR* 1 151 (= Renberg 2006–07, 157, No. 36)). In literature the earliest example is to be found in a papyrus fragment thought to preserve verses of Menander (or an unidentified playwright) in which a character whose life has been turned around says that the feeling is “just like having incubated at Asklepios’s and been delivered” (ὥσπερ εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ / ἐγκατακλιθεὶς σωθεὶς τε) (P.Louvre 7172(2) (formerly P.Didot 2), ll. 11–12, ed. Arnott (= Kassel-Austin, *PCG* VIII, 292–293, *frag. com. adesp.* 1001); see Gomme/Sandbach 1973, 726–729 and Legras 2011, 193–196 on the papyrus and the lost comedy’s authorship, and Wickkiser 2010*b* on the character’s speech itself). The belief in the god as one who could “save” or “deliver” his worshipers from grievous threats to their health was perhaps most famously recognized in the identification of the older temple at the Pergamon Asklepieion and the sanctuary’s hereditary priesthood with Asklepios Sōtēr (see *I.Pergamon* 3, pp. 92–96 for this priestly family). There are also several examples of the epithet Σωτήρ (or noun σωτήρ used in apposition) and also σώζειν in reference to Asklepios scattered throughout Aristides’s *Sacred Tales* and other orations, as well as in Aelian and certain late philosophical and scholarly works (e.g., Aristid., *Or.* 42.4, 48.40, 50.9, 50.38, 53.3; Ael., *NA* 10.49 and *frag.* 101D, ed. Domingo-Forasté (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:265–266, No. 466); Julian, *Hymn to Helios* 39; Syrianus, *Comm. in Arist. Metaph.* 997b26, p. 26, ed. Kroll; Marin., *Procl.* 29). General treatments of this epithet include: Pietschmann 1896, 1677–1678; van Straten 1974, 177–183; Müller 1987, 203–204; and Nissen 2009, 253–254 (with additional examples, not all of which are health-related). For Asklepios over time having become “more majestic, more encompassing, all-powerful” and gained recognition as “the great saviour” in addition to being the subject of aretalogies hailing his feats, see Versnel 2011, 412–416. See also Habicht 2001 and Habicht 2002, on dedications made by people who believed themselves to have been saved by a god or gods in some manner (including Asklepios). (Such language was not limited to *gods* who were invoked or thanked for their healing powers or saving people, as the medical literature features a number of examples of references to doctors who had “saved” patients (see van Brock 1961, 230–234).)

4 For Hygieia’s cult and iconography, see especially Stafford 2005 and Stafford 2000, 147–171, Leventi 2003, and Kranz 2010; see also Croissant 1990. For the problem of how to distinguish Hygieia from Asklepios’s rarely seen consort Epione and daughters Iaso, Akeso, Panakeia and Aigle, see Leventi, *ibid.*, 46–54 *et pass.* and Kranz, *ibid.*, 56–58 *et pass.* See also Stafford 2005, 130–132 on these female offspring of Asklepios, as well as his sons Machaon and Podalrios (on whom see p. 304n.80).

5 Aristid., *Or.* 38.22.

6 See p. 23.

of sanctuaries of local gods or heroes who healed through incubation at these sites—most notably Amphiaraos, whose cult at Oropos was so similar to that of Asklepios that it can often serve as a useful comparandum or even proxy⁷—Asklepios was the only Greek god who, in addition to responding to simple prayers for health, was believed to attend on his ailing worshipers by healing them as they slept or instructing them through dreams on how to regain their health. This combination of a near monopoly on therapeutic incubation and the god's track record of widely heralded successes, as well as his valuable role as protector of health,⁸ established Asklepios as one of the few Greek gods whose major sanctuaries attracted worshipers from throughout the Greek world. Of the scores of sanctuaries of Asklepios in Greece and the islands, the Greek East and Magna Graecia that have been identified in written sources or through excavation, just over a dozen are known to have provided incubation facilities and roughly a half dozen are reasonably believed to have done so, and undoubtedly many others did as well.⁹ It is also almost certain that incubation was practiced in at least one of his sanctuaries in the Latin West, where his name was most often written as "Aesculapius" but also appeared in variant forms or as the Latinized form of the Greek, "Asclepius."¹⁰

Such sanctuaries usually served those living in a city and its surrounding region, but some *Asklepieia* were large and prominent enough to serve the

7 See Chapter 4 for Amphiaraos and these other Greek divinities.

8 As is documented by a wealth of sources, Asklepios was among the gods commonly prayed to by healthy individuals who wished for him to ensure their continued well-being. He was, however, named or featured on amulets surprisingly rarely (see Mastrocinque, *Intailles magiques*, pp. 138–139).

9 A catalog of all known *Asklepieia* and other sites associated with the god has been produced by Jürgen W. Riethmüller, which renders the few previous surveys, most notably Semeria 1986, obsolete (Riethmüller 2005; but consult Gorrini 2007 and Renberg 2009 on this work's drawbacks). Riethmüller catalogs 171 cult sites in Greece and 732 in other lands, but these figures are inflated, since they include numerous sanctuaries that were primarily devoted to another god, minor shrines of Asklepios, and other sites that cannot be considered proper *Asklepieia*. Also essential is Milena Melfi's work on *Asklepieia* in Greece, which is limited to excavated sites (Melfi 2007a). The *Asklepieia* specifically believed to have offered incubation have been surveyed in Wacht 1997, 187–195, and Riethmüller has also identified these throughout his work, though not in a single list or section. As is argued in this chapter and also shown in Appendix I, the composite list of *Asklepieia* associated with incubation is in need of some revision, since too many sites have unconvincingly been linked to the practice.

10 For the varying spellings of the god's name, see Renberg 2006–07, 87n.1. In the present work "Asklepios" is used in all cases except for those pertaining to a Latin text or cult site in the Latin West other than those of Magna Graecia.

needs of visitors from afar in addition to the local populations, just as the major sanctuaries of Zeus or Apollo drew worshipers whose own cities were endowed with perfectly adequate temples of those gods.¹¹ This was especially true of the sanctuaries of Epidauros, Kos and Pergamon—sanctuaries prominent enough to receive imperial patronage or visits on occasion, but more significant for the countless less heralded and unheralded individuals who journeyed to these sites.¹² Thus, for example, the most detailed dedicatory text from Epidauros—or any *Asklepieion*—was composed by a Carian, Marcus Julius Apellas, who sailed there from Asia Minor by way of Aegina in the second century CE,¹³

11 For Greek pilgrimage in general, see Dillon 1997, with a brief discussion of the cult of Asklepios at pp. 73–80, and the articles collected in Elsner/Rutherford 2005.

12 At least one emperor visited Epidauros, as is indicated by an honorary inscription for Hadrian from 124 CE (*IG* IV² 1, 606; see Graindor 1934, 4–5 and Birley 1997, 178; cf. Melfi 2010, 331–333). It is generally assumed that Hadrian also visited Pergamon in 124 CE, though Birley, *ibid.*, 166–167 notes that there is no explicit evidence of this, even though it is likely that he would have come to the *Asklepieion* during his stay in the area that year. Similarly, it has been widely believed that at this time Hadrian initiated a major building and rebuilding phase (see Le Glay 1976 and Hoffmann (A.) 1998, 41–44), but it has recently been shown that these efforts were already underway well before this (Strocka 2012). The Pergamon *Asklepieion* was later visited by Lucius Verus in 162 CE (*I.Pergamon* 3, 11) and Caracalla in 214 CE (Hdn. 4.8.3 and Cass. Dio 77.15.6–7, ed. Boissvain; for the commemorative coins he issued, see Kádár 1986 and Renberg 2006–07, 125). In the case of the latter, according to Herodian, the emperor is said to have engaged in incubation: “He hastened towards Pergamon in Asia, wishing to seek Asklepios’s treatment; and arriving there he had his fill of dreams—as much as he wanted—and left for Ilium” (ἡπεύχθη εἰς Πέργαμον τῆς Ἀσίας, χρήσασθαι βουλόμενος θεραπείας τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ἀφικόμενος δὴ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἤθελε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐμφορηθεὶς, ἦκεν εἰς Ἰλίον).

(There is not, however, evidence for a visit by Marcus Aurelius, despite my statement to the contrary in the aforementioned discussion: the emperor’s letter cited there should not be taken literally as referring to his presence at the site, since the passage in question has the emperor expressing birthday wishes to Fronto by *pretending* that he would be visiting the Pergamon *Asklepieion* and other sanctuaries to pray for him (Fronto, *Ep.* 3.10.2, p. 43, ed. van den Hout). Even if there is no evidence for his having engaged in incubation at Pergamon, Aurelius did value the input of Asklepios, as can be seen in Galen’s reference to the emperor being advised by the god to permit Galen not to accompany him on an expedition to Germany (Galen, *Libr. propr.* 2, ed. Kühn XIX, pp. 18–19), and quite possibly a comment by Aurelius referring to his having benefited from dream-prescriptions of unspecified origins for hemoptysis (*i.e.*, coughing up blood) and vertigo (τὸ δι’ ὀνειράτων βοηθήματα δοθῆναι ἄλλα τε καὶ ὥς μὴ πτύειν αἷμα καὶ μὴ ἰλιγγιᾶν) (M. Aur., *Med.* 1.17.20; cf. M. Aur., *Med.* 5.8.1).)

13 *IG* IV² 1, 126 (quoted pp. 169–171). To this might be added another dedication by a Carian, but one given back in Caria: as was proposed by its original editor, the unusual reference

while the inscribed third-person testimonies of miraculous cures from the same *Asklepieion* record numerous visitors from other cities in the Classical Period.¹⁴ Around the time of some of these miracles, according to a dedicatory epigram preserved fully in the *Greek Anthology* and fragmentarily in an inscription from the sanctuary, the Athenian orator Aeschines had traveled to Epidauros for relief from a sore on his head:

[Αἰσχίνης Ἄτρο]μήτου Ἀθηναῖος | [Ἀσκληπιῶι? ἄ]νέθηκεν·
 θνητῶν μὲν τέχναις ἀπορούμενος, εἰς δὲ τὸ θεῖον
 ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἔχων, προλιπὼν εὐπαιδᾶς Ἀθήνας,
 ἰάσθην ἐλθὼν, Ἀσκληπιέ, πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἄλσος,
 ἔλκος ἔχων κεφαλῆς ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν τρισὶ νυξίν (*vel* μηνίν).¹⁵

to “Asklepios in Epidauros” on this altar from the area of Thera may signal that this individual had visited Epidauros, been cured there, and after returning home fulfilled his vow to the god in this manner (Ἀντίμαχος | Ἀσκληπιῶι | τῷ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ εὐχὴν) (*HTC* 53).

14 *IG* IV² 1, 121–124 (see pp. 171–178). See Dillon 1994, 243 for a list of twenty-three cities recorded in the first two steles alone.

15 *Anth.Pal.* 6.330 + *IG* IV² 1, 255 (= *SEG* 22, 284 = Girone, *Iamata*, 42–45, No. 11.1); see Zanetto 2002, 74, Bing 2009, 220–221 (pp. 279–280 of 2004 version), Di Nino 2005, 59–60 and Di Nino 2010, 259–260, Wickkiser 2006, 31 and Wickkiser 2008, 59, and Nissen 2009, 249. In the *Anthology* the epigram is attributed to “Aeschines Rhetor” and labeled as “A thank-offering for Asklepios” (Εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν χαριστήριον). However, the original words preceding the epigram were quite different, as was demonstrated by Rudolf Herzog’s discovery that a broken inscription on which is preserved part of a dedicatory text ([---] Ἰήτου Ἀθηναῖος | [Ἀσκληπιῶι? ἄ]νέθηκεν) and the end of a line of verse (δὲ τὸ θεῖον, read as μετὰ θεῖον in *IG*), is from Aeschines’s dedication (Herzog 1931, 39–41). Rediscovering the stone three decades later, Werner Peek not only confirmed the reading δὲ τὸ θεῖον, but also identified traces of the preceding word εἰς, and proposed restoring the names of Aeschines and his father Atrometos in the first line (Peek 1962, 1002–1003, No. 2). Moreover, based on letter forms Peek concluded that the inscription could date to the fourth century BCE—as Herzog had previously indicated, in contrast to Friedrich Hiller von Gärtringen’s determination in *IG* that it is from the third century BCE—which would make it likely that it is the original dedication rather than a later copy. For the history of this epigraphical discovery, see Forbes 1967. (In the text presented here the inscription is used for the dedicatory text of lines 1–2 and the manuscript for the epigram.)

In line 4 μηνίν has been standard, including among scholars treating the poem as evidence for the cult of Asklepios (see, e.g., Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:204, No. 404, Bing, *ibid.*, Wickkiser 2006, 31 and Wickkiser 2008, 134n.63, Nissen 2009, 249), but Hugo Stadtmüller in his 1894 edition suggested a perfectly plausible emendation of νυξίν (followed by Zanetto, whereas Di Nino recognizes it as a possibility while keeping μηνίν). Either is suitable in the context of the Asklepios cult: a seemingly miraculous three-day cure, or a

[Aeschines], son of Atrometos, of Athens dedicated this [to Asklepios(?)]:
 Despairing of the skills of mortals, having my entire hope
 rest with the divine, leaving behind Athens rich in children,
 coming, Asklepios, to your grove, I was healed
 —having an ulceration on the head for a year—in three nights
 (or, months).

In addition to inscriptions and other literary sources revealing the presence of many non-locals, the *Sacred Tales* of Aristides shows the Pergamon *Asklepieion* to have been peopled by many who, like the author, were not native to the city.¹⁶ This may also have been the case at Lebena on Crete's southern coast, since according to a third-century CE source that compares the *Asklepieion* there with Pergamon's, it was visited by those living on Crete as well as by many Libyans who crossed the sea;¹⁷ however, the limited epigraphical evidence, mostly from the Hellenistic Period, records only citizens of Lebena or nearby Gortyn obtaining cures,¹⁸ which raises the question of whether the

more deliberate course of prayers and treatments leading to an eventual recovery attributed to the god (see pp. 236–237).

- 16 For the epigraphical sources demonstrating the widespread geographical origins of those visiting the sanctuary, see *I.Pergamon* 3, pp. 190–194 (but note that not all of the inscriptions pertain to health concerns). Literary sources other than Aristides likewise show the sanctuary's widespread client base. See, for example, Galen's references in two of his works to a rich man who had traveled from Thrace to the Pergamon *Asklepieion* at the prompting of a dream, and had successfully engaged in incubation there, receiving from Asklepios instructions to both drink a drug produced from vipers and apply it externally, which ultimately led to a cure of his disease (ἄλλος δέ τις ἀνὴρ πλούσιος οὐχ ἡμεδαπὸς οὐτός γε, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσης Θράκης ἦκεν, ὀνείρατος προτρέψαντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον, εἴτα τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ὄναρ αὐτῷ πίνειν τε τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν φαρμάκου καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ χρῆιν ἔξωθεν τὸ σῶμα, μετέπεσεν τὸ πάθος οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εἰς λέπραν, ἐθεραπεύθη τε πάλιν οἷς ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευεν φαρμάκοις καὶ τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα) (Galen, *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 11.1, ed. Kühn XII, p. 315; Galen, *Subf. emp.* 10, pp. 78–79, ed. Deichgräber (= Edelstein, *Asclepius*, 1:250, No. 436); see von Staden 2003, 22–23, arguing that the disease was “elephantiasis,” i.e. leprosy; see also Israelowich 2012, 73–74). Similarly, Oribasius relays an earlier medical writer's example of a man from Kyzikos visiting and conversing in a dream with Asklepios concerning his ailment (Ruf. Eph., *apud* Orib., *Coll. med. rel.* 45.30.10–14, ed. I. Raeder, *CMG* VI.2, 1, pp. 191–192 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius*, 1:238–239, No. 425); see Perea Yébenes 2006). See Nissen 2009, 238, 248 on these passages.
- 17 Philostr., *VA* 4.34. Lebena was a harbor of Gortyn, which in the mid-second century BCE became the most important city in the region and then all of Crete, making this *Asklepieion* the most important as well.
- 18 Noted by Melfi 2007b, 170.

epigraphical sources are not fully representative or the site gained wider appeal in Roman times.¹⁹ Most *Asklepieia*, however, were not destinations for pilgrims and instead served only a local clientele: this can be seen most clearly at the Athenian *Asklepieion*, which, as is revealed by a wealth of prosopographical evidence preserved in temple inventories and other inscriptions, was visited by relatively few foreigners, most of whom were probably residing in Athens at the time.²⁰ Some of the same sources pertaining to the Athenian site also potentially provide a unique insight into the size of the god's clientele, since the combination of evidence for the temple's financing in the mid-fourth century BCE and what is believed to have been a one-drachma fee levied on suppliants might indicate that perhaps fifteen to twenty would appear each day.²¹ Many other *Asklepieia*, like the major ones that drew visitors from afar, may have featured incubation facilities, but the varied nature of the sources makes it impossible to know how common this was, as well as how common it was for *Asklepieia* that lacked a structure for incubation to function as a healing sanctuary through hydrotherapy or some other means.²² What is known, however, is that regardless of how often Asklepios was thought to have invisibly cured in response to prayers, as was commonly done by other healing gods, it was for providing dream-cures and prescriptive dreams that he was known.

19 An explanation may lie in the fact that most of the third-person testimonies from Lebena were inscribed on blocks used in one or more walls of the incubation structure, and thus represent the experiences of worshipers before the sanctuary's major construction phase rather than at the height of its popularity. See n. 177 for the testimonies, only two of which preserve the ethnics "Lebenaios" and "Gortynios" (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 9 and 11A).

20 See Aleshire 1989, 71 and Aleshire 1991, 77, 215–219. Other than Epidauros, Lebena and Pergamon, the Athens *Asklepieion* is the only one associated with incubation that has provided sufficient epigraphical sources for a study of the sanctuary's clientele. The other great *Asklepieion* known to have attracted visitors from afar, the one at Kos, has not left enough dedicatory inscriptions, though one private dedication was from an Athenian and another from a Knidian (*IG* XII.4, 2, 496 and 497).

21 See Aleshire 1989, 99. Aleshire's arguments, as she indicates, are speculative, but even if roughly accurate would provide some sense of how many sick people each day would actually visit a major *Asklepieion* (or, as was the case at Athens, a regular *Asklepieion* in a major city).

22 See Ehrenheim 2009, 237, rightly noting that one should be cautious in assuming that all *Asklepieia*, especially smaller ones located within cities, had incubation facilities. For hydrotherapy in Asklepios's cult, see pp. 161–163.

3.2 Structures Associated with Incubation and Incubation Rituals at *Asklepieia*

3.2.1 Introduction

A broad range of sources attests to the practice of incubation at certain *Asklepieia* in Greece and other parts of the Greek-speaking world.²³ Unfortunately, since there was no one building type exclusively associated with the practice, without literary or epigraphical evidence indicating the presence of an incubation dormitory it has proven impossible to identify such a structure definitively among the ruins of any *Asklepieion*, even if at some sites for which we lack written documentation of the practice certain buildings are likely candidates.²⁴ The Doric East Stoa at the Athenian *Asklepieion* and lengthy stoa at Epidauros—along with the stoa at the Oropos *Amphiareion*²⁵—have each served as a model for our conception of the typical incubation dormitory, but it is important to recognize that other types of structures appear to have been used, including even at times the outer areas of temples. An especially noteworthy problem is presented by the extra-urban Troizen *Asklepieion*, which was associated with incubation in one (or possibly two) of the fourth-century BCE Epidaurian testimonies,²⁶ but at which excavations have

23 Incubation was also practiced at the Memphis sanctuary of Asklepios's Egyptian counterpart Imhotep, which Greek sources likewise called an *Asklepieion* (see Chapter 7.4).

24 The variety of structures associated with incubation has previously been noted by several scholars: e.g., Roebuck 1951, 55–57; Aleshire 1989, 28–30; Graf 1992, 191–193, 200–201 (with comments of R.A. Tomlinson); Riethmüller 2005, 1:385–387; Sineux 2007a, 164; Ehrenheim 2009, 239 (drawing partly from Eleni A. Armpis's unpublished dissertation, *The Architecture and Spatial Organisation of Asklepieia in Mainland Greece, the Islands and Western Asia Minor* (diss. Oxford, 2001)).

25 See pp. 277–281.

26 One testimony relates a story about a woman who underwent incubation at Troizen in order to rid herself of a parasitic worm and suffered a botched operation at the hands of Asklepios's "sons," which had to be rectified by the god once he arrived from Epidauros (IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 10–19 (= Test. No. 23); see n. 280). The brief tale must have been a popular one, since a different version told by Hippys of Rhegion, which places the incubation session at Epidauros, was preserved by Aelian (Ael., NA 9.33 (= FGrH 554 F 2); see LiDonnici 1995, 70–74 and Perilli 2006a, 48–51, both exploring the potential sources for the two versions of this tale; cf. Solin 2013, 23–24, Ahearne-Kroll 2013, 37–45 and Ahearne-Kroll 2014, 110–113). The second testimony, which is damaged at an important point, concerns a citizen of Troizen who received a dream from Asklepios telling him to go to Epidauros—if the text has been correctly restored—and engage in incubation rather than undergo a planned procedure at the hands of local physicians, but, as noted by LiDonnici, it is unclear whether this dream was received at the Troizen *Asklepieion* or at the suffering

not unearthed a building obviously reserved for incubation.²⁷ Among the different structures found there is a large building with a central peristyle and a separate, enclosed room that may have been used for sleeping. In view of the fact that the sanctuary was associated with incubation epigraphically, there is a chance that this building was devoted to incubation, though the identification of it as a dining hall (*hestiatorion*) is also plausible.²⁸ Unfortunately, the testimony specifically referring to incubation at Troizen only mentions sleeping within the *temenos*, and since it predates the aforementioned building this could mean that incubation was originally practiced in a structure that it replaced.²⁹ The fact that this sanctuary is epigraphically linked to incubation but lacked an Epidauros-like stoa is significant, since—unless this testimony was wholly fabricated and contains no kernel of truth regarding practices at Troizen—it shows that the absence of such a structure is not proof against incubation being practiced at a sanctuary. Conversely, the presence of a building comparable to a known incubation dormitory, such as the aforementioned stoas, cannot be taken as definite proof that it was indeed used for this purpose. Ultimately, architectural traces—whether whole buildings or features such as benches—represent very poor evidence for the practice, unless complemented by written sources or reliefs.³⁰

man's home, though the latter is more likely (*IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 28–32 (= Test. No. 48); see LiDonnici, *ibid.*, 123nn.34–35; see also Versnel 2011, 403–404).

- 27 On the site, see Welter 1941, 25–37 + Pls. 10–18 and Riethmüller 2005, 11:105–116, Cat. No. 41.
- 28 The structure has most recently been treated as a *hestiatorion* by Melfi (Melfi 2007a, 231, 463); see also Riethmüller 2005, 11:111–113 (including references to claims regarding incubation).
- 29 Regardless of whether the testimony was based on an inscription or oral history, since it was not set at Epidauros the priests composing it might not have known the site's topography precisely enough to note where the dream was received, therefore opting for the general *temenos*. (For the composition of the testimonies, see n. 121.)
- 30 For examples of unsupportable claims regarding incubation being made because of the presence of a stoa, see n. 66. A less prominent issue is whether the presence of benches in a *known* incubation structure, as at Epidauros, means that benches—a common feature at sanctuaries—should be treated as evidence for incubation at sanctuaries where benches were features of structures possibly used for incubation, even though the limited written evidence points to the use of couches or beds (κλῖναι) (see, e.g., *IG* IV² 1, 124, ll. 13–17? (= Test. No. 70), a problematic testimony from Epidauros), and the incubation reliefs support this. Nonetheless, for example, benches at Alipheira's minor Asklepios sanctuary have been considered evidence for incubation because of their similarity to benches at Epidauros and Oropos (see pp. 165–166). Even if present in some incubation structures, however, benches were certainly not an essential feature: after all, at both Epidauros and Oropos benches were installed for only part of the stoa's history (see Riethmüller 2005,

3.2.2 *Epidauros*

At Epidauros itself,³¹ the incubation structure named in the testimonial steles—where it is known as the “*abaton*”³²—is easily identifiable as the 38-meter stoa with two Ionic colonnades erected just north of the temple around 370 BCE, though in the past some have thought that there is at least a chance that in the sanctuary’s earlier days incubation might have been

1:386, briefly noting the issue). At Epidauros, two rows of stone benches from the *enkoimētērion* were reused in the sanctuary’s late-third-century CE Building Φ (see Melfi 2007a, 113, 140–142)—though the lower level of the building’s western half retained them, and it cannot be ruled out that the removed benches were replaced—while at Oropos the benches were added later (see p. 277n.14). Melfi believes that the benches in the Athenian sanctuary’s Doric East Stoa were used for incubation, suggesting that since they were extended to all its sides in the mid-third century CE it is a sign that incubation was still being practiced then (Melfi, *ibid.*, 343, 404); however, this also suggests that benches were *not* needed for incubation, as these additions would have been done earlier, unless the sanctuary saw an unprecedented surge in popularity at this time and this created a need for extra benches. (Perhaps the explanation for these changes is that wooden benches had been used originally, with stone benches being added when money was donated by a worshiper.) The long cryptoporticus beneath the south portico at Pergamon, the likeliest candidate for main *enkoimētērion* (see p. 143), had a stone bench running its length, but as Adolf Hoffmann has noted, at 55 cm. it would have been unusually narrow, leading him to conclude that it would have been put to other uses than sleeping, such as placing clothing or the wreaths prepared for incubation upon it (Hoffmann (A.) 2011, 108–109). The other structure at Pergamon generally associated with incubation, the complex south of the god’s first temple there, had benches in the older section (Buildings 27/28; see pp. 138–142). Overall, benches appear not to have been essential to incubation, and sleeping on a *stibas* or non-ritual form of bedding placed on the floor was perhaps a better option than a narrow bench (for *stibades* and bedding materials, see pp. 258–259), but the discovery of benches at multiple known incubation dormitories certainly shows some connection. This, however, is not enough to identify a stoa as an incubation dormitory. (For the somewhat similar problems associated with the discovery of *klinai*—some certainly wide enough to recline on—at certain churches where it has been suspected that incubation was practiced, see p. 761n.30.)

31 On the Epidauros *Asklepieion* in general, see: Kavvadias 1900 (dated but still useful); Burford 1969; Tomlinson 1983; LiDonnici 1995, 5–14; Lambrinoudakis 1999 and Lambrinoudakis 2002; Riethmüller 2005, 1:148–174, 279–324 *et pass.*; Melfi 2007a, 17–209 *et pass.*; Melfi 2010; and Prignitz 2014. In addition to the well-known epigraphical corpus devoted to the nearly 750 inscriptions from the sanctuary (IG IV² 1), Werner Peek produced two additional corpora that are frequently overlooked, one devoted to those already in IG (*I.EpidaurosAsklep*) and the other to new inscriptions (*I.Epidauros*). For the written sources attesting to incubation at Epidauros, see n. 111.

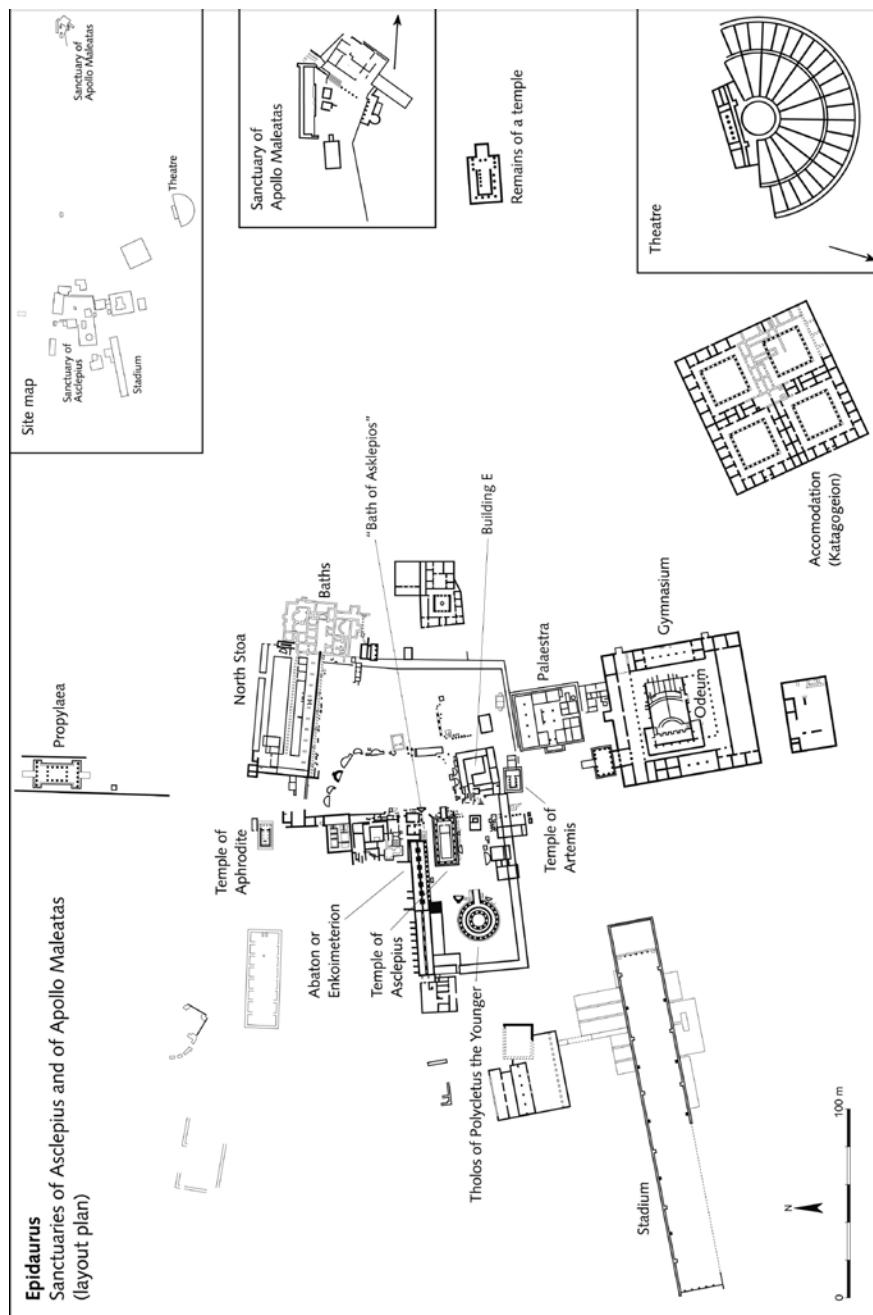
32 For the term, see pp. 15–16n.42.

practiced in Building E, which has been believed to date to the early-fifth century BCE but based on the evidence for activity there in the late-sixth century BCE may already have existed in some form slightly earlier (Plan 1).³³ This structure, which in its earliest detectable phase was an L-shaped building with a *naiskos* at one end and a wall on the far side of an open area containing an altar and stone circle for ashes, had an overall rectangular appearance despite this asymmetry. The belief that Building E had originally served those seeking dream-oracles seems mainly to have been based more on the lack of better candidates from the sanctuary's earlier phases and its obvious importance than on any inherent architectural qualities; relatively recent work on the building's remains, however, has shown that it was used for sacrifices and ritual meals.³⁴ Even more recent scholarship on this early complex has shown the likelihood that it featured Asklepios's first temple at Epidauros, serving as the model for the one later built at the Athenian *Asklepieion*, and other than

33 It was first suggested by I.H. Holwerda that Building E was the sanctuary's *abaton* (Holwerda 1902), and he was followed by A. Frickenhaus (AA 1912, 140–142) and Hiller von Gaertringen (IG IV² 1, p. xxii, No. 8), though Panagiotes Kavvadias, the main excavator, had identified the large stoa with incubation (see Kavvadias 1891, 18, Kavvadias 1900, 121–128, and Kavvadias 1905, 63–89), as had an earlier study drawing on Kavvadias's work (Defrasse/Lechat 1895, 129–141). Three decades later Fernand Robert proposed that Building E had only served this function until the “*Abaton*” was constructed (Robert (F.) 1933 and Robert (F.) 1939, 220–222), a view endorsed by subsequent scholars (Burford 1969, 50–51; Tomlinson 1983, 67–68, 72–75 (but see next note); Riethmüller 2005, 1:162–165, 285–286). Not all were willing to accept such a role for Building E, however: see R. Martin & H. Metzger, *BCH* 66–67 (1942–43) [1944], 327–333; see also LiDonnici 1995, 8–9 (and, more broadly, pp. 12–14, 18–19). (For additional overviews of this debate over incubation structures there, see Ehrenheim 2009, 239–243; cf. Roebuck 1951, 55–56 and Aleshire 1989, 29.)

Helping to ensure the identification of the stoa as the place “where the god's suppliants sleep” (ἐνθα οἱ ἱκέται τοῦ θεοῦ καθεύδουσιν) is Pausanias's use of πέραν to explain the topographical relationship between incubation structure and temple (Paus. 2.27.2–3; see Ehrenheim, *ibid.*, 240–241, as well as 238n.9 on the testimonies that clearly indicate use of the “*abaton*” rather than the temple for this purpose).

34 For the excavations and new analysis of the building phases and the building's functions, see Lambrinoudakis 2002, 214–219, noting that “the cult in this place was identical to the one attested in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas” (p. 219)—a conclusion partly anticipated in Richard A. Tomlinson's suggestion that Building E may have served the cult of Apollo, who otherwise would have no temple within this precinct (Tomlinson, 1983, 75). Tomlinson has proposed that instead of Building E, incubation may originally have taken place in the open air (*ibid.*, 68), which though not implausible is much less likely, since incubation at Asklepios sanctuaries appears to have been practiced in a secluded interior (see p. 131). On the structure see also Melfi 2007a, 25 *et pass.*



PLAN 1 *Epidaurus Asklepieion and sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas during Roman Imperial Period.*

SOURCE: YVES LAFOND (BOCHUM), ART. "EPIDAUROS," IN *BRILL'S NEW PAULY* (EDS. H. CANKIK & H. SCHNEIDER)

the *peribolos* was constructed in the early fifth century BCE rather than the previous century, though it may have been preceded by a wooden structure.³⁵

While it cannot be ruled out that incubation was for a time practiced in Building E until the sanctuary's increased popularity led to the construction of an incubation dormitory, the discovery of traces of stoas beneath the "*Abaton*"—one a mud-brick structure from the sixth century BCE and the other built of *poros* blocks and mud-brick in the early fifth century BCE, around the same time as Building E—suggests that the "*Abaton*," like the earlier stoas, was not built as a new location for this function of Building E, but each as a complementary structure.³⁶ Further supporting the conclusion

35 For the new theory regarding the history, role and significance of Building E, which draws on a reassessment of the architectural remains, see Jesper Tae Jensen, "Asklepios-helligdommen på sydskrænten af Athens Akropolis—det genfundne tempel," in *Det Danske Institut i Athen: Beretning 2004–2006* (2007), 75–87 (not consulted); the subject will be addressed in greater detail in Tae Jensen's Aarhus University dissertation, *The Athenian Asklepieion on the South Slope of the Akropolis: The "Archaios Naós" and the Architectural Development of the Sanctuary in the Classical Period*. (I am grateful to Tae Jensen for discussing his unpublished findings.)

36 On the traces of the two stoas, see Lambrinoudakis 2002, 219–220, but also Trümper 2014, 212 and Ehrenheim 2009, 241–242, the latter discussing the first stoa but not the intermediate one, which is more likely to have been the first incubation structure. It is, of course, impossible to be certain that incubation was being practiced at the *Asklepieion* as early as the sixth century BCE, let alone that one or both of the early stoas on the future site of the "*Abaton*" served such a purpose. As Wickkiser has noted, the only evidence that Lambrinoudakis can point to for such a conclusion is the documented function of the later portico and the presence of a sixth-century BCE well that eventually was built into the southeast corner, which he links to ablutions and hydrotherapy (Wickkiser 2008, 127n.49). To this can be added the early inscribed testimony referring to an *abatōn* (see next note).

A potential argument against this would be Lambrinoudakis's report that toilets were constructed on the west side of the second stoa, "hinting at a systematic overnight stay of the patients": not only have latrines not been found affixed to the "*Abaton*" or other incubation dormitories, but at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* the ones that survive were built outside the sanctuary's wall despite there being ample space within (Buildings 18 and 19, shown as Buildings R 1, 3, 4, and 4a on Plan 3; see Hoffmann (A.) 2011, 111–133 and Strocka 2012, 269–271), though these latrines were close to the lengthy cryptoporticus that possibly was used for incubation (see p. 143). Similarly, at Kos the latrine was outside the wall on the lowest terrace (see Schazmann 1932, 68–69). The presence of toilets affixed to the second stoa at Epidauros therefore would be problematic, raising the question of whether it was a lodging that at the time was standing outside the *temenos*, but the identification of toilets is itself problematic: no public toilets have been found that date to such an early period, and what Lambrinoudakis perceived as toilets appear to be nothing more than a

that incubation was not practiced in Building E is the likelihood that one of the earliest inscribed testimonies from the sanctuary refers to sleeping in an *abaton* (ἐνεκάθευδε ἐν τῷ ἀβάτῳ), and since the episode pre-dates the “*Abaton*” it would have to refer to a different structure, presumably the preceding stoa of *poros* and mud-brick that stood on the same spot, though it cannot be ruled out that since the priests or sanctuary officials were compiling the testimonies decades later they may have anachronistically assumed that an *abaton* was involved.³⁷ It is, however, possible that part of Building E served as the “*abaton*” before the sanctuary’s growth in popularity necessitated devoting a separate structure to it, either one that already existed or one that had to be constructed.³⁸ Overall, since it is not even known when incubation was first practiced at Epidauros, and whether this coincided with or preceded the construction of the first building devoted solely to this activity, it is impossible to be certain *where* in the sanctuary incubation was first practiced—and, while a continuity of function from one stoa to the next seems most likely, especially from the second to the third (*i.e.*, the “*Abaton*”), this scenario has problems.

Similarly, it is impossible to know for certain just where within the incubation dormitory people would sleep, and whether there was a ritually significant difference between the options, such as a separation by gender.³⁹ By Roman times, when Pausanias saw it, the incubation dormitory had become a multi-level structure: built on an east-west orientation just to the north of the temple, the original stoa was expanded westward towards the end of the fourth century BCE with the addition of a two-story stoa that was constructed at a

water channel (personal communication from Monika Trümper, who briefly alludes to the problem at Trümper 2014, 212n.12). (The lack of toilet facilities in the immediate vicinity of structures devoted to overnight stays at sanctuaries might suggest nothing more than an olfactory scruple, but is more likely to reflect a religious one: in addition to the small group of graffiti from cult sites in the Greek world and Egypt warning against defecation or urination there, other sources make clear that such bodily functions were not permitted on consecrated land, since among the Greeks these were considered impurities (see Parker 1983, 162, 293, to which can be added *SEG* 56, 890 from Nymphaion, a fifth-century BCE limestone stele inscribed with the cult regulation μή χέσες | ἱερὸν).)

37 *IG* IV² 1, 121, l. 4 (= Test. No. 1). See LiDonnici 1995, 76–82 on the likelihood that some testimonies from the first stele, including this one, could date to the fifth century BCE, and Wickkiser 2008, 127n.50, reasonably narrowing this down to the century’s later decades. References to the *abaton* in the later testimonies must be to the later structure, if LiDonnici’s criteria for relative dating are correct.

38 Tae Jensen will argue for this possibility in his dissertation (see n. 35).

39 See Appendix VII for the now undermined belief that men and women would sleep in separate parts of this structure.

slightly lower level, with the two parts connected by a stairway (Figs. 1 and 2).⁴⁰ Incubation in the original half of the *abaton* is likely to have occurred in the inner aisle, which is thought to have been closed off and thus to have provided seclusion, while the outer aisle would have been used in part to display the steles recording miraculous cures.⁴¹ Likewise, the western extension is thought to have been divided into an area devoted to incubation (the lower story) and an area for more public activities (the upper story);⁴² however, it has recently been argued that the upper story, though more accessible, was sufficiently secluded to have served those engaging in incubation.⁴³ Little else

40 On this building and its architectural history, see Kritzas/Mavromatidis 1987, Mavromatidis 1999, Riethmüller 2005, 1:285–286, and Ehrenheim 2009, 240–243.

41 See Mavromatidis 1999, followed by Lambrinoudakis 2002, 223, Melfi 2007a, 42, and Ehrenheim 2009, 242–243. There is debate regarding whether the separation was created by a permanent wall, as Ioannes Mavromatidis concluded (*ibid.*, 30), or a temporary barrier (see Ehrenheim, *ibid.*, who herself favors the latter possibility; Melfi, who does not review the debate, accepts the presence of a wall (*ibid.*, 300n.979), while Lambrinoudakis says nothing of its permanence). Seclusion is reasonably assumed to have been important for incubation, and there is also evidence for it at Athens and Pergamon (as well as Corinth, if the “*Abaton*” was indeed used for incubation (see pp. 154–157)). However, at other known incubation structures, such as those at Lebena and Oropos, surviving archaeological traces do not indicate that parts might be blocked off, though if J.J. Coulton is correct that at Epidauros there was a screen wall separating men from women then the use of this sort of feature might explain the absence of traces from these other sites, where such a temporary feature may have been employed to create a secluded area (Coulton 1976, 47–48, 89n.8). For the steles’ placement, see n. 118.

42 Mavromatidis 1999, 30, followed by Melfi 2007a, 42–43. The lower level had six pillars running down the center supporting a wall 35 centimeters thick (see I. Mavromatidis in Kritzas/Mavromatidis 1987, 16–17), which certainly is consistent with the practice of incubation. The presence of benches, which have been thought to be evidence for incubation elsewhere (see n. 30), in the lower level’s enclosed area, noted by Mavromatidis, may also be significant.

43 See Ehrenheim 2009, 242–243, noting the presence of partitions 1.6 meters in height between the outer columns; see also Mavromatidis 1999, 30, who recognizes the probability of worshipers sleeping in this area sheltered by these partitions, but not specifying that they were engaging in incubation in the upper story. Making this matter more complicated, there is the evidence of one of the testimonies on the first (and earliest) stele, which reveals that those engaging in incubation did have seclusion, but also that they were not fully closed off from the outside world. According to this story, a man who had climbed a tree so that he could peer towards or into the *abaton* (ἐπὶ δένδρεόν τι ἄμβας ὑπερέκλυπτε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον) had fallen and been blinded, necessitating that he himself sleep there (IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 90–94 (= Test. No. 11); see Dillon 1994, 248n.50 for a parallel from the Eleusinian cult). As this stele predates the stoa’s expansion it cannot refer to the new



FIGURE 1 *Epidauros Asklepieion, interior of "abaton."*
 PHOTO: DEUTSCHE ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT
 (ATHENS) (NEG. D-DAI-ATH-EPIDAUROS 78)

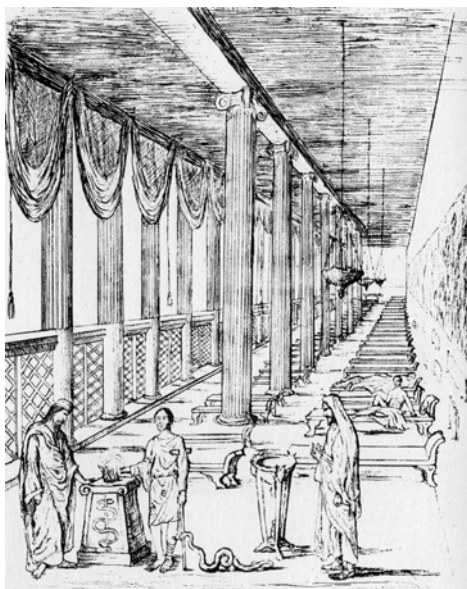


FIGURE 2
*Artistic rendition of the interior
 of the Epidauros incubation dormitory.*
 SOURCE: RICHARD CATON, *THE
 TEMPLES AND RITUAL OF ASKLEPIOS
 AT EPIDAUROS AND ATHENS: TWO
 LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL
 INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN*
 (2ND EDN.; LONDON, 1900), PL. 25

can be known about what ancient worshipers would have seen once they had entered, though since one of the testimonies states that a man “slept in the *abaton* beside Asklepios” (παρ’ [Α]σκληπιῶι ἐν τῷ ἀ[βάτ]ωι ἐνεκάθευδε) suggests the presence of an image of the god.⁴⁴

3.2.3 Athens

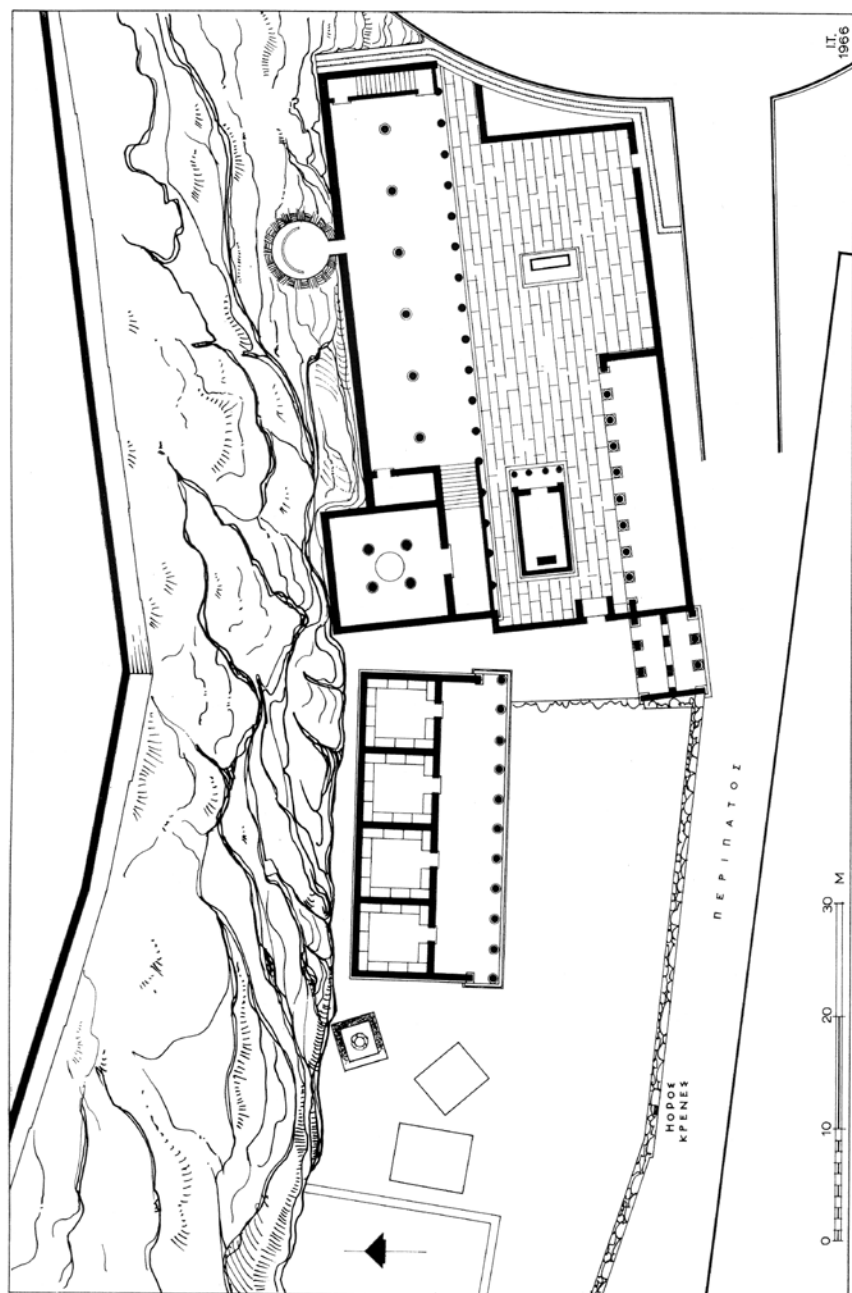
At the Athenian *Asklepieion* (Plan 2),⁴⁵ the structure that has been convincingly identified as the incubation dormitory is the two-storied Doric East Stoa, construction of which began in 300/299 BCE as part of the sanctuary’s rebuilding program (Fig. 3).⁴⁶ Although no traces remain, this structure almost certainly replaced an earlier one built atop the rocky ledge that was cut away when the East Stoa was built: such a conclusion can be reached from the fact that no other suitable structure is known to have stood in the original sanctuary, established in the final quarter of the fifth century BCE, which

extension’s upper story, which raises the question of how the *abaton* could have been configured so that it was secluded but at the same time those within it would be visible from several meters above the ground. See Ehrenheim, *ibid.*, 238n.9, also finding the line-of-sight issue problematic.

44 IG IV² 1, 122, l. 23 (= Test. No. 24). See LiDonnici 1995, 103n.12.

45 On the sanctuary, see especially: Riethmüller 1999 and Riethmüller 2005, 1:241–278 *et pass.*; Verbanck-Piérard 2000, 301–314; Gorrini 2002–03, 189–191; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, pp. 102–112; Melfi 2007a, 313–433; Wickkiser 2008; Lefantzis/Tae Jensen 2009; Mantis 2009 (with discussion of the site’s restoration); and Papaefthimiou 2009. For the site in Christian times, when it became a church of St. Andrew, see Papaefthimiou 2012, as well as Karivieri 1995, Melfi, *ibid.*, 405–407, and Graf 2015, 256–257 (pp. 131–132 of 2013 version) (with brief discussions of the *Asklepieion*’s closure and whether incubation was practiced at the church). See also the entries in the two main topographical works for Athens, Travlos, *Pict. Dict.*, pp. 127–137 and Greco, *Topografia di Atene*, 1:180–183. For the pertinent inscriptions and reliefs from the site, see pp. 183–185, and for anatomical votives see p. 268. See also Clinton 1994 and Parker 1996, 175–185, on the introduction of the cult to Athens (a topic also addressed at pp. 104–105n.171). (I am grateful to Jesper Tae Jensen for sharing his insights into the *Asklepieion*’s archaeological remains and functions, all the more so because he has not yet published all of his findings.)

46 See Riethmüller 1999, 129–131, 134 and Riethmüller 2005, 1:265–267; see also Coulton 1976, 89, 223–225 *et pass.*, Aleshire 1989, 34–35, Melfi 2007a, 332, 340–341 *et pass.*, and Ehrenheim 2009, 244–247. The date, based on an inscribed record of construction contracts, was established by Sara B. Aleshire (Aleshire 1991, 29). This identification of the structure with incubation goes at least as far back as Kavvadias 1891, 18. For the unlikely suggestion that the Ionic West Stoa also served as an incubation structure, see n. 72.



PLAN 2 Athenian Asklepieion during first century CE, showing Doric East Stoa used for incubation at right, beside bothros and tetrastyle, in close proximity to temple.

SOURCE: TRAVLOS, *PICT. DICT.*, FIG. 171 (REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF ERNST WASMUTH VERLAG)



FIGURE 3 *Athenian Asklepieion viewed from the west, showing area of East Stoa at the left.*

PHOTO: DEUTSCHE ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT (ATHENS)
(NEG. D-DAI-ATH-AKROPOLIS 400)

was quite small and had room for a limited number of structures.⁴⁷ Assuming that Aristophanes's *Plutus* ("Wealth") of 388 BCE was set in Athens rather than Peiraeus, this conclusion regarding the stoa's function is supported by his description of Asklepios vanishing into the temple with his serpents (ὁ θεὸς δ' εὐθέως / ἠφάνισεν αὐτὸν οἱ τ' ὄφεις εἰς τὸν νεών) at the end of the incubation scene, which reveals that incubation was not typically practiced, if at all, in the temple itself during the sanctuary's first few decades, and thus that at least

47 For the sanctuary's earliest phase, see Lefantzis/Tae Jensen 2009, 91–112 and Melfi 2007a, 322–331; cf. Riethmüller 2005, 1:259–265. Unfortunately, the inscription on the "Telemachos Monument" (see p. 187), which includes a year by year record of the sanctuary's early history and development, has *lacunae* in the lines that might have referred to construction of the incubation structure, presumably around 418/7–416/5 BCE (see Lefantzis/Tae Jensen, *ibid.*, 103 on the inscription as evidence for the sanctuary's earliest structures). Tae Jensen will discuss the original sanctuary further in his dissertation, arguing that the site was arranged in the same manner as Building E at Epidauros, which could mean that there was an alternative locus for incubation, especially if Tae Jensen is correct that incubation did take place in Building E (see p. 130).



FIGURE 4 *Artistic rendition of the inside of the Athenian Asklepieion's temple, showing cult statue and dedications recorded in temple inventories.*

DRAWING BY C. SMITH. SOURCE: ALESHIRE 1991, PL. 11

one other structure had to be available for this purpose (Fig. 4).⁴⁸ Nothing else is known about this earlier structure, though there is a chance that it is partly represented in one processional relief and, at least generically, in one or two

48 Ar., *Plut.* 740–741; see Sineux 2006a, 2011.26 and Ehrenheim 2009, 246–247, the latter disputing Aleshire's conclusion that incubation would take place in temples of Asklepios (Aleshire 1989, 29–30). Even if this scene was set at the Peiraeus *Asklepieion*, as some have thought (see n. 167), it would still be pertinent, since if incubation was being practiced in a building other than the temple this would also have been the case in the Athenian sanctuary. The sources for incubation inside temples of Asklepios rather than associated structures is both limited and late. The only evidence for incubating in the Athenian *Asklepieion*'s temple itself is a questionable source, Damascius's reference to the Late Antique philosopher Plutarch doing so in the temple's antechamber (ἐγκαθεύδων τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ), in sight of the cult statue (Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 89A, ed. Athanassiadi (= *Suda*, s.v. Δομνῖνος); see pp. 184–185). Perhaps this was not a regular occurrence, and since Aristides reports having engaged in incubation in a comparable part of one of the

other fragmentary incubation reliefs.⁴⁹ Enough of the later stoa does survive, however, for its similarity to the Epidauros incubation stoa to be evident, and both this and the lack of a viable alternative has reasonably led generations

temples within the Pergamon sanctuary, describing it as “between the temple’s doors and latticed gates” (Aristid., *Or.* 48.71; see n. 61), it may be that prominent individuals were given special privileges regarding where they might seek to contact the god. This possibility undermines Ehrenheim’s suggestion, based on Damascius, that “the rite was in decline by the late 5th century” because the *prodomos*, to be identified with the small porch measuring roughly 5 × 2 meters, was an area that could hold few sleeping worshippers: instead, Plutarch’s prominence might explain the unusual locus for incubation rather than the decline in the number of worshippers.

Douglas M. MacDowell has attempted to argue that much of the extant version of *Plutus* was to be found in the original of 408 BCE, with most of Aristophanes’s changes involving topical allusions, but Alan H. Sommerstein has effectively disputed this, and thus the surviving play appears to be primarily a work of 388 BCE, albeit with elements preserved from the original version (MacDowell 1995, 324–327; Sommerstein 2001, 28–33). Thus the rituals and topography indicated by the incubation scene should not be assumed to reflect the practices of 408 BCE.

- 49 The processional relief features Asklepios seated in his temple on the left and the procession itself passing before a badly damaged structure—which serves as an architectural frame—as it approaches him, and Iphigeneia Leventi has speculated that this was intended to represent the incubation stoa (Athens, N.M. 1377 (= *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 201 + photo); see Leventi 2003, 143). Similarly, while only preserving the rightmost portion of the incubation scene, a fragmentary relief includes part of an architectural frame (*i.e.*, an *anta*) that has been identified as the stoa, in addition to the sleeping male patient’s head and the *klinē* and animal skin atop which he rests (Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 6; the identification of the *anta* as the stoa was made by Petropoulou and Sineux (Petropoulou 1985, 173; Sineux 2007a, 166–167), following Gerhard Neumann’s treatment of another Asklepios relief (Neumann (G.) 1979, 50–51, on Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 9)). Another relief, an incomplete work consisting of several joined fragments, features two *antae* supporting an architrave, within which the healing scene is set, and Sineux has treated this as a representation of where incubation occurred (Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 10; see Sineux 2007b, 21–22, but also Despinis 2013, 91 on the unlikely possibility of this relief having originated elsewhere and been rededicated at the *Asklepieion*). In these cases, though, not only is it difficult to determine whether the relief dates back to the time of the original stoa, but the architectural elements framing these scenes are too generic to be identified with any certainty as representing the actual structure. The latter problem also is evident in the lost relief from the Peiraeus (Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2), since one of the two *antae* is identifiable as such, but serves as a framing mechanism rather than an accurate representation of a structure from the harbor’s *Asklepieion*. Thus van Straten was most likely correct in concluding that *antae* on such reliefs do not represent real buildings (van Straten 1995, 59–60). (For a parallel from the Oropos *Amphiareion* in which scenes of a worshiper named Archinos being cured by Amphiaraos are similarly framed, see p. 277n.13.)

of scholars to conclude that the East Stoa was indeed the structure in which incubation was practiced—most likely on either story, with seclusion available on the upper level and perhaps behind the balustrade and metal grill partly surviving at the west end. However, the surviving structural remains also create some mysteries, especially the nature and purpose of the structure known as the *bothros* (literally, “pit”).⁵⁰

3.2.4 Pergamon

A more complicated situation is found at Pergamon, where epigraphical and literary sources reveal that there was more than one designated site within the *Asklepieion* that served those seeking to solicit the god’s help through incubation, but excavations at this well-preserved sanctuary have not definitively resolved the question of just where this would occur (Plan 3) (Fig. 5).⁵¹ Most significantly, both inscribed sacred laws detailing the rituals to be performed before engaging in incubation there indicate that there were two structures officially designated as incubation dormitories, the “small *enkoimētērion*” and the “great,” but these have not been securely identified.⁵² It is generally held

⁵⁰ For the *bothros*, see n. 72.

⁵¹ For incubation at the Pergamon *Asklepieion*, see Ehrenheim 2009, 249–251, and for the sanctuary in general see especially the publication of the archaeological remains in *Altertümer von Pergamon* XI (Ziegenaus/De Luca 1968; Ziegenaus/De Luca 1975; Ziegenaus 1981; De Luca 1984; Hoffmann (A.) 2011), as well as the corpus of inscriptions from the sanctuary (*I.Pergamon* 3). See also: De Luca 1991; Hoffmann (A.) 1998; Jones 1998; Radt (W.) 1999, 220–242 (especially p. 222); Riethmüller 2005, I:334–359, II:362–364, Cat.-App. No. 234; De Luca 2009; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 167–275 *et pass.* (employing a highly theoretical approach not ordinarily applied to these materials, and not always suited for them); Kranz 2010, 93–101, 149–161 *et pass.* (on Hygieia’s presence at the sanctuary); and Strocka 2012 (presenting important new conclusions regarding the Imperial-period construction). A comprehensive study of the Pergamon *Asklepieion* that makes use of the full range of sources does not exist, and in the absence of one scholars too often have relied on two badly outdated works: the brief booklet on the sanctuary by Otfried Deubner (Deubner (O.) 1938), and Erwin Ohlmutz’s published dissertation (Ohlmutz 1940, 123–173). For the written evidence of incubation at the *Asklepieion*, see Sect. 3.3.5.

⁵² These inscriptions indicate the presence of two incubation dormitories, albeit by means of different language: *I.Pergamon* 3, 161 thrice refers to τὸ ἐγκοιμητήριον (ll. 11, 12, 27) but also mentions τὸ μικρὸν ἐγκοιμητήριον (l. 18), while *I.Pergamon* 2, 264 (= *LSAM* 14) does the opposite, referring to the former by mentioning a μέγα ἐγκοιμητήριον (l. 8) and thus implying the existence of the latter, as was first suggested by Michael Wörrle (Wörrle 1969, 178). For the two *leges sacrae*, see pp. 193–198.

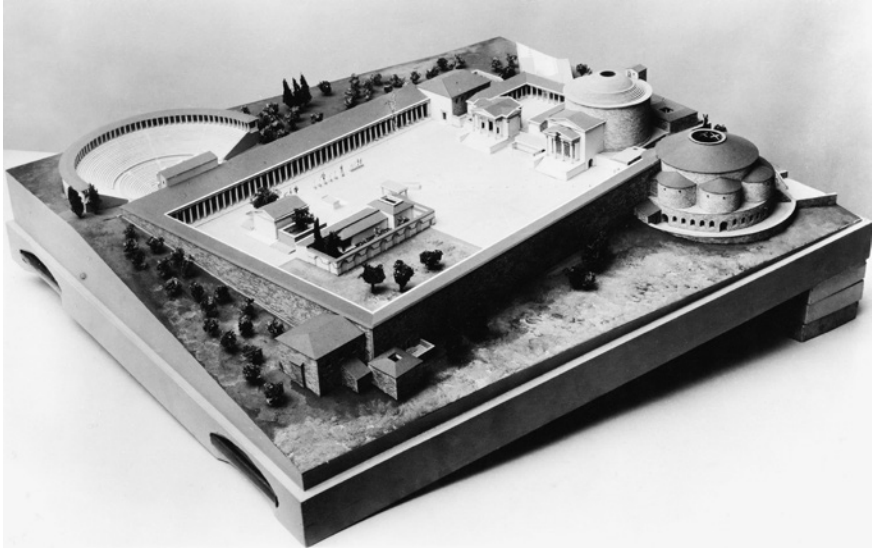


FIGURE 5 Model of Pergamon Asklepieion showing layout after Imperial-period construction program (viewed from southwest with “Inkubationsbau” at center).

PHOTO: BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, ARCHIVE
PM 609D

that Buildings 27 and 28 (Building 9 in Plan 3),⁵³ erected in Hellenistic times at the heart of the complex (*i.e.*, the “Felsbarre,” a rocky area in the northwest part of the sanctuary where the important cult buildings were located), served this purpose, with the original structure, Building 27 (Fig. 6), to be identified as the “small *enkoimētērion*,” and the multi-chambered complex into which it was incorporated, Building 28, as the “great *enkoimētērion*.”⁵⁴ Building 27,

53 Radt (W.) 1999, fig. 168 combines the two, identifying the complex as Building 25. (There is no one standard plan of the Pergamon *Asklepieion*, and different plans have employed different numbering systems for the various structures. The one cited in this discussion is from Boehrer 1959, Pl. 5 and *I. Pergamon* 3, p. x, since it emphasizes Hellenistic as well as Roman features, but the map reproduced here, from Hoffmann (A.) 2011, shows the sanctuary at its height during Roman Imperial times and has yet another numbering system.)

54 For the architectural development of Buildings 27/28 and the *Asklepieion* building phases to which their construction and expansion have been assigned, see Ziegenaus/De Luca 1968, 17–19 (Phase 4), 29 (Phase 6), 32–33 (Phase 7), 46 (Phase 9), and 61–62 (Phase 12), with discussion of the finds assigned to the different periods at pp. 103–104 (Phase 4), 112–115 (Phase 6), and 115–122 (Phase 7); for detailed plans illustrating the different phases, see *ibid.*, Pls. 68–71. The identification of this small complex as the locus for incubation



FIGURE 6 *Pergamon Asklepieion, view of “Inkubations-Altbau” (originally Building 27) from north, showing rooms n, g, and i.*

PHOTO: DEUTSCHE ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT (ISTANBUL)
(NEG. D-DAI-IST-PE-63-199)

a rectangular structure with a north-south orientation measuring roughly 8×10 meters, has been dated to c. 275–250 BCE, and thus was among the first

dates to the early excavations, which began in 1928. Deubner appears to have been the one to have reached this conclusion, but if he was not the first he was certainly the one who popularized it in his short but influential book on the sanctuary (Deubner (O.) 1938, 15, 17, 34, 40). At the time that Theodor Wiegand finished his earlier book the complex had not yet been excavated, but even though he had proposed the “untere Rundbau” as the “great *enkoimētērion*” and this was Ohlemutz’s conclusion as well (Wiegand 1932, 28; Ohlemutz 1940, 147n.72, 172–173; see n. 59), it is Deubner’s identification, subsequently followed by Erich Boehringer (Boehringer 1959, 158–159), that has since been standardized by the *Altertümer von Pergamon* series (with “Inkubations-Altbau” used for the original, smaller structure and “Inkubationsbezirk” for the larger complex). For the different structures identified with incubation by various scholars, see also Wörrle 1969, 178n.52. Adolf Hoffmann has recently challenged the conventional view, diminishing the role of this small complex and questioning its identification as the “great *enkoimētērion*” (see p. 143).

structures built at the *Asklepieion*. Beginning later in the third century BCE and continuing into Roman times a larger, generally rectangular complex grew out from Building 27 towards the west, featuring several rooms of different sizes as well as a courtyard. Though the central location and lack of an obvious purpose make an identification of Buildings 27/28 as the two incubation dormitories plausible, it is regularly overlooked that there is no evidence that clearly supports this conclusion, with only the presence of benches showing a potential parallel with certain structures known to have been used for the practice.⁵⁵ These combined structures are very different from the stoas normally associated with incubation, but they did provide the seclusion that appears to have been important for the practice. Their proximity to fountains into which water was piped from nearby springs may also have been significant, as the water could have been used for both pre-incubatory rituals and hydrotherapy: Building 27 and subsequently Building 28 were built beside one of the fountains (the “Schöpfbrunnen,” Building 22, which can be identified as the Sacred Well) and later Building 28 expanded towards another (the early-Hellenistic “Felsbrunnen,” Building 29).⁵⁶

55 Indeed, this assumption regarding the use of Buildings 27/28 is commonly repeated without even an attempt to justify the identification, and what little evidence has been presented is unconvincing: see, for example, Gioia De Luca in Ziegenaus/De Luca 1968, 112, citing the discovery in one of the rooms of a fragment from a marble water basin (a *perirrhanterion*; see n. 315) inscribed with the dream-related formula κατ’ ὄναρ (on which see pp. 34–35n.95). A rare note of caution is sounded by Ehrenheim, who after referring to these structures as “the area for incubation” adds the comment “if this indeed was the function for these buildings” (Ehrenheim 2009, 249).

The evidence for benches in the older part of the small complex along three sides of one room (Building 27) has not been linked specifically to incubation (though see Hoffmann (A.) 1998, 55), but the presence of benches in other structures used or potentially used for incubation, including elsewhere at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* (see below), suggests the possible significance of this discovery. See O. Ziegenaus in Ziegenaus/De Luca 1968, 17–19 and Hoffmann (A.) 2011, 108n.629 on the archaeological remains. For benches at incubation dormitories, see n. 30.

56 See Jones 1998, 71–72; for the “Schöpfbrunnen” see Ziegenaus/De Luca 1968, 22–24, and see Ziegenaus/De Luca 1975, 16–17 for the “Felsbrunnen.” The “Badebrunnen” (Building 23), located on the far side of the temple from Buildings 27/28 (see Ziegenaus/De Luca 1975, 54–55), is less likely to have played a role in incubation rituals, though since it was large enough for full bodily immersion it may well have been used by those about to spend the night there or for hydrotherapy sometime after awakening. Among the reasons for linking the “Schöpfbrunnen” but not the “Badebrunnen” to incubation rituals is simple chronology: the latter is early Roman and thus constructed long after incubation was first practiced at the sanctuary, whereas the former dates to the Hellenistic Period just after

While this complex is commonly accepted as the locus for incubation, other candidates have also been proposed. The more plausible is the 125-meter cryptoporticus running beneath the southern portico (Building 20, Building 1c in Plan 3), which featured a stone bench running its whole length and likewise provided the seclusion presumably ideal for incubation, and has tentatively been identified by one scholar as the “great” *enkoimētērion* (Fig. 7).⁵⁷ Not an original feature of the sanctuary, the addition of the southern portico and its substructure was part of the expansion now thought to have started in late-Flavian times and that lasted for up to seven decades, during which a Temple of Zeus Asklepios modeled on Rome’s Pantheon and other monumental structures were built to the east of the “Felsbarre” and a theater was added to the north.⁵⁸ Another candidate, though a less likely one because of its unusual architecture, is the Hadrianic Building 9 (known as the “untere Rundbau,” “Lower Rotunda” or “Lower Circular Building,” Building 14 in Plan 3) located beside the Temple of Zeus Asklepios at the southeast corner of the sanctuary, which, it has been suggested, may have been the “great” *enkoimētērion*, or at least served as an incubation structure for a time but had been built for some other purpose.⁵⁹ Recent work, however, has shown that the Lower Rotunda, built c. 150–160 CE, was a hall devoted to cult feasts, and thus should no longer

the earliest phase of Building 27. For hydrotherapy in the cult of Asklepios at Pergamon and the evidence preserved in Aristides regarding the use of the Sacred Well, see pp. 245–249.

- 57 See Hoffmann (A.) 2011, 82–110 for the full excavation report (arguing for this cryptoporticus’s identification as the “great” *enkoimētērion* and Buildings 27/28 as the “small” at pp. 108–109), and also Hoffmann (A.) 1998, 54–55; cf. Ehrenheim 2009, 250 and Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 188.
- 58 For the remodeling, see Hoffmann (A.) 1998 (with list of new structures at p. 45) and Radt (W.) 1999, 220–242, to which must now be added Strocka 2012 (with his own list of structures and chronology at p. 271). A minor problem with the identification of this substructure as the μέγα ἐνκοιμητήριον is that at least one of the two surviving *leges sacrae* was partly based on Hellenistic material, but there is no reason why the structures to which “great” and “small” referred could not have been among the changes made as the sanctuary’s regulations evolved.
- 59 The suggestion is that of Wiegand and Ohlemutz (*supra*, n. 54) as well as their colleague Harald Hanson (Hanson (H.) 1940, 475), and has been followed by Ziegenaus 1981, 76–77, among others. A round building with six semi-circular chambers, this structure is unlike all known incubation dormitories. While the presence of water canals and basins suggests the building could have been devoted to bathing—perhaps though not necessarily with a curative purpose, as Behr claimed (Behr 1968, 28)—Ehrenheim is correct that it is unlikely for people to have engaged in incubation in the building where they bathed (Ehrenheim 2009, 250).

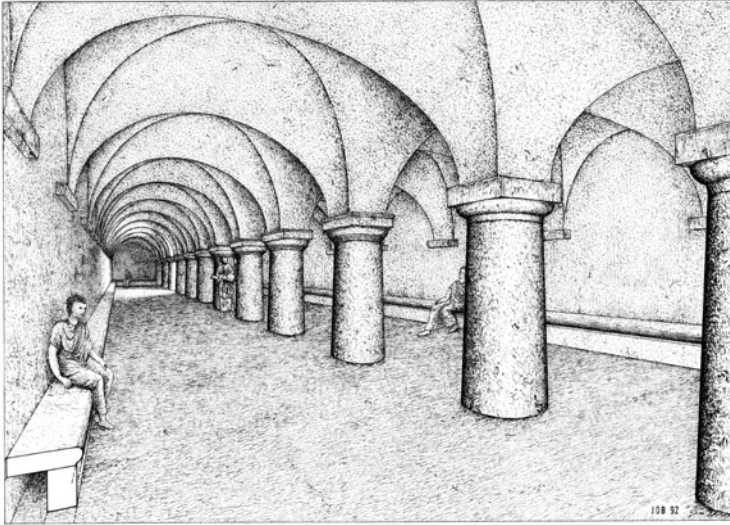


FIGURE 7 *Artistic rendition of the Pergamon Asklepieion's cryptoporticus (located beneath the southern portico, Building 1C on Plan 3), a proposed location for incubation.*

SOURCE: HOFFMANN (A.) 2011, FIG. 64 (COURTESY OF ADOLF HOFFMANN)

be linked to incubation.⁶⁰ Even though the *leges sacrae* make clear that specific structures were designated for incubation, Aristides shows that, at least in the case of prominent worshipers, it was possible to receive dreams in temples and various other parts of the sanctuary; regrettably, however, he provides no clues that would help us identify the two *enkoimētēria*.⁶¹

60 See Strocka 2012, 259–269, arguing against a link to healing at p. 261.

61 This has previously been noted by Ehrenheim 2009, 251, though attributing Aristides's tendency to sleep in different areas to his “being practically a permanent guest” rather than to his prominence. On more than one occasion Aristides slept in the Hellenistic Temple of Asklepios Sōtēr—the traditional god whose worship was more popular than that of the more intellectual, universal god Zeus Asklepios (see Hoffmann (A.) 1998, 52)—though presumably only outside the inner sanctum, as his account indicates. According to Aristides, he was instructed in a dream to sleep in the area “between the temple's doors and latticed gates” (μεταξὺ τῶν τε θυρῶν καὶ τῶν κιγκλίδων τοῦ νεώ) and, heeding this message, received a dream-oracle there (Aristid., *Or.* 48.71; see Jones 1998, 70, opting for this temple over that of Zeus Asklepios; see n. 48 on this passage). That sleeping there was not an ordinary practice is suggested by the fact that Aristides had to receive the god's instruction to do so. Further evidence for Aristides sleeping at the Temple of Asklepios Sōtēr is found in a passage with a textual problem that has created confusion

The reason for having two incubation dormitories is unclear, and remains a subject for speculation. It has been proposed, based on the longer *lex sacra*'s different sacrificial requirement for those who needed to engage in incubation for a second time regarding the same matter, that the lesser chamber may have been devoted to this sub-group;⁶² however, the inscription is ambiguous on this point, and its reference to this smaller structure need not be linked to the preceding mention of those inquiring multiple times. More recently, it has been suggested that whereas the structure that is believed by most to have

regarding which of the two main temples Aristides had in mind (Aristid., *Or.* 49.7): in the manuscripts it is referred to as the temple of the "Deliverers" (Σωτήρων), but instead of accepting Bruno Keil's quite sensible emendation of Σωτήρος, Behr without explanation took it to be the Temple of Zeus Asklepios (Behr 1968, 28n.27 and Behr 1981–86, 11:43n.10, cf. 11:468), and Heinrich O. Schröder then unconvincingly associated the epithet σωτήρες with Asklepios and Sarapis, and perhaps Hygieia and Telesphoros as well (Schröder (H.) 1986, 65–66n.11, citing *Or.* 27.39 as an instance of Aristides referring to Asklepios and Sarapis as "the two protector gods" (τῶν δύο τῶν σωτήρων θεῶν), which of course does not mean that at Pergamon they shared a temple; cf. *Or.* 36.124). (It is admittedly possible that Aristides was referring to the Temple of Asklepios Sōtēr as that of both this god and Hygieia Sōteira, though there is no other evidence for this practice or for Hygieia being identified as "Sōteira" in the inscriptions from the Pergamon *Asklepieion*, nor were the two normally referred to together as "Sōtēres." Moreover, as De Luca 1991, 333–340 and Kranz 2010, 176–177 discuss, Hygieia was probably being worshiped in her own temple on the "Felsbarre.")

Aristides, however, also referred to having engaged in "lying down throughout the entire sanctuary in the open air and wherever this chanced to happen, and especially in the temple road, beneath the goddess's holy lamp itself" (διὰ παντός τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακλίσσεις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τε καὶ ὅπου τύχοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥμιστα δὴ ἢ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ νεῶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπάδα τῆς θεοῦ γενομένη), which indicates that incubation was not limited to temples or incubation dormitories (Aristid., *Or.* 48.80; see Jones, *ibid.*, 70–71 for the difficult topographical problems associated with this passage). (The term *κατάκλισις* need not refer to incubation and might be for sleep of a non-ritual nature, but the conclusion that Aristides had in mind sleep intended to bring a dream from the god can be inferred both from the overall context of the *Sacred Tales*, and from the fact that *ἐγκοίμησις*—a term that Aristides never uses—would not have been ideal for sleep that took place in the open air, but may occasionally have been used for sleeping in a *temenos* rather than a specific structure. For both terms, see Behr 1968, 35n.58. For outdoors sleep, see p. 670n.23.) Regrettably, when recounting a dream in which a servant told him of dreaming that he had brought with him a ham hock that had been prepared to Aristides's liking and had it incubate in the *Asklepieion* (ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη γεγενῆσθαι ὄναρ αὐτῷ, λαβόντα σκέλος χοίρειον ἐγκοίμισαι ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, σκευάσαντα ὥσπερ ἐγὼ εἴωθα χρῆσθαι), Aristides does not indicate where the man had dreamed of placing his meal (Aristid., *Or.* 47.43).

62 See Sokolowski 1973, 408–409.

been the “great” *enkoimētērion* (Building 28) could have fit several worshipers into its small rooms in addition to the larger ones, the “small” *enkoimētērion* (Building 27) may have been used for prominent visitors and those active in the cult in the capacity of *therapeutai* or *perithutai*, and it may even have been used exclusively for such special clientele.⁶³ Despite the plausibility of such suggestions, it remains a mystery why the Pergamon *Asklepieion* had two structures for incubation but no other sanctuary, including the Epidauros “mother” sanctuary, is known to have had such an arrangement, and it is likewise unknown whether this was originally planned or an innovation made as the sanctuary became more popular.

3.2.5 Kos, Corinth, Lebena and other Asklepieia

Even though the Pergamon sacred laws indicate that by Roman times there were two incubation chambers operating contemporaneously, other sanctuaries that underwent major rebuilding or expansion may have reassigned the role of incubation facility from an original structure to another type (a possibility that cannot be ruled out for Pergamon). Thus, for example, at Kos it has been thought that one structure, Building D, was linked to the practice—an uncertain identification—and was joined or replaced by the erection of porticoes that represent a more plausible setting for incubation *en masse*, though nothing from the site indicates which scenario actually occurred (Figs. 8 and 9).⁶⁴

63 See Ehrenheim 2009, 249–250, partly based on Armpis’s unpublished dissertation (see *supra*, n. 24). For the issue of whether those referred to as *therapeutai* in Aristides’s *Sacred Tales*—also known from *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, l. 25 ([οἱ θ]εραπεύοντες τὸν θεὸν) and other sources—represented a distinct group, see Remus 1996, 152–153 *et pass.*, Brabant 2006, and Legras 2011, 156–158.

64 The *Asklepieion* and its finds have been the subject of two recent and important studies by Elisabetta Interdonato and Stéphanie Paul that appeared the same year: Interdonato 2013 (with catalog of inscriptions, structures, architectural elements, and other finds at pp. 209–380) and Paul 2013, 167–187 (a chapter in a broader study of religion on Kos). See also Riethmüller 2005, 1:206–219, 11:349–350, Cat.-App. No. 179 (but see Renberg 2009, disputing the author’s claims regarding the sanctuary’s early history, an issue also taken up in Paul, *ibid.*, 174–178), Sherwin-White 1978, 334–359 *et pass.*, and van Straten 1981, Appendix A 30; cf. Bosnakis 2014. It was Paul Schazmann who suggested that incubation began in Building D on Terrace 11 but shifted to the porticoes (see Schazmann 1932, 15 and Aleshire 1989, 29n.4), and also that this building’s two chambers of equal size might be explained by drawing a parallel with Oropos, where a *lex sacra* records that men and women slept separately (Schazmann, *ibid.*, 51, citing *I.Oropos* 277 (see p. 628); cf. Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 1:213n.768, with additional references). However, despite this building’s proximity to Temple B and the springhouse, its purpose cannot be determined for certain (as noted by Roebuck 1951, 56n.38; cf. Sherwin-White, *ibid.*, 343, 349 and Paul, *ibid.*, 169, 170–171),

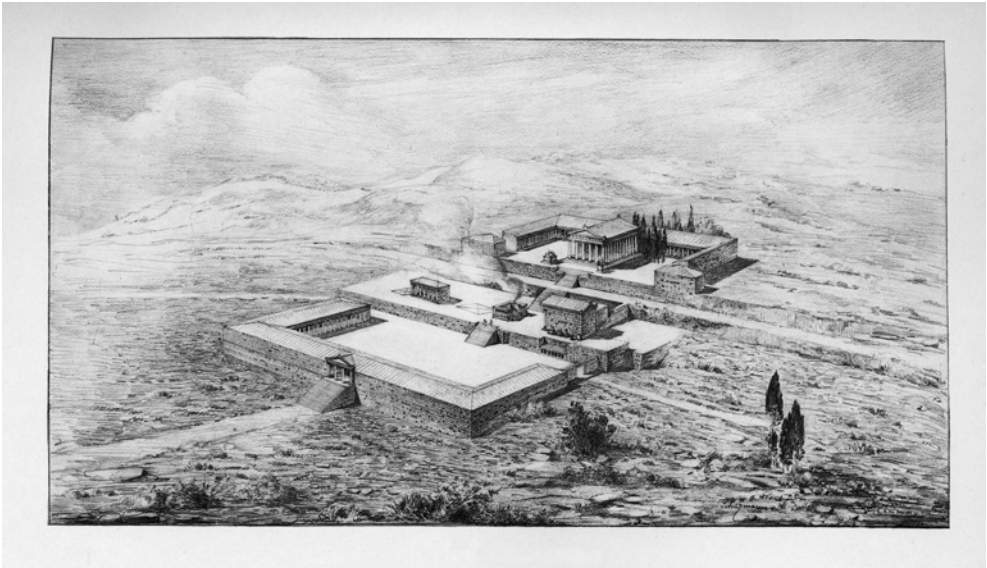


FIGURE 8 *Kos Asklepieion, with temple and triple-portico shown on Terrace I (top) and Building D on Terrace II (middle).*
DRAWING BY P. SCHAZMANN. SOURCE: SCHAZMANN 1932, PL. 40

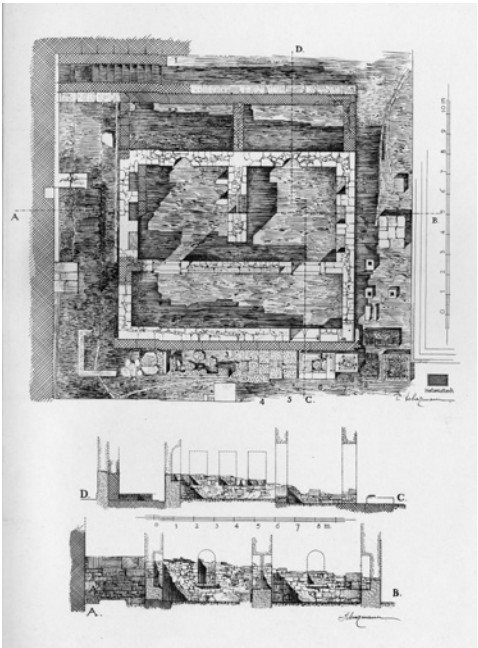


FIGURE 9
Kos Asklepieion, Building D, previously proposed as a site for incubation.
DRAWING BY P. SCHAZMANN. SOURCE: SCHAZMANN 1932, PL. 28

Regardless of whether it was Building D, the porticoes, or both that served those seeking dreams, without the literary sources there would have been no way of connecting the sanctuary to incubation, as nothing among the remains clearly points to the practice.⁶⁵ As the finds at Pergamon suggest, incubation was not associated with a single architectural form, but the use of stoas at Epidauros, Athens and Amphiaraos's sanctuary at Oropos has repeatedly led to the assumption that the presence of such a structure at an *Asklepieion* is evidence that incubation had been practiced there, even when no written sources indicate the need for there to have been an incubation dormitory. Thus in the case of Kos the limited but compelling evidence of the written sources provides a good reason to attempt to determine where worshipers would receive their dreams, and to settle upon the triple-portico as an obvious locus, but for other sites in the absence of explicit or implicit textual evidence it is ill-advised to jump to conclusions that the presence of a stoa in particular signals incubation, especially since stoas served a broad range of purposes at ancient sanctuaries and were commonly found at sites with no detectable healing function.⁶⁶

though Interdonato may be correct that it functioned as a *hestiatorion* (Interdonato, *ibid.*, 283–288). The sanctuary's porticoes make for a more likely setting for incubation. As Interdonato concludes, if incubation was practiced at Kos the triple-portico on Terrace I would have been the most reasonable site for it, though she points out that the structure appears to have been used for communal meals and resting (Interdonato, *ibid.*, 265–273, at pp. 272–273). Elsewhere, however, she associates the porticoes of both Terraces I and III with incubation in part because of the presence of water (at pp. 126–127, cf. 152; for water at the *Asklepieion*, see pp. 151–153). In contrast, Monica Livadiotti in her briefer treatment of the sanctuary claims without supporting argument that incubation only started being practiced at Kos in Roman times, and that it occurred in a series of rooms that had no doors and would have required a ladder to enter (Livadiotti 2006, 301–302).

65 See Sect. 3.3.6.

66 J.J. Coulton, in his definitive study of Greek stoas, emphasizes that little is known about the functions of most of the stoas that have been found, though literary and epigraphical sources give insights into the many ways they were used, such as sheltering visitors, displaying dedications, hosting those who had to spend the night instead of journeying back home, and even serving as living quarters for those serving at a sanctuary (Coulton 1976, 9). Despite the evidence amassed by Coulton, Riethmüller, though not alone in doing so, has been especially prone to make the assumption that stoas at *Asklepieia* indicate incubation. For example, he treats the Titane *Asklepieion* as an incubation sanctuary because of its stoa (see Riethmüller 2005, 1:133–137, 11:68–71, Cat. No. 24, especially at 11:68 and 1:133), even though the one source for the site, Pausanias, records that the stoa was filled with statues of gods such as Aphrodite, Dionysos, Mater Deum, Tyche and Asklepios Gortynios (Paus. 2.11.5–8), which indicates that it was used primarily or solely for displaying dedications rather than accommodating groups of sleeping worshipers. (It cannot be

Similarly, buildings with halls should not be linked to incubation without additional evidence, as occasionally occurs.⁶⁷ In addition to such problems associated with structures that have been found and excavated, there is also at least one case of an unsupportable conclusion regarding incubation at a site having been reached based solely on vague or incomplete information about the sanctuary's topography in written sources.⁶⁸

ruled out, however, that there might have been an interior, more secluded aisle for incubation.) Elsewhere in his study Riethmüller includes the *Asklepieia* at Apameia (Bithynia), Kasai (Cilicia), and Syrna (Rhodian Peraia)—along with Pergamon, Beroia, Lissos and Gortys, of which the latter two have been linked to incubation only because of the immediate presence of water (see pp. 159–161)—in a list of sites with known incubation structures (Riethmüller 2005, 1:60). None of the evidence he points to, however, is convincing. At Apameia/Myrleia (*ibid.*, 11:260, Cat.-App. No. 260), an inscription from Roman times records the dedication of a stoa for Asklepios, who is uniquely identified as Asklepios Epidauros Pergamēnos (*I.Apameia und Pylai* 5). Likewise, the Kasai site (*ibid.*, 11:384, Cat.-App. No. 356) was identified as an incubation sanctuary from a stoa's dedicatory inscription, dating to the early Imperial Period (*SEG* 40, 1305). The case for Syrna (*ibid.*, 11:353, Cat.-App. No. 196) is even less convincing, since the reference to a stoa at a sanctuary of Asklepios has been tentatively restored preceding a list of benefactors who had contributed to the erection of τᾶ[ς στοᾶς?] during the Hellenistic period (*I.RhodPer* 301, l. 3 + 302; cf. *I.PérRhod* 58, a, l. 3, leaving this unrestored). Riethmüller, following others, elsewhere concludes that the Sikyon *Asklepieion* was an incubation sanctuary based on Pausanias's report that statues of Hypnos and Oneiros were given prominence there (Paus. 2.10.2; see pp. 686–687), and places it south of the *agora* (see Riethmüller 2005, 1:130–133, 11:63–68, Cat. No. 23). For an example of another scholar linking a stoa to incubation without other evidence, see Alexandra Ioannidou's treatment of a site in Melitaia (Thessaly) that she unconvincingly identifies as an *Asklepieion* solely because of the discovery of a lone dedication to the god (*SEG* 58, 529) in a building adjacent to the 26.80 (excavated length) × 3.10 meter structure (Ioannidou 1972, 50–53, 57, rightly disputed by Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:289–290, Cat. No. 144 and Melfi 2007a, 511; cf. Cantarelli 2008, 392–393).

In the Latin West, in addition to the claim made regarding the triple-portico at the Fregellae *Asklepieion* on the basis of its similarity to Kos's (see Renberg 2006, 113–114), it has been thought that incubation was practiced in the cryptoporticus of a sanctuary at Theveste in Africa Proconsularis that was modeled on a Greek *Asklepieion*, due to the role of the "Abaton" at Epidauros (see Benseddik 2010, 11:77).

- 67 See Riethmüller's tentative suggestion that the square-shaped complex roughly two hundred meters southwest of the temple of Poseidon at Kalaureia, identified by its excavators as a *heroon* (Welter 1941, 51–52 + Pl. 44), might have been devoted to Asklepios, in which case its two parallel halls would have been used for incubation (Riethmüller 2005, 1:371, 11:102–105, No. 41).
- 68 An unspecified type of structure—perhaps a stoa with multiple chambers—that could host visitors overnight has been linked to incubation by Aleshire, who suggested that the *Asklepieion* near Tithorea, which has yet to be found (see Riethmüller 2005, 11:268–271,

At some sanctuaries, the discovery of a fountain or some other structure that could have provided water for pre-incubatory rituals has been considered important evidence that a nearby stoa or another structure had been the locus of incubation—even though the precise role of water in therapeutic incubation is not known.⁶⁹ The most prominent reason for associating water with incubation is that the most famous incubation stoa, the “*Abaton*” at Epidauros, was adjoined by a small structure known as the “Sacred Bath” (ἱερὸν λουτρὸν) or “Bath of Asklepios,” but this interpretation of the structure’s remains has recently been called into question.⁷⁰ The presence of water has also been

Cat. No. 125), can be identified as an incubation sanctuary because of Pausanias’s mention of the presence of οἰκήσεις for both suppliants and temple servants within the precinct (Paus. 10.32.12, cited by Aleshire 1989, 30n.2). Since the site was seventy stades (eleven kilometers) from the city it is more likely that these dwellings simply functioned as guest-houses for those who had trekked out there. (The evidence for and against people being able to stay at sanctuaries has been surveyed in Dillon 1990 (though excluding this site), which shows that sleeping at temples of non-healing gods was generally prohibited; see also *NGSL*², p. 26. Exceptions, however, could be made, as can perhaps be seen in the sacred law for the Thessalian oracle of Apollo at Korope, located thirty-five kilometers from Demetrias and requiring an overnight stay for consultations, though it is not stated where those inquiring would sleep (*IG* 1X.2, 1109 (= *Syll*³ 1157 = *LSCG* 83); for the procedures at this oracle, see p. 523n.2.) An alternative and similarly dubious reason for linking the Tithorea sanctuary to incubation is Pausanias’s statement that a couch was to be found to the right of the cult statue (see Roebuck 1951, 55n.33 and Wacht 1997, 193). Ehrenheim 2009, 246 rightly disputes that this *klinē* could be linked to incubation inside the temple, but in suggesting that it was present there to serve “a more symbolic function” appears to accept that incubation would have been practiced in another part of the sanctuary. This is plausible but still problematic, especially since if the presence of a couch were commonplace Pausanias would not have bothered to mention it, and he does not report having seen one at Epidauros or another sanctuary clearly associated with the practice. Therefore, this *klinē* is more likely to have had some special significance, and ultimately there is no reliable evidence for incubation at the Tithorea *Asklepieion*.)

69 Most recently, see Riethmüller 2005, 1:385–387, explicitly linking water sources to incubation stoas (including some that should not be identified as such with certainty).

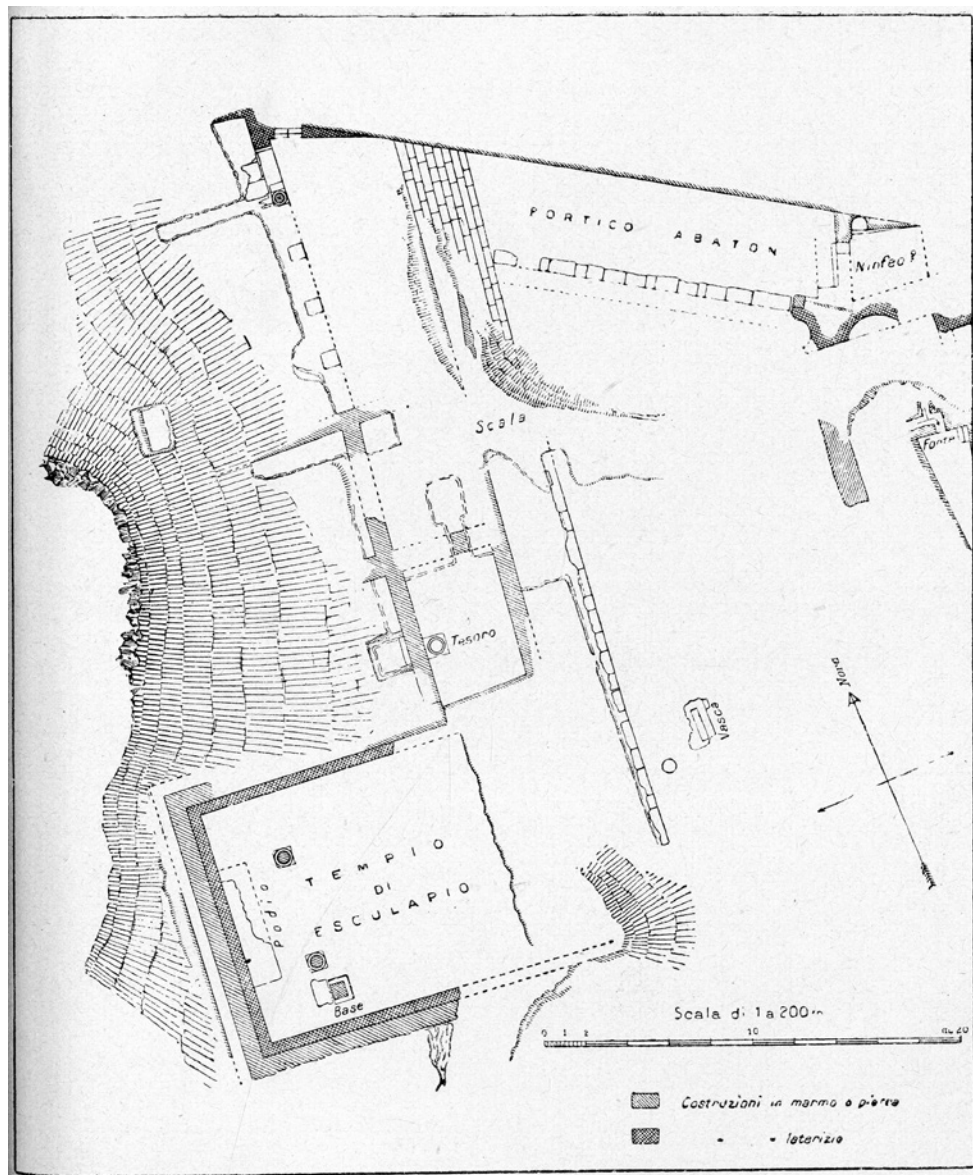
70 The “Sacred Bath,” at the stoa’s eastern end, has traditionally been interpreted as a combination of the sacred well with a square basin that was fed by water channeled to the area underground from fountains in the eastern part of the sanctuary, and it has even been proposed by Vassilis K. Lambrinoudakis that this water would enter a bronze statue of Asklepios and pour into a *phiale* held by the god before eventually flowing into the bath (see Lambrinoudakis 2002, 219–220). However, Monika Trümper in a recent article on bathing at Epidauros has challenged this and other interpretations of the remains of the “Sacred Bath,” noting that it “lacks features typical of contemporary baths” and calling for a full reassessment of its architectural history and ritual purpose (Trümper 2014, 212–216;

observed at some other sites where incubation is known to have been practiced, with the basin or fountain in question either not necessary for the identification of the incubation structure or not compelling evidence. In the case of the Lebena *Asklepieion*, known from literature as a draw for pilgrims and from inscriptions as a site where incubation was practiced, it is not the presence of a fountain or *nymphaeum* a few yards from the single-aisled North Stoa that provides the most compelling evidence that this structure served as the dormitory, but rather the fact that most of the inscribed healing testimonies were unearthed there and appear to have been built into its walls (Plan 4).⁷¹ Similarly, in the Athenian *Asklepieion* there is only one good candidate for an incubation structure, and the availability or lack of availability of water—which was indeed present, in the form of a rock-fed spring in a small cavern behind this stoa—would not change this identification.⁷² At Kos, for which there are more

quoting p. 216). This undermines the conclusion of Lambrinoudakis, that “in the most important part of the sanctuary, the core of the cure (was) offered by Asklepios; the god himself was the source of water, which became the divine substance that bestowed life to the patient, purified him and was thus qualified as the sacred medium for cure,” and in turn means that the proximity of water to a stoa is even less reliable as evidence for incubation than previously thought. (For the presence and role of water at Epidauros, see also Lambrinoudakis 1994; cf. Ehrenheim 2009, 243.)

71 On the Lebena *Asklepieion*, see now Melfi 2007b, which encompasses structural remains and written sources, and features an epigraphical catalog (pp. 155–199). With the exception of Margherita Guarducci’s still essential epigraphical corpus (*I.Cret* 1, xvii) and three articles by Sineux that appeared too late for Melfi to include (Sineux 2004a, Sineux 2006b, and Sineux 2006c), Melfi’s study supercedes the earlier works on the sanctuary and its remains: Pernier/Banti 1947, 67–75; Hadzi-Vallianou 1989 (especially pp. 14, 16, 18); Sporn 2002, 187–192; and Riethmüller 2005, 1:327–334, 11:344, Cat.-App. No. 161; cf. C. Tarditi in *Aerial Atlas Crete*, 160–163. See also Sineux 2012, revisiting the subject of the god’s cures, Melfi 2004, on the sanctuary’s revival under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and Melfi 2009, on sculptures from the site that are now lost. Evidence for pilgrimage or long-term stays is perhaps represented by a structure from the vicinity that appears to have served as lodging. On this sanctuary’s rich epigraphical sources for incubation, some inscribed on the stoa’s building blocks, see Sect. 3.3.4.

72 For the multiple water sources at the *Asklepieion*, see Melfi 2007a, 341–346. The spring later served the Byzantine church built at this spot (Melfi, *ibid.*, 341–342; Papaefthimiou 2012, 80 + fig. 2). The possibility has also been raised that the “*bothros*,” a square structure attached to the stoa that has been the subject of considerable debate, had served as a cistern that made water convenient for those engaging in incubation, and even that the water was used for divinely ordained hydrotherapy rather than pre-incubation purification (see Melfi, *ibid.*, 323–324, 345–346; see also Ehrenheim 2009, 244n.76); however, as Tae Jensen will argue in his dissertation (see n. 35), the lack of waterproof plaster eliminates this possibility. (For an earlier suggestion that the *bothros* was the focus for a hero



PLAN 4 *Lebena Asklepieion, showing "Abaton" at north end.*

SOURCE: PERNIER/BANTI 1947, PL. 4

limited though nonetheless compelling sources for incubation, the availability of water from fountains and a main cistern has been seen as support for concluding that it was practiced in the porticoes of Terraces I and III.⁷³ In the case of other sanctuaries not otherwise linked to incubation, however, some scholars have assumed that incubation was practiced in a particular structure primarily *because* of the presence of a water source or ritual basin within that structure or in its immediate vicinity. Thus, for example, at the Paros *Asklepieion*, linked to healing by four anatomical reliefs, the presence of a fountain that appears to have functioned as a lustral basin for bodily immersion, along with some uncertain epigraphical evidence, has led to the conclusion that incubation was practiced in a small, non-descript structure west of the altar.⁷⁴ (This may

cult of Asklepios—indeed, his “fictive grave” (p. 143)—and was used for pre-incubation sacrifices, among other activities, see Riethmüller 1999; *contra*, see, e.g., Verbanck-Piérard 2000, 329–332, Stafford 2008, 220, Versnel 2011, 420n.135; cf. Ekroth 2002, 226 with n. 55.) In addition, water was also available in a cistern near the Augustan stoa, but if it served a ritual purpose it is more likely to have been used for purifications upon entering the sanctuary—if this was indeed at the entranceway—than for pre-incubatory cleansing, though hydrotherapy is also a possibility (see Melfi, *ibid.*, 343–344). Perhaps significantly, there was no bath large enough for full-body immersion.

The one surviving fountain at the site, which predates the cult, is located beyond the Ionic West Stoa, and beyond the *horoi* marking off the sanctuary’s western end, and therefore cannot have been used for incubation. Nonetheless, there have been occasional attempts to link this stoa to the practice in part because of the fountain’s proximity (e.g., Melfi, *ibid.*, 332–333). There has even been a suggestion that this stoa was used for incubation by both the cult of Asklepios and that of Isis in the adjacent sanctuary (see Walker (S.) 1979, 257; cf. Ehrenheim 2009, 246 with n. 78, entertaining the possibility because of the known presence of a dream interpreter at the *Isieion* (IG II² 4771; see pp. 717–718), but noting the problems presented by architectural remains of the stoa).

73 See Interdonato 2013, 126–127, linking the water to ablutions before engaging in incubation but also contending that hydrotherapy was practiced at the *Asklepieion*. See also Paul 2013, 169, on the likelihood that the sanctuary’s cult of the Nymphs was located at the springhouse near Building D and Temple B, and Ginouvès 1994, 240–241. For the site’s wells, see Schazmann 1932, 58–60; cf. Riethmüller 2005, 1:212–213.

74 The most exhaustive study of the Paros *Asklepieion*, which from Archaic times until the fourth century BCE had belonged to Apollo, is Melfi 2002 (with a shorter treatment in Melfi 2007a, 433–456); cf. Riethmüller 2005, 1:193–200, 11:340, Cat.-App. No. 147 (omitting Melfi). Two basins large enough for full immersion of one’s body—labeled Q1 and Q2, the former a larger replacement for the latter—have been found at the site (see Melfi 2002, 336–344 and Melfi 2007a, 436–437; cf. Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 1:196–197). For the claim of incubation at the site, see Melfi 2002, 342–343 *et pass.* and Melfi 2007a, 444–445. Melfi’s suggestion in the latter that the western wing is especially likely to have been the area devoted to incubation, which is based on a *lex sacra* (IG XII.5, 126, ll. 2–3 (= LSCG 112)),

also be the reason that Building B in the *Asklepieion* at Daphnous (modern Agios Konstantinos) that was the focus of a rescue excavation in 2007 has been identified as an incubation complex: in addition to two small rooms labeled “*abaton*” and “*enkoimētērion*,” the third is called the “*loutron*.”⁷⁵)

More notably, at Corinth, where there is abundant evidence for healing in the form of more than a hundred anatomical votives (Fig. 10) but no source explicitly referring to incubation from any period of the sanctuary’s history,⁷⁶ a hall west of the temple that is believed to have functioned as an incubation chamber during the site’s Hellenistic phase has been called the “*Abaton*,” in part because of the adjoining “Lustral Room” (*i.e.*, a water basin measuring 5.10 × 1.70 meters, reached by descending a short flight of stairs), which has

is unconvincing, as it depends on an unproven restoration in a seemingly irrelevant inscription—[ἐν τῷ οἰκῇ][[ματι τῷ] ζεφυρίῳ(?) in *IG*, but restored by Sokolowski [πρὸς τῷ] | [τοῦ τῷ] ζεφυρίῳ in *LSCG*, citing trivial parallels—as well as her belief that the inscription’s later reference to a *neokoros* is pertinent to incubation, when these officials were too common for their presence to be treated as evidence for a particular ritual (see n. 281).

Anatomical reliefs: *IG* XII.5, 156–157 (foot), 158 (hands) (= van Straten 1981, Appendix A 31.1, 31.3–4 = Forsén 1996, 95–96, Nos. 29.1–3 + figs. 98–99); see Melfi 2002, 349 and Melfi 2007a, 446–447, and on the iconography of *IG* XII.5, 158 see Forsén/Sironen 1989, 60–61. To these might be added five other anatomical reliefs noted by Melfi, *ibid.*, 448, but treated as unproven by Forsén: three uninscribed left hands (Paros Mus. 187, 795, 128 (= Forsén 1996, 100–101, Nos. 32.1–3 + figs. 107–109)) and two right feet (*SEG* 41, 691–692 (= Forsén, *ibid.*, 101–102, Nos. 32.4–5 + figs. 110–111). It is possible, though impossible to prove, that Paros Mus. 187 is the same as the uninscribed, fragmentary relief of a hand seen built into a house by Otto Rubensohn and briefly described (Rubensohn 1902, 224 (= van Straten, *ibid.*, Appendix A 31.2)). For Parian anatomical votives in general, see Forsén/Sironen 1991.

75 See Papakonstantinou 2012 (with fig. 4), a preliminary report on the site, which was in use from the late Archaic Period until its abandonment c. 100 BCE. Putting aside the lack of any evidence for an *Asklepieion* or the sanctuary of any other god having both an incubation dormitory and an *abaton*, there is no reason given for identifying “Building B” with incubation, leaving one to infer that it may have been the presence of a small room for bathing that inspired this interpretation of the remains. It is to be hoped that a final report on the excavations will shed light on this matter.

76 Nor does any source implicitly refer to incubation: Melfi’s assumption regarding the badly damaged inscription recording a dedication to Asklepios made in compliance with a divine command ([---]? | [---]ος | [χατ’ ἐπιτ]αγήν | [τῷ Ἀσκλη]ηπιῷ[ι]) fails to take into account that this dedicatory inscription is indistinguishable from hundreds of others from other sites employing similar language, and thus cannot be linked to incubation with any degree of certainty (Melfi 2007a, 309, citing *I. Corinth* 63 + Pl. 8; see pp. 34–35n.95).

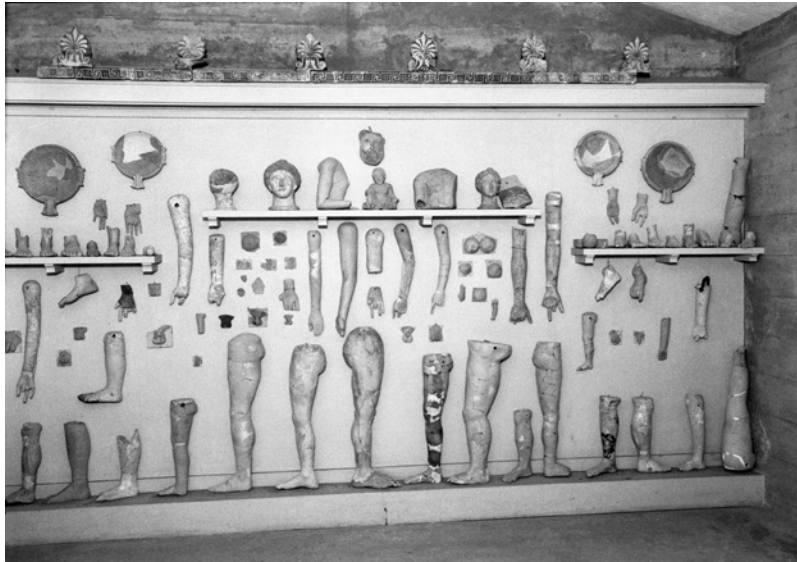


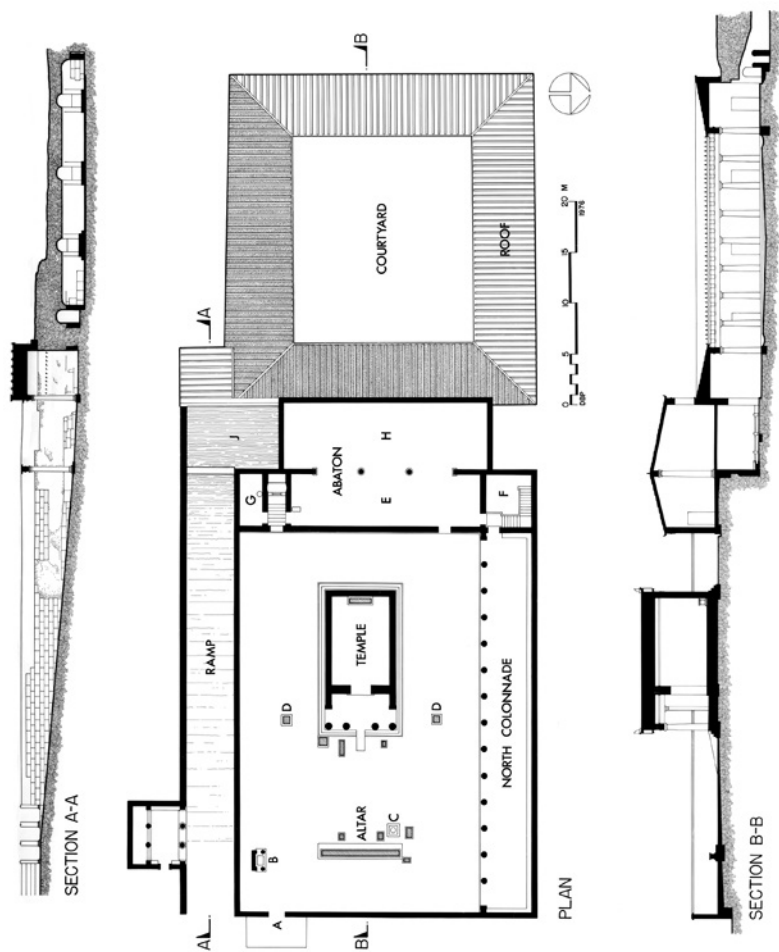
FIGURE 10 *Anatomical votives from the Corinthian Asklepieion.*

SOURCE: LANG 1977, FIG. 14 (COURTESY OF AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, CORINTH EXCAVATIONS)

been problematically linked to pre-incubation rituals (Plan 5).⁷⁷ Measuring just under thirty meters in length (29.70 × 6.30 meters) and therefore nearly as

77 On the structures and features of the Corinthian *Asklepieion*, see: Roebuck 1951, 23–64 *et pass.* (especially pp. 42, 51, 55); Riethmüller 2005, I:123–130, II:54–61, Cat. No. 21; Melfi 2007a, 289–312 *et pass.*; Wickkiser 2010a; cf. Lang 1977, 9–15, Ginouvès 1994, 239–240, and Rothaus 2000, 42–63 *et pass.* After being established in the late-fifth century BCE at a site previously consecrated to Apollo, the *Asklepieion* was significantly renovated c. 300 BCE—just as other *Asklepieia*, including Athens and Epidauros, were greatly expanded during the late-Classical and early-Hellenistic periods—and was later rebuilt following the Roman destruction of the city (for which see now Melfi 2014). The anatomical votives are securely dated to c. 425–300 BCE, and thus belong to the phase before the “*Abaton*” was constructed. (For the anatomical votives, see Roebuck, *ibid.*, 114–128, 137 (= van Straten 1981, Appendix A 15.1–15.118); cf. Lang, *ibid.*, 15, 19–28 and Laios/Tsoucalas/Karamanou/Androustos 2015.)

The possible use of the North Colonnade, a narrow portico extending across most of the sanctuary’s northern perimeter, to accommodate overnight visitors was suggested by Carl Roebuck, who believed that it did not offer sufficient privacy for incubation (*ibid.*, 55), and entertained by Riethmüller, who nonetheless considers the identification of the hall to the west of the temple as the *abaton* to be “außer Frage” (*ibid.*, II:59). Melfi, in turn,



280-282
from Corinth, 1928
fig. 15

PLAN 5 *Corinth Asklepieion and Lerna (to the right), showing "Lustral Room" (G) adjacent to the "Abaton."*
SOURCE: LANG 1977, FIG. 15 (COURTESY OF AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS,
CORINTH EXCAVATIONS)

large as the incubation stoa at Epidauros after its expansion, the “*Abaton*” was located directly behind the temple and on the far side of the sanctuary from the altar, *thesauros*, and two fountains, and directly above a series of rooms that most likely served as *hestiatoria* and the eastern boundary of the Lerna complex.⁷⁸ Lacking a more obvious purpose, and since the North Colonnade evidently served as shelter for visitors, the identification of the large hall as an incubation dormitory is indeed plausible. Moreover, since the recent excavations at Epidauros have revealed that the inner aisle of the original half of the incubation stoa was closed off (or could be temporarily closed off) to give sleeping worshipers privacy, the fact that this structure at Corinth was similarly divided into an open outer area and a closed-off inner area has been thought to argue in favor of its identification as an *abaton*.⁷⁹ However, it is impossible to discard completely the earlier suggestions that this hall was used for storage or employed by the priests in some other capacity, and any conclusion regarding incubation having been practiced at the Corinth *Asklepieion* is speculation, no matter how plausible.⁸⁰

concludes that this stoa would have been used for shelter by those waiting to engage in incubation, waiting for others who were doing so, or had already done so but were waiting to fulfill their obligations to the god (Melfi, *ibid.*, 300). For the “Lustral Room” and its potential role for bathing before incubation, see Roebuck, *ibid.*, 46–51, 157–158 (especially pp. 48, 157), followed by Cole 1988, 163, Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:58–59, and Melfi, *ibid.*, 293, 296, 300; cf. Wickkiser, *ibid.*, 50–51). Even if it did serve this purpose, its role was short-lived: the Lustral Room’s roof collapsed soon after construction, leading Roebuck and Melfi to suggest that one of the two fountains at the far end of the sanctuary became the source of water used for incubation rituals (Roebuck, *ibid.*, 50–51; Melfi, *ibid.*, 303–304). However, neither the east water basin, located just inside the entrance, nor the fountain house on the ramp’s south side should be linked to incubation: the former presumably would have been used for the traditional purificatory water sprinkling upon entering a sanctuary (see Sect. 3.4.4.1), while the fountain house was not only quite far away (as Melfi notes in questioning Roebuck), but by being located beyond the sanctuary’s entrance point it would have been unsuitable for purificatory rites immediately preceding incubation. Thus when the Lustral Room was rendered inoperative there appears to have been no structure that might instead have been used for bodily immersion.

78 For this lower part of the sanctuary and its uses, see Riethmüller 2005, 11:59–60, Melfi 2007a, 296–297, 300–301, and Wickkiser 2010a, 50, 52.

79 See Melfi 2007a, 300; cf. Riethmüller 2005, 11:59–60. For the Epidauros stoa, see pp. 126–127.

80 The structure was originally identified as an *abaton* by Ferdinand J. de Waele (de Waele 1931, 613; de Waele 1933, 426–427) and later by Roebuck (Roebuck 1951, 42–57 *et pass.*)—who commented that “There is no direct evidence for the identification of this structure as the *abaton* building, but a consideration of the arrangements of the sanctuary scarcely allows any other conclusion” (p. 55)—and this has been widely accepted (see, e.g., Lang

Four other *Asklepieia*, only one of which was prominent enough to have been mentioned in a surviving literary source, have been linked to incubation solely or primarily because of the availability of water for ritual purification: Akragas, Buthroton, Messene, and Lissos. The Akragas *Asklepieion*, dating to the second half of the fourth century BCE or the third century BCE but evidently abandoned in the late-Hellenistic Period, included two structures built along the north and west perimeter walls that each featured a portico in front of several rooms, and while the western structure has been identified as a *hestiatorion* the one to the north is considered the “*abaton*,” in part because of a fountain more than twenty meters away.⁸¹ In the absence of inscriptions it is difficult to conclude that incubation was indeed practiced at the sanctuary based on these remains alone, though the discovery of anatomical votives

1977; Riethmüller 2005, 11:59; Melfi 2007a, 296–297, 501). The former, however, also suggested that the hall could have been used by the priests to store sacred implements or as living quarters—possibilities made more plausible by the discovery of a stele simply inscribed “For the priests” (ἱερέων) in the wall of the room behind the *Amphiareion* temple, to indicate that this space was reserved for them (*I. Oropos* 288; see *EBGR* 1997, 296 (at p. 206) and *SEG* 47, 487 (at p. 154)). Thus alternatives do exist, though despite de Waele’s speculation one would expect the priests to have lived at home.

- 81 On the Akragas *Asklepieion*, see De Miro 2003 (especially pp. 51–53 on the “*abaton*” and p. 79 on the fountain, and figs. 48–51) and Calì 2009, 162–165; cf. Riethmüller 2005, 11:417–418, Cat.-App. No. 538. Wacht implies that incubation was practiced at Akragas by including it—along with Croton, Syracuse and Tarentum—in his list of *Asklepieia* he considers “Inkubationsstätte” (Wacht 1997, 194–195, challenged in Renberg 2006, 113; for Tarentum, see pp. 181–182). De Miro’s identification of the north structure is certainly open to question: the structure itself has a large central hall that is labeled the “*abaton*” in his plan and is flanked by smaller rooms that are each labeled a “*hestiatorion*,” even though the western “*hestiatorion*” structure has a comparably large central hall (see De Miro, *ibid.*, fig. 50, “Planimetria schematica ricostruttiva con itinerario rituale”). Therefore, the identification of an “*abaton*” appears to be based more on the assumption that there should have been one at the sanctuary than on any clue among the remains themselves, though the rooms may have been sufficiently secluded. It is believed that the cult relocated from the *Asklepieion* to the temple of Apollo (see De Miro, *ibid.*, 82–86 and Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:418, Cat.-App. No. 539, both identifying the temple with Herakles; see now Adornato 2011, 103–120 for its identification as Apollo’s). If that did indeed occur it would mean that incubation was no longer practiced by Asklepios’s worshipers, as there was no infrastructure conducive to incubation at the new site, a *temenos* enclosing a temple. (According to Calì, who mentions the possibility of incubation, in Roman times the *cella* was subdivided into three parts, and these may have been for Herakles, Asklepios and Hygieia—though even if true, without suitable infrastructure there is no reason to conclude that incubation was practiced there.)

is evidence of healing,⁸² and the fact that the city put Asklepios on some of its coins shows his relative importance there.⁸³ At Buthroton (modern Butrint, Albania) a large, urban complex dated to the late-fourth or early-third century BCE that includes a theater has been tentatively linked to incubation due to the proximity of a portico (called the “*abaton*”) to a spring and a well cut into the rock of the Acropolis, though none of the more than 300 objects found at the site represents evidence of healing.⁸⁴ The presence of a small room with a bath (*Oikos H*) in one corner has been seen as reason to infer that incubation was practiced at the Hellenistic *Asklepieion* in Messene that was located within a large complex just south of the *agora*—an improbable place for an *Asklepieion* functioning as a healing sanctuary—while the “*Balaneion*” at the opposite end of the courtyard has unconvincingly been suggested as the place where those doing so would sleep.⁸⁵ And, at Lissos on Crete the *Asklepieion*'s

82 De Miro 2003, 98–100, Cat. Nos. 9–23 + Pls. 66–69. Whether all of the objects identified as anatomical votives have been correctly identified seems questionable. The discovery of medical instruments dedicated at the site might also be evidence for healing, but even though it has often been assumed that medical instruments found at *Asklepieia* represent evidence that human practitioners were established there, this need not have been the case (see n. 280).

83 See Leschhorn, *Lexikon* 1, p. 58.

84 See Melfi 2007c, 23–24, 26, attributing the initial suggestion of incubation to Pani 1992–99, 17–20, 48–49. On the site, see also Riethmüller 2005, 11:318, Cat.-App. No. 3; for the inscribed and uninscribed objects, see Ugolini 1942, 115–146. Although there is no reliable evidence for incubation at the site, Luigi M. Ugolini may well have been correct in suggesting that the spring was believed to have therapeutic properties, based on the discovery of small drinking vessels there (Ugolini, *ibid.*, 128).

85 On the *Asklepieion*, see: Riethmüller 2005, 11:156–167, Cat. No. 69; Melfi 2007a, 247–289; Lo Monaco 2009, 748–751, Cat. Mess. Mess 27; and Sioumpara 2011. See Sineux 1997, 18–22, who argues for incubation while recognizing the lack of a traditional type of structure, and Melfi, *ibid.*, 263–269, reaching a comparable conclusion independently of Sineux's article; similarly, Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:162 mentions the lack of an incubation dormitory, but at p. 1:370 speculates that the *Synhedrion* may have been used in this manner. See also Sioumpara, *ibid.*, 222, accepting the earlier conclusions of Sineux and Riethmüller. (Melfi at p. 268 does not use the word “*incubazione*,” but this appears to be her intended meaning. The evidence she cites, however, is not convincing: the *thesauros* found in Artemis's shrine need not have played any role in incubation rituals (on *thesauroi*, see n. 355), while the fact that Pausanias saw a statue of Tyche in the area (Paus. 4.31.10, incorrectly cited as Paus. 2.11.8 (Titane)), and this goddess is both named in one of the *leges sacrae* from the Pergamon *Asklepieion* (*I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 10, 28; quoted pp. 194–195) and known from Epidauros *Asklepieion* inscriptions (*IG* 1V² 1, 269, 31), is tenuous evidence.)

The anatomical votives cited by Riethmüller in his catalog appear unrelated to Asklepios, as they predate his sanctuary and are linked to hero cult there (see Themelis

stoa had an attached fountain, and largely for this reason the structure has been identified as an incubation dormitory.⁸⁶

In the case of Gortys, a particularly unusual situation presents itself: this Arcadian city had two sanctuaries of Asklepios, both in operation concurrently for much of their respective histories, and both employing water in some manner, but evidently in *different* manners.⁸⁷ The earlier of these, the “upper” sanctuary, consisted of a temple and stoa with an adjacent fountain and water basin (measuring 5.50 × 18.8 meters, and 1.40 meters deep), and was located just beyond the Acropolis’s southeastern corner; the “lower” sanctuary, featuring a thermal bath complex in addition to a temple (with a larger temple evidently uncompleted), a stoa, and other minor structures (including lodgings for visitors), stood beside a brook feeding into the Gortynios River at a point roughly a half-kilometer to the north.⁸⁸ Beginning with the original excavators, who admitted the lack of positive evidence, it has been assumed that incubation was practiced at the upper sanctuary’s stoa because of the presence of a basin presumably used for ablutions, with the *abaton* at Epidauros and similar structures elsewhere being treated as parallels.⁸⁹ At the lower sanctuary, which

1994, 87–88 and Themelis 2000, 22–23 figs. 18–20; previously noted in Renberg 2009). Thus a potentially significant source of evidence for healing at the site must be eliminated.

- 86 For the *Asklepieion* and its finds, see Bultrighini 1993, 102–113, Sporn 2002, 306–311 and Riethmüller 2005, 11:345, Cat. No. 162; cf. Platon in *Aerial Atlas Crete*, 168–171. For the identification of the structure as an “Inkubationshalle,” see Sporn, *ibid.*, 310 and Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 1:372 (cf. 1:386), while Sporn at n. 2326 notes that Platon had identified the stoa as the place for incubation (N. Platon, *Perigitiki*, June, 1962, 15 (not consulted)).
- 87 The god’s prominence there appears to be indicated by an inscription from nearby Megalopolis referring to “Asklepios Kortynios” (*IG* v.2, 441, B, ll. 6–7).
- 88 On the two *Asklepieia* and the cult of Asklepios at Gortys, see: Jost 1985, 202–210, 499, 501–504; Martin/Metzger 1976, 72–76; Riethmüller 2005, 11:194–205, Cat. Nos. 87–88; Melfi 2007a, 212–227; Lo Monaco 2009, 73–78, 311–316, Cat. Arc. Gort 1; cf. Coulton 1976, 240 (stoas only). For the “lower” sanctuary, see also the extensive treatment in Ginouvès 1959 (especially pp. 145–156).
- 89 See Martin/Metzger 1940/41, 281–282 and Martin/Metzger 1976, 75, followed by, e.g., Ginouvès 1959, 153, Ginouvès 1962, 353 and Ginouvès 1994, 241–242; Jost 1985, 503; Riethmüller 2005, 1:372n.57, 1:386, 11:196–197; Melfi 2007a, 215–216, 222, 343; Lo Monaco 2009, 73–74, 313; cf. Wacht 1997, 193. Based on Ginouvès 1962, 353–355 and Jost, Melfi compares the water channel feeding into the sacred fountain to the water channel and fountain at Epidauros, the spring behind the Doric East Stoa at Athens, the fountain and basin at Paros, and the “Lustral Room” at Corinth, seeing the Paros fountain as the closest parallel (pp. 215–216). However, while Ginouvès thought that this channel’s having been routed beneath the stoa rather than around it might have either a religious or practical explanation, the water channel that goes under the incubation stoa at Epidauros is now

has been partly destroyed by erosion caused by the brook, a similar water basin does not survive, but the presence of the bath complex beside both temples, which likewise would have permitted full-body immersion, has led to the identification of the site as a healing sanctuary at which incubation was practiced in the stoa.⁹⁰ There is, however, no clear link between full-body immersion and incubation, so it is mere speculation to use one practice as evidence for the other.⁹¹ Unfortunately, it is impossible to know why Gortys had two sanctuaries of Asklepios, though several theories have been proposed.⁹² The simplest of these is probably the best: the second sanctuary was established to take advantage of the immediate availability of water, which contrasted with the much smaller amount flowing into the original cult site.⁹³ It is indeed possible—though purely hypothetical—that the upper sanctuary healed through incubation and the lower through hydrotherapy, which to our knowledge would be a unique arrangement. Ultimately, whether any of this water was ever used for incubation rituals should remain an open question, in the absence of documentary sources.⁹⁴ But there can be greater confidence that hydrotherapy was practiced at the lower sanctuary—especially since hydrotherapy was such an important element of numerous healing sanctuaries, not least of them *Asklepieia*.

At certain *Asklepieia*—it is impossible to know how many—water was not only important for ritual purification, but also could be used to effect a

thought to have been a sewer that predated the structure (see Kritzas/Mavromatidis 1987, 11–12).

90 See Ginouvès 1959, 152–153 (noting that Room Y, a large basin discussed at pp. 56–57, may have been used for immersion, or at least ablutions), 156; Jost 1985, 502–503 (calling the structure a “portique oraculaire”); Riethmüller 2005, 1:386; and Lo Monaco 2009, 74, 316. Melfi 2007a, 221 is more tentative in her treatment of this possibility.

91 See Sect. 3.4.4.1.

92 See Jost 1985, 208–209, Riethmüller 2005, 11:204–205, and Melfi 2007a, 221–222.

93 See Ginouvès 1962, 357–358, followed by Jost 1985, 209.

94 A limestone base from the thermal complex inscribed [Μν]αμοσύνας was plausibly linked to incubation by Tony Reekman, since Mnemosyne is named in one of the Pergamon *leges sacrae* (*I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 10, 28; see p. 250) and an early dedicatory inscription from Epidauros (*IG* 1V² 1, 303 (= *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 128)), but this evidence is far from conclusive (Reekmans 1955, 340–342, No. 3 (= *SEG* 15, 236)), especially since the Epidauros inscription is from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas rather than the *Asklepieion*. Better evidence for healing there, though not necessarily incubation, can be seen in an inscribed terracotta foot addressed to Asklepios that appears to have amuletic designs and the dedicant’s name on the sole (Reekmans, *ibid.*, 342, No. 5 + fig. 13 (= *SEG* 15, 237)).

cure.⁹⁵ While thermal springs were particularly popular sites for hydrotherapy due to the naturally curative properties of their waters, which the sick could both bathe in and drink, at *Asklepieia* water rich in mineral content was not a requirement, but just a spring issuing clean water. This is indicated by the remains of several *Asklepieia*, and also attested by a frequently quoted passage in Vitruvius that refers to a need for fresh water:

*Naturalis autem decor sic erit si primum omnibus templis saluberrimae regiones aquarumque fontes in his locis idonei eligentur in quibus fana constituentur, deinde maxime Aesculapio, Saluti et eorum deorum, quorum plurimi medicinis aegri curari videntur. Cum enim ex pestilenti in salubrem locum corpora aegra translata fuerint et e fontibus salubribus aquarum usus subministrabuntur, celerius convalescent. Ita efficietur uti ex natura loci maiores auctasque cum dignitate divinitas excipiat opiniones.*⁹⁶

There will be a natural suitability if, first of all, for all temples the most healthful areas are chosen, and in these places, in which shrines are to be erected, there be adequate springs of water. This is especially the case for Aesculapius, Salus, and the other gods by whose treatments many of the sick appear to be cured. For when the sick are brought from a pestilential to a healthful place and treatments are supplied from healthful springs of water, they convalesce more quickly. And so it happens that from the nature of the place the divinity receives a reputation that is greater and of higher standing.

95 The evidence for, and bibliography on, hydrotherapy at ancient sanctuaries, shrines and spas is enormous, and a significant amount pertains to the cult of Asklepios. For hydrotherapy in the cult of Asklepios, see: Croon 1967; Krug 1993, 172–173; Graf 1992, 178–181; and Boudon 1994; cf. Herzog 1931, 155–157, Parker 1983, 213n.31, and Argoud 1987. See also Riethmüller 2005, 1:378–379 *et pass.* To these studies has recently been added Trümper 2014, a primarily archaeological study of bathing at Epidauros that takes an admirably skeptical approach to the question of its link to healing, concluding that “baths constituted a luxury and not a dire necessity central to the cultic life” of the sanctuary (p. 230). For more general works on hydrotherapy, each of which touches on activities at *Asklepieia*, see Ginouvès 1962, 327–373 (examining the uses of water for both divination and therapies), Cole 1988, Scheid 1991, Dvorjetski 2007, 83–123, the papers collected in Ginouvès/Guimier-Sorbets/Jouanna/Villard 1994 (especially Ginouvès 1994) and Guérin-Beauvois/Martin 2007, and González Soutelo 2014. See also Gasperini 2006, a collection of articles on hydrotherapy in Italy.

96 Vitr., *De arch.* 1.2.7.

Although *fontes salubres* might include mineral springs with curative powers, in this passage it appears simply to refer to water that is pure enough not to cause a patient to suffer setbacks while regaining his health. Potability may have been the essential quality to such water sources, but as can be seen in Aristides's repeated references to himself and others drinking water from the Sacred Well at Pergamon for its curative properties, this was cloaked by the perceived sanctity of the water, to which its beneficial qualities were attributed, and this would have been the case for water at other *Asklepieia* as well.⁹⁷ Thus water at *Asklepieia* could be used to heal the sick or encourage their recovery without their engaging in incubation, though one need look no further than the *Sacred Tales* of Aelius Aristides to see that those who sought therapeutic dreams would sometimes be instructed by them to bathe within the sanctuary.⁹⁸ Even so, the presence of basins and fountains at *Asklepieia* must be recognized as insufficient reason to conclude that incubation was practiced there, and the evidence for using water to purify oneself immediately before engaging in the ritual remains tenuous, though there is no reason to rule it out.

Sometimes it is not the presence of a stoa or water source (or both) that encourage scholars to believe that incubation had been practiced at an *Asklepieion*, but the discovery of other types of structures as well as artifacts that might together suggest that this was the case. The Hellenistic sanctuary on Delos, which is reasonably well preserved and has produced dozens of inscriptions and other artifacts, is the foremost example.⁹⁹ Though lacking a stoa or water source—other than the sea itself, the shores of which were just a few meters away¹⁰⁰—the discovery of at least two anatomical votives as well as a *thesauros* and *hestiatorion* (banqueting hall) have led to the conclusion that

97 This can be inferred partly from Xenophon, who has Socrates contrast the coldness of the water in which one bathed at the Oropos *Amphiareion* with the warmth of the water one drank at an unspecified *Asklepieion*, presumably the one on the southern slope of the Acropolis (Xen., *Mem.* 3.13.3; for the baths of Amphiaraos, see p. 289).

98 For Aristides's references to bathing at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* and drinking its Sacred Well's water, see pp. 245–247.

99 On this Delian *Asklepieion* and the associated finds, see Robert (F.) 1952, 51–108, Bruneau 1970, 355–377 (especially pp. 370–373), and Melfi 2007a, 456–479; cf. Riethmüller 2005, 11:338–339, Cat.-App. No. 139.

100 Melfi has suggested that no fountain was needed for ritual purifications, with seawater immediately available, as was previously noted by Robert (Robert (F.) 1931, 134–135 and Robert (F.) 1952, 102; Melfi 2007a, 464). For the purificatory powers of seawater, see Parker 1983, 226–227. (Melfi also draws a parallel to the Smyrna *Asklepieion* by claiming that it was beside the sea and thus offered the same option, but neither Pausanias nor Aristides, who states the sanctuary was in the outer harbor, indicates that it was close to the water's

incubation was practiced at this site,¹⁰¹ with a heavily restored *lex sacra* having been taken as tentative evidence as well.¹⁰² This activity was initially assigned to the north peristyle and more recently the south peristyle has been suggested, mainly because there is no other candidate for an incubation dormitory rather than that this rectangular structure with multiple rooms was obviously designed for such a purpose.¹⁰³ However, this evidence is all circumstantial,

edge (Paus. 2.26.9; Aristid., *Or.* 50.102; cf. Riethmüller 2005, 11:360, Cat.-App. No. 225). For the possibility of incubation having been practiced at this site, see p. 182.)

- 101 For *thesauroi* at *Asklepieia*, see n. 355. For the anatomical votives, see Robert (F.) 1952, 107–108 and Bruneau 1970, 371–372; cf. van Straten 1981, Appendix A 23.1 (= Forsén 1996, 95, No. 28.1 + fig. 97), 23.2. In addition to those that have been found, one of the temple inventories might refer to a lost golden anatomical votive dedicated to Asklepios at Apollo's temple, as indicated by Melfi (Melfi 2007a, 474, citing *I.Delos* 385, a, l. 16). However, the dedicatory object recorded by this and related inventories (*I.Delos* 442, B, l. 11; cf. *I.Delos* 421, ll. 30–31, *I.Delos* 439, a, ll. 9–10, *I.Delos* 455, Ba, ll. 10–11, *I.Delos* 461, Ba, ll. 14–15, *I.Delos* 465, d, l. 12, *I.Delos* 469bis) was a *λειμώνιον*, a plant known as “sea lavender” (*Statice limonium*), so this cannot be an anatomical votive unless there is an unattested diminutive use for *λειμών* in reference to female genitalia (see *LSJ*, p. 1035, s.v. “*λειμών*,” 11). But, even if there was, it seems unlikely to have been intended here, as the worshiper who gave this gold *λειμώνιον* was a man named Solon. Thus a floral representation of sea lavender or another plant seems preferable to an anatomical votive. (On the term *λειμώνιον* and the problem of whether it referred to sea lavender or another plant, see Prêtre 2012, 159–160.)
- 102 The inscription, a fragmentary text that mentions *neokoroi* and sacrifice, cannot be firmly assigned to the *Asklepieion*, having also been tentatively linked to one of the *Sarapieia*, but Franciszek Sokolowski has implicitly connected it to this site while also interpreting a brief passage as referring to incubation (*IG* XI.4, 1032 (= *LSCG Suppl.* 52); see Bruneau 1970, 497–506 and, more recently, Riel 2011, 12n.32, both preferring to assign it to the cult of Sarapis). Sokolowski has even suggested a restoration of [τῶν ἐγκατακοιμ]ημένων in frag. B, l. 8, but this is by no means certain. For the presence of *neokoroi* at the *Asklepieion*, see Bruneau 1970, 362–363, and for the unconvincing theory that *neokoroi* at an *Asklepieion* suggests incubation, see n. 281.
- 103 In his extensive publication of the site, Robert suggested that the two peristyles successively served the purpose of incubation, noting that there is no reason to doubt that incubation was practiced at the *Asklepieion* (Robert (F.) 1952, 102). The potential use of the north peristyle for incubation was favored by Georges Roux, who argued that this structure was preferable to the temple or adjacent *hestiatorion* (Roux 1981, 55–61). More recently, Melfi has argued for the south peristyle, noting that incubation could have been practiced in other structures before its construction in the mid-third century BCE (Melfi 2007a, 463–465). That incubation was practiced at the site was also the conclusion of Philippe Bruneau, though he expressed reservations due to the lack of clear evidence and in light of the different suggestions that had been made regarding in which structure this would have taken place (Bruneau 1970, 372).

and unless future excavations yield direct proof it will remain ill-advised to conclude that incubation was practiced on Delos.

The lack of a single building type for incubation dormitories, or even of features universal to every known structure, leads to two related problems: not only does this make it impossible to be certain that incubation was practiced at a sanctuary from the architectural traces alone, but it also leads to more sanctuaries being linked to incubation than might be warranted. Perhaps the best example of this problem is the *Asklepieion* at Alipheira, a relatively insignificant city in Arcadia that controlled little territory and had only one other large public temple.¹⁰⁴ The remains of the fourth-century BCE sanctuary, located just outside of the city walls on the opposite side from the Acropolis and quite likely near the entrance to the town, consist of an altar and a temple (within which were an offering table and base for the cult statue or a lustral basin), and on the upper terrace a square area measuring 3.95×3.87 meters, beside which are some column drums, appears to have been an open courtyard that would have been surrounded by rooms that have not survived or remain to be excavated. Four identifications for this small building have been suggested: a priest's house, a guest house, an incubation structure, or a *hestiatorion*.¹⁰⁵ Since the dimensions of a stone bench found among the remains are comparable to those in the incubation stoas of Epidauros and the Oropos *Amphiarëion* they have been considered possible evidence for incubation inside or adjacent to the square building, even though a *hestiatorion* seems a more likely

104 On the *Asklepieion*, see Roesch 1985 and Alevridis/Melfi 2005 (reporting fresh fieldwork not reflected in Riethmüller 2005, 11:189–194, Cat. No. 86), Melfi 2007a, 228–235, and Lo Monaco 2009, 308–310, Cat. Arc. Aliph 3 (with additional references); cf. Jost 1985, 81–82. The temple of Asklepios is only referred to by Pausanias, who gives no indication of its functioning as a healing shrine (Paus. 8.26.6). For the city itself, see Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 509–510, s.v. “Alipheira” (T.H. Nielsen).

105 See Jost 1985, 82, briefly noting the first three possibilities; for the fourth, see the next note. In his brief study of the site published the same year, which likewise preceded the more recent work at Alipheira undertaken by Alevridis and Melfi, Paul Roesch had concluded that it was used for incubation (Roesch 1985, 27–28), whereas Riethmüller, whose treatment was published the same year as Alevridis/Melfi 2005, makes no definitive claims regarding its function, but notes that its location outside the *temenos* makes incubation unlikely (Riethmüller 2005, 11:193), though as can be seen in the study of Alevridis and Melfi it stood inside. See also Melfi 2007a, 231n.761, arguing against the structure's having been a lustral basin, and Lo Monaco 2009, 72–73, 309, summarizing the different views but not supporting one over the others.

explanation for the presence of benches.¹⁰⁶ While it is possible that this part of the sanctuary served those wishing to engage in incubation, the evidence is much too unreliable. Overall, it seems that the only reason to associate the sanctuary with incubation is the questionable assumption that where one has Asklepios one has incubation. This is not an insignificant matter, since if this small *Asklepieion* at an unimportant town had facilities available for incubation as well as cult personnel capable of assisting in the process, then it would mean that incubation must have been commonly practiced at scores, if not hundreds, of similarly small sanctuaries throughout the Greek world—a possibility arguably suggested by the recent discovery of an inscription referring to an incubation dormitory at an *Asklepieion* serving a mountaintop garrison at Yaylakale, roughly thirty kilometers from Pergamon.¹⁰⁷ However, although incubation does appear to have been widely practiced, and not only at the *Asklepieia* of major cities, in the case of Alipheira this seems unlikely to have been the case: the *Asklepieion* had no structure obviously dedicated to incubation, and therefore those who felt the need to be directly treated by the god most likely would have had to journey to Epidauros at the far side of the Peloponnesus, or perhaps another Peloponnesian sanctuary of greater stature than this one.¹⁰⁸ It is for such reasons that architectural remains are insufficient for determining where incubation was practiced, and only written sources are truly probative, with artistic representations also valuable at two sites. Consequently, some *Asklepieia* should be purged from the lists of incubation sanctuaries until compelling new evidence is discovered—even if a stoa or some other architectural feature that could conceivably have been used in this manner has already been unearthed there. And it should be recognized

106 See Alevridis/Melfi 2005, 276–278 and Melfi 2007a, 232–235; cf. Roesch 1985, 28 + fig. 5 and Sineux 2007a, 163n.13, the latter arguing against a *hestiatorion* because the structure did not correspond architecturally to others. Alevridis and Melfi base part of their argument on the fact that the dimensions of this bench are different from those of benches found at known *hestiatoria* but do match the ones from Epidauros and Oropos; however, since elsewhere they note other unusual aspects of the sanctuary the dimensions of a bench seem hardly to be compelling evidence for incubation. Moreover, there is no clear link between the presence of benches at an incubation dormitory and incubation (see n. 30). Their suggestion that a single structure could have served as both a *hestiatorion* and *enkoimētērion* would resolve the discrepancy, but is without known parallel and speculative; so, too, is the possibility of a missing structure that served those wishing to engage in incubation.

107 See p. 213.

108 For the possibility that the Alipheira site was an offshoot of the Epidauros *Asklepieion*, see Alevridis/Melfi 2005, 279, noting both architectural features and topographical issues.

that there is no way to know just how common incubation was at *Asklepieia*, nor what factors might have led some *Asklepieia* but not others to provide a facility for this practice.

3.3 Written and Iconographical Sources for Incubation at *Asklepieia*

3.3.1 *Introduction*

Since there was no distinctive architectural type associated solely with incubation, identifying *Asklepieia* at which we can be certain that incubation was practiced depends largely on literary and epigraphical sources, as well as dedicatory reliefs to a much lesser extent. While most of the important *Asklepieia* and some less prominent ones are identified with incubation in literature, epigraphical evidence has proven to be particularly useful for revealing sites at which we would not otherwise know that it had been practiced, some perhaps never even mentioned by ancient authors. By surveying the sources pertaining to these sites a picture emerges showing just how geographically widespread the practice was, one indicating that many *Asklepieia* were visited by those seeking to engage in incubation.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the vast majority of the sources for incubation in the cult of Asklepios pertain to just a few sanctuaries—Epidaurus, Athens (and Peiraeus), Lebena and Pergamon—while the other sanctuaries are only linked to the practice by one or two inscriptions or literary references. In the case of this small group of well documented sanctuaries such sources are not only more plentiful, but also more varied, and collectively these five *Asklepieia* have provided virtually all of the information we have about incubation in the cult of Asklepios. But even if the sources from or for the other sites—sites as widespread as Aegae, Aegina, and Amphipolis—do not add appreciably to our knowledge of the ritual itself, they clearly show how central incubation was to the cult of Asklepios at an unknown, but obviously substantial, number of sanctuaries throughout the Greek world.¹¹⁰ Thus not only do these sources shed light on the rituals associated with incubation—the subject of the next section—but they also are essential to establishing a definitive list of *Asklepieia* at which incubation is known to have been practiced.

¹⁰⁹ The possibility of engaging in incubation at numerous sanctuaries of Asklepios, of course, has long been known, but as shown in this and the previous section some adjustments to the list of known sites are in order.

¹¹⁰ The westernmost evidence to survive is from Rome, but the relative importance of incubation there to the Greeks and native Italians is unclear, and it may have been a practice with greater appeal to the former (see Sect. 3.3.7).

3.3.2 *Epidauros (and its Offshoots)*

For the Epidauros *Asklepieion*, though most prominently associated with incubation in antiquity as today, surviving literary sources merely allude to the practice.¹¹¹ Moreover, while the testimonies represent the most important inscribed document regarding healing miracles in Asklepios's cult, other epigraphical evidence from the site is notably limited, with the exception of two dedicatory inscriptions discussed below that clearly pertain to incubation and another that might allude to it.¹¹² To these may be added a *lex sacra* concerning preliminary sacrifices,¹¹³ and an inscription from the Lebena *Asklepieion*

111 Rather surprisingly—and regrettably—for so major a healing sanctuary, there is no literary work discussing incubation at Epidauros, with only Pausanias alluding to it in his comments on seeing the steles recording cures (Paus. 2.27.3; see n. 118) and his reference to a citizen of Pergamon who was healed at Epidauros and subsequently introduced the cult to his native city (Paus. 2.2.8; see n. 153), Aelian repeating the tale of a miraculous cure that has an epigraphical parallel (Ael., *NA* 9.33; see p. 172), Galen briefly mentioning it (Galen, *Comm. in Hippoc. lusi.*, frag. B1c; quoted p. 205), and Origen making an implicit reference (Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.3; see p. 203). Pausanias does, however, provide an invaluable first-person description of the sanctuary in the second century CE (Paus. 2.27.1–6). Additional information can be inferred from Strabo's reference to “dedicated *pinakes*” (ἀνακειμένων πινάκων) on which cures were recorded: since the majority of surviving dedicatory inscriptions from the site were on altars and bases it would appear that he was referring to wooden plaques that have long since disappeared, many of which would have recorded cures obtained through incubation (Strabo 8.6.15, p. 374; misunderstood in LiDonnici 1995, 45 to have referred to the miracle-recording steles). See also Cicero's reference to an anecdote of an individual ejecting a kidney stone during an erotic dream (*Dicitur quidam, cum in somnis complexu Venerio iungeretur, calculos eiecisse*), quite possibly an overlooked allusion to the Epidaurian testimony regarding a man who came to the sanctuary because of a kidney stone and was cured while dreaming of having sex with a boy (Cic., *Div.* 2.143; *IG* 1V² 1, 121, ll. 104–106 (= Test. No. 14)); for the circulation of oral tales originating at the sanctuary, see n. 121.

112 The other dedication, a third-century CE statue base featuring an epigram, refers to both a disease and a dream ([δς δο][λιχῆς νο[ύσου σώ][θη κατ' ὄνειρον]) and thus most likely pertains to incubation (*I.Epidauros* 52 + Pl. 15, 34 (= *SEG* 22, 294)); however, dedications referring to dreams but providing no other information about the circumstances of the dream or subsequent dedication should not automatically be attributed to incubation (see pp. 34–35n.95).

113 *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 336 (= *LSCG Suppl.* 22), on the price of wood to be paid by those wishing to sacrifice a pig or piglet (see p. 254). While no incubation reliefs comparable to those from Attica and Oropos have been found at Epidauros, the one relief from this site showing a sacrificial scene preserves part of a pig, which might have represented a sacrifice

recording that a native of that city had been healed at Epidauros by Asklepios.¹¹⁴ The two dedicatory inscriptions represent different approaches to thanking the god for a cure. One, an inscribed altar given by Tiberius Claudius Severus of Sinope in 224 CE, like just over twenty other dedications from the sanctuary, indicates that it was prompted by a dream (κατ' ὄναρ), but unlike those others goes into detail by noting that the worshiper was one “whom the god (Asklepios) healed in the incubation dormitory when he had scrofulous swellings on his throat and a cancerous lesion on his ear, visibly standing nearby in such a manner as he is in his temple (?)” (ὄν ὁ θεὸς | εἶδασατο ἐν τῷ ἐν|κοιμητηρίῳ, χοι|ράδας ἔχοντα ἐπ[ι] | τοῦ τραχή[λου] καὶ | καρκίνον [τ]ο[ῦ] ὠ[τός], | ἐπιστάς ἐ[ν-] αργῶς | οἷος ἐστ[ι] ἐν τῷ ναῷ).¹¹⁵ The other dedication, in contrast, is a stele bearing a 33-line text that is the longest surviving first-person account of receiving treatment from Asklepios other than the *Sacred Tales* of Aristides, and indeed reads somewhat like a condensed version of a passage from one of his narratives.¹¹⁶ It was posted in the sanctuary by Marcus Julius Apellas, a prominent Carian who around 160 CE came to the sanctuary, engaged in incubation and received prescriptions for a series of ailments, following which he heeded the god's instructions to leave behind an inscribed record of his experiences:

ἐπὶ ἱερέως Πο(πλίου) Αἰλ(ίου) Ἀντιόχου· | Μ(άρκος) Ἰούλιος Ἀπελλάς
Ἰδριεὺς Μυλασεὺς μετεπέμφθην | ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πολλάκις εἰς νόσους
ἐνπίπτων καὶ ἀπεψί|αις χρώμενος. κατὰ δὴ τὸν πλοῦν ἐν Αἰγείνῃ ἐκέλευσέν
|⁵ με μὴ πολλὰ ὀργίζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγενόμην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ δύο
ἡμέρας συνκαλύψασθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, | ἐν αἷς ὄμβροι ἐγένοντο, τυρὸν καὶ
ἄρτον προλαβεῖν, σέλει|να μετὰ θρίδακος, αὐτὸν δι' αὐτοῦ λοῦσθαι, δρόμῳ
γυμνάζε|σθαι, κιτρίου προλαμβάνειν τὰ ἄκρα, εἰς ὕδωρ ἀποβρέξει, πρὸς |¹⁰ ταῖς

preceding incubation (lost, no inv. no. (= van Straten 1995, 282–283, No. R33 + fig. 58, cf. p. 63)); the relief also shows a servant carrying a large, hamper-like basket, which may be evidence of a link to incubation (see n. 267).

114 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 8 (quoted n. 150). Although the inscription only states that this individual was “healed” (ἐθεραπε[ύθη]) at Epidauros, the subsequent reference to a revelation from the god makes incubation likely.

115 *IG* IV² 1, 127, cf. *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 57 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 71–74, No. 11.5 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 227–231, No. 23); see also Nissen 2009, 234. Line 13 of is text modified to reflect the restoration suggested in Herzog 1931, 45, W 80, which fits the space best (in contrast to the proposed alternatives ἐστ[ι]ν ἐν τῷ ναῷ] and ἐστ[ι]ν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ]).

116 The beginning, in which this worshiper notes that he was summoned to Epidauros by the god, can be compared with Aristides's own dreams that compelled him to visit Epidauros (Aristid., *Or.* 52.1).

ἀκοαῖς ἐν βαλανείῳ προστρίβεσθαι τῷ τοίχῳ, περιπάτῳ χρη|σθαι ὑπερώῳ, αἰώραις, ἀφῇ πηλώσασθαι, ἀνυπόδητον περι|πατεῖν, πρὶν ἐνβῆναι ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ | οἶνον περιχέασθαι, μόνον λούσασθαι καὶ Ἀττικὴν δοῦναι | τῷ βαλανεῖ, κοινῇ θῦσαι Ἀσκληπιῶ, Ἡπίονῃ, Ἐλευσεινίαις, |¹⁵ γάλα μετὰ μέλιτος προλαβεῖν· μιᾷ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πιόντός μου γά|λα μόνον, εἶπεν· μέλι ἔμβαλλε εἰς τὸ γάλα, ἵνα δύνῃται διακό|πτειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεήθην τοῦ θεοῦ θάττον με ἀπολύσαι, ὥμην (ν)ά|πυι καὶ ἀλσὶν κεχρημένος ὅλος ἐξιέναι κατὰ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐκ τοῦ | ἀβάτου, παιδάριον δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι θυμιατήριον ἔχον ἀτμίζον |²⁰ καὶ τὸν ἱερέα λέγειν τεθεράπευσαι, χρη| δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ἱατρα·| καὶ ἐποίησα, ἃ εἶδον, καὶ χρεῖμενος μὲν τοῖς ἀλσὶ καὶ τῷ νάπυ|ϊ ὑγρῶι ἡλγῃσα, λούμενος δὲ οὐκ ἡλγῃσα. ταῦτα ἐν ἐννέα ἡμέ|ραις ἀφ' οὗ ἡλθον. ἡψατο δὲ μου καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς χιρὸς καὶ τοῦ | μαστοῦ, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιθύοντός μου φλόξ ἀναδραμοῦ|²⁵σα ἐπέφλευσε τὴν χεῖρα, ὥς καὶ φλυκταῖνας ἐξανθῆσαι· μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ὑγιῆς ἡ χεὶρ ἐγένετο. ἐπιμεινάντι μοι ἄνηθον με|τ' ἐλαίου χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν κεφαλαλγίαν εἶπεν. οὐ μὴν ἡλγουν τὴν κεφαλὴν. συνέβη οὖν φιλολογήσαντί μοι συνπλη|ρωθῆναι· χρησάμενος τῷ ἐλαίῳ ἀπηλάγην τῆς κεφαλαλγί|³⁰ας. ἀναγαργαρίζεσθαι ψυχρῶ πρὸς τὴν σταφυλὴν—καὶ γὰρ περὶ | τοῦτου παρεκάλεσα τὸν θεὸν—τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς παρίσθμια. ἐκέ|λευσεν δὲ καὶ ἀναγράψαι ταῦτα. χάριν εἰδὼς καὶ ὑγιῆς γε|νόμενος ἀπηλλάγην.¹¹⁷

In the priesthood of Publius Aelius Antiochos: I, Marcus Julius Apellas Idrieus, from Mylasa, was sent for by the god, as I was repeatedly falling ill and suffering from indigestion. During the voyage, while in Aegina, the god commanded me not to become so greatly irritated. When I was present in the sanctuary [*i.e.*, at Epidauros] he ordered me to keep my head covered for two days during which there were rainstorms, to consume

117 IG IV² 1, 126 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 58–70, No. 11.4 + photo = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 189–197, No. 17); see Steger 2004, 154–160, 164–165. Apellas is also known from three inscriptions, one of which refers to him as the most noteworthy citizen (ἀξιολογώτατος πολίτης) in Labraunda (*I.Labraunda* 58, ll. 4–5 (quoted), 59, ll. 27–28, and 94, l. 2; cf. *I.Labraunda*, p. 171).

The meaning of ἀκοαῖ in this context remains a mystery (see Girone, *Iamata*, pp. 65–66n.71). While it cannot be ruled out that this was the informal way of referring to a building in which the god would hear prayers, it appears more likely to refer to a sculptural representation of ears symbolizing that the god would listen—the visual equivalent to the epithet ἐπήκοος (see p. 352n.40). There is no known parallel for such a sculpture large enough to merit being a topographical reference point, but from Aristides's *Sacred Tales* it is known that at least one other *Asklepieion*, the one at Smyrna, had *akoi* (κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ θεοῦ) (Aristid., *Or.* 47.13).

cheese and bread, and celery with lettuce, to wash myself on my own, to exercise on the track, to take lemon peels in advance (and) to soak (them) in water, to rub against the wall in the bathhouse by the *akoai* [*i.e.*, perhaps a large sculpture representing the god's ears?], to use the upper level as a place for walking, (to engage in) passive exercises, to smear myself with wrestling sand, to go about barefoot, in the bathhouse before getting into the warm water to pour wine over myself, to bathe on my own and give an Attic drachma to the bath attendant, to sacrifice jointly to Asklepios, Epione and the Eleusinian goddesses, and to take milk with honey. But one day, since I was drinking only milk, he said, "Add honey to the milk, so that it will be able to cut through." When I asked the god to release me more quickly, I thought [*i.e.*, in a dream] that I exited from the *abaton* in the area of the *akoai* fully anointed with mustard and salt, and a small boy holding a smoking censer led me, and the priest said, "You have been cured, but it is necessary to pay the medical fees." And I did the things I had seen, and when anointing myself with salt and moistened mustard I suffered, but when bathing I did not suffer. These things happened within nine days of my arrival. And the god touched both my right hand and my breast, and on the next day as I was making an offering a flame shot up and scorched my hand so that it broke out in blisters, but after a short time the hand became healthy. He said to me, as I remained there, that for my headache I should use anise with olive oil. Indeed, I would not suffer because of my head. But it happened to me after studying that I became congested: I freed myself from my headache after using olive oil. (He said to me that I should) gargle with cold water for my uvula—for also about this matter I had appealed to the god—and to do the same for tonsils. He commanded me to inscribe all of these things. Feeling gratitude and having become healthy, I departed.

This experience of coming to the sanctuary from a distance and receiving one or more dreams from Asklepios not only reads like a condensed episode from the *Sacred Tales*, but it also can be viewed as an expanded, first-person version of one of the third-person testimonial inscriptions for which Epidauros is best known, or a greatly expanded version of at least some of the dedications that, like the one given by Tiberius Claudius Severus, were made *κατ' ὄναρ* (or featured similar language).

By far the most important source for incubation at Epidauros is the group of steles inscribed with testimonies of miraculous cures achieved by the god—testimonies remarkable enough that the presence of the steles was noted by some ancient authors, while others recounted the tales themselves without

indicating that they were inscribed there.¹¹⁸ That such tales, which originally might have numbered around 130, made it into literature is demonstrated by a passage in Aelian's *On the Nature of Animals* that features an anecdote he attributed to Hippys of Rhegion but that closely matches one of the inscribed testimonies, and perhaps a brief anecdote recounted by Cicero.¹¹⁹ This passage, in fact, represents the only surviving literary source referring to a specific instance of incubation at Epidauros. It is the surviving testimonial inscriptions themselves, formally labeled “Healings by Apollo and Asklepios” (Ἰάματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ) and primarily devoted to recounting miraculous cures achieved by Asklepios, that provide the greatest amount of information about the practice of incubation in the sanctuary.¹²⁰ Dating to roughly 350–300 BCE, these testimonies are third-person accounts of medical miracles as well as other remarkable divine feats, and appear to have been collected by priests or cult officials, whose primary sources would have been dedicatory texts and oral traditions, for the primary purpose of encouraging the sick in their hope of regaining their health with the god's help, but also of warning those who would scoff at the tales of the god's miraculous achievements or

118 Pausanias reports having seen six steles during his visit, but that originally there had been more (στήλαι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἔξ λοιπαί), raising the questions of what had happened to the others and why they had not been copied (Paus. 2.27.3; cf. 2.36.1). Although today four of these steles remain, two of them have been extensively damaged and thus a number of their testimonies cannot be sufficiently restored. For the archaeological evidence indicating that these steles were on display within the incubation stoa itself along the eastern wall, see LiDonnici 1995, 18 and Riethmüller 2005, 1:284; see also Ehrenheim 2009, 243, concluding that in Pausanias's time they were displayed elsewhere (an argument based on Pausanias's vague language). Cf. Melfi 2007a, 35.

119 Aelian: Ael., *NA* 9.33; see n. 26. Cicero: Cic., *Div.* 2.143 (see n. 111). The estimate is that of Solin 2013, 16, who doubles the number of testimonies in the first three steles.

120 *IG* IV² 1, 121–124, with label at *IG* IV² 1, 121, l. 2. See the edition with extensive commentary by LiDonnici 1995, and the detailed medical commentary on the testimonies of the first three steles in Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 21–113, Nos. 1–3; see also Rhodes/Osborne, *GHI* 102 for text and translation of the first stele. Other studies of note include: Herzog 1931 (though both partly outdated and by now incorporated into most if not all subsequent studies); Guarducci, *EG* IV:147–154; LiDonnici 1992; Dillon 1994; Naiden 2005; Sineux 2007c; Martzavou 2012; Solin 2013. The steles are often identified as Stele A, B, C and D, and while some scholars cite the seventy surviving testimonies sequentially, others restart the numbering for each stele: thus, for example, Test. No. 21 can also be cited as Test. No. B 1. In the present work the sequential approach is employed.

might be tempted not to reward the god after regaining health.¹²¹ Despite the attribution of the miraculous cures to both Asklepios and Apollo Maleatas, the god who preceded Asklepios at Epidauros and had long been worshiped

121 For the composition of the testimonies, see LiDonnici 1992 and LiDonnici 1995, 20–82, arguing that the steles preserve an “amalgamation of earlier inscriptions, votive offerings, and oral traditions” (quoting LiDonnici 1992, 28), including some reliefs and painted images, that formed over time. LiDonnici is indeed correct that multiple sources are reflected in these inscriptions, but overlooks an important fact supporting the presumably oral nature of a significant number of them: while the shorter testimonies are indeed likely to have come from brief dedicatory inscriptions (LiDonnici 1995, 44), at the time that these steles were being inscribed it was not yet common for long narratives to be recounted in either prose or metrical dedicatory texts, and therefore the lengthier testimonies are considerably more likely to have been transmitted orally. LiDonnici is most likely correct to note that “orality should be suspected where tales occur in groups or pairs which are similar thematically but different linguistically” (LiDonnici 1995, 56). (Others can be assigned to an oral tradition simply due to their contents—among them, presumably, *IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 104–106 (= Test. No. 14)* (see n. 121).) More broadly, Sineux studies the compositional efforts behind the testimonies, but focuses on the testimonies from Lebeda and Rome as well as those of Epidauros (Sineux 2007c). For the “didactic” nature of the testimonies, see Dillon 1994, focusing especially on their teaching the sick that they had a chance to be cured as others had been and their serving as cautionary tales encouraging proper behavior and dutiful discharge of one’s obligations to the god. LiDonnici, too, notes the likely intended role of the inscriptions as “setting up the conditions and expectations which would help them [*i.e.*, those incubating] to generate the properly miraculous kind of dream,” and that reading and discussing the testimonies was an important part of the experience of those preparing to spend the night engaging in incubation (LiDonnici 1992, 27–28). Similarly, Paraskevi Martzavou explores this emotional aspect of the inscriptions in detail, arguing that “The final aim of these texts is to arouse the emotions of hope and confidence in members of the audience” (Martzavou 2012; quoting p. 178).

According to Aristides in his *Speech Concerning Asklepios*, many who had been cured by the god would tell of their experience, “some simply declaring it orally, and others giving the details in their dedications” (οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στόματος οὕτως ἰφράζοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐξηγουμένοι) (Aristid., *Or.* 42.7). The oral spread of tales concerning Asklepios’s cures can be seen in his mention of a prominent friend and fellow patient at Pergamon telling him about a man who had been commanded by the god to contend in oratory sweating out his sickness during his speech (Aristid., *Or.* 50.17). The exchange of such stories among those spending time at an *Asklepieion* would have been quite commonplace, with only a small fraction being recorded in such testimonial inscriptions, but these must also have played a role in making people more receptive to dreaming of the god themselves. That speaking with those nearby while spending the night at an *Asklepieion* must have been a part of the experience for many can be inferred from Philostratus’s account of the sophist Antiochos of Aegae: “On quite a few nights he would sleep away from home at

at his own nearby sanctuary, the testimonies themselves exclusively refer to interactions between Asklepios and his worshipers, and there is little reason to think that therapeutic dreams were ever solicited from Apollo, even if as the senior healing god he answered prayers for maintenance and restoration of health.¹²² Although there is great variation among them, these testimonies

the temple of Asklepios both for dreams and conversation (as much as there was among those who were awake and speaking with one another), for the god would speak with him when he was awake, making it a noble achievement of his skill to ward off illnesses from Antiochos" (τάς δὲ πλείους τῶν νυκτῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν ἀπεκἀθευθεν ὑπὲρ τε ὄνειράτων ὑπὲρ τε ξυνουσίας, ὁπόση ἐγρηγορότων τε καὶ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις, διελέγετο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγρηγορότι ὁ θεὸς καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ποιούμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης τὸ τὰς νόσους ἐρύκειν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου) (Philostr., *VS* 2.4, p. 568; for Antiochos, see *Pros. Rhet. Soph.* 78 (K. Stebnicka)).

- 122 For Apollo Maleatas's name and cult, see Rocchi 2002–03. As noted by Wickkiser, the first stele—the one that bears the label “Healings by Apollo and Asklepios”—when recording a divine encounter in a dream or cure refers to Asklepios by name just once and instead employs “the god” (ὁ θεός) thirteen times (with another testimony employing both), whereas in the second stele Asklepios is named in seven out of twenty-three testimonies but never Apollo (Wickkiser 2006, 27 and Wickkiser 2008, 40). This has suggested to her that “by the early fourth century, if not sooner, Asklepios seems to have edged out his father as the central healing deity at Epidaurous,” since the generic use of “the god” in the first stele might have alluded to Apollo in some cases and Asklepios in others (Wickkiser 2006, 27n.6, echoing LiDonnici 1995, 84n.1 and LiDonnici 1992, 26n.6). However, while it is clear that Asklepios became the predominant healing god at Epidaurous, this does not mean that previously Apollo had operated in the same way at his hilltop sanctuary, even if the discovery of a few bronze serpents and medical instruments there indicate a healing function (see Lambrinoudakis 1994, 226 for references). Instead of seeing the first stele as possible evidence for Apollo achieving some miraculous cures but not being credited by name, the shift from “the god” to “Asklepios” in two steles that were almost certainly inscribed on separate occasions can more plausibly be attributed to a change in author or authors, if not that the ambiguity of ὁ θεός was recognized after the first stele was completed. A likely parallel showing a change in local epigraphical convention is to be seen on Delos, where the earliest dedications from the *Sarapieia* citing a divine command almost all employ the formula κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ, but around the time that Athenian cleruchs were established on the island there was a shift to the shorter κατὰ πρόσταγμα, and this change is far less likely to have a theological explanation than that it was based on the epigraphic habits of the island's new residents or the preference of a stonecutting establishment patronized by the Sarapis worshipers (see Renberg (in preparation), *b*). (It is possible that at the Lebena *Asklepieion* there is a parallel for this pattern at Epidaurous merely being a reflection of epigraphic habit, since Monique Bile has observed that some of the inscriptions of the second century BC employ ὁ θιός, whereas the later inscriptions tend to name Asklepios (see Bile 1991, 13); however, when one considers the different types of texts, their conditions, and the dating issues this pattern turns out to be potentially illusory.)

typically identify the afflicted individual by name and *polis*, indicate that he or she “slept within the *abaton*” (ἐνεκάθευδε ἐν τῷ ἀβάτῳ), then either refer to a vision or describe it in some detail (e.g., ὄψιν εἶδε, ἐνύπνιον εἶδε, ἔδοξε δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν), and then indicate the miraculous results and the manner in which the worshiper thanked the god—providing invaluable insights both into the practice of therapeutic incubation and the dynamic between Asklepios and his worshippers.

The testimonies are most remarkable for the broad range of medical problems—as well as some decidedly non-medical problems¹²³—they record and the nature of the god’s cure or solution. Of the roughly fifty out of seventy that are sufficiently undamaged for their subject to be determined, a significant number concern relatively ordinary ailments: paralysis or lameness, blindness, parasites, unusual growths, unhealed sores and infections, gout, kidney stones, embedded weapon fragments, and even baldness.¹²⁴ These typically were cured by Asklepios appearing in a dream and directly treating the problem, either by laying his hands on the patient, applying or providing a medicinal substance, or even operating;¹²⁵ thus, for example, a man suffering from leeches sees the god opening his chest cavity with a knife and removing

The inclusion of Apollo in the heading “Healings by Apollo and Asklepios” was itself probably an epigraphical convention, signaling his seniority and continued prominence at the sanctuary without any intention to imply that he had performed any of the miracles, as LiDonnici had originally suggested. After all, the “Isyllos Hymn,” inscribed roughly around the same time as some of the steles or slightly later (see n. 204), is preceded by a two-line dedicatory text stating that it was “for Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios” (Ἴσυλλος Σωκράτους Ἐπιδάριος ἀνέθηκε | Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάται καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ), though it chiefly concerns Asklepios (IG IV² 1, 128, ll. 1–2). It is also possible that the reference to Apollo indicated that he received sacrifices as part of the rituals preliminary to incubation—just as at the Trikka *Asklepieion*, according to Isyllos, one had to make sacrifices upon the altar of Apollo Maleatas before descending into the *adyton* (*ibid.*, ll. 29–31), and other gods are linked to *prothysis* at Pergamon and possibly Peiraeus (see pp. 249–252)—and thus was given partial credit for his son’s miraculous accomplishments without having performed any miracles himself.

123 See, for example, the story of a broken cup being miraculously made whole when the servant carrying it entered the sanctuary (IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 79–89 (= Test. No. 10)), and the testimony recording that after appearing to cure a man of his chronic headaches in a dream Asklepios taught him a winning wrestling move (IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 50–55 (= Test. No. 29); see LiDonnici 1995, 107n.23; cf. Aristid., *Or.* 42.11 (quoted p. 9n.17)).

124 For the full list, see Wickkiser 2006, 27 (Table 1).

125 Not every incubation dream included Asklepios (or another divinity), although the god would be credited for any miracle taking place at his sanctuary regardless of whether he had been envisioned (see, e.g., IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 104–106 (= Test. No. 14), discussed in n. 111).

the parasites,¹²⁶ a blind man can see after a dream in which the god opened his eyes with his fingers,¹²⁷ another man who had been blinded by a spearhead that remained embedded dreams that the god had removed it,¹²⁸ a man with lice dreams that the god strips him naked and cleans him with a broom,¹²⁹ a man with a cancerous sore or advanced tooth decay is cured when he sees the god reach into his mouth and remove the source of his affliction,¹³⁰ a man with a spearhead stuck in his jaw dreams that the god removes it and then awakens to find that he is holding it,¹³¹ a woman with a severe digestive problem dreams of the god providing her with a drug that makes her vomit and she awakens after having done so to find herself cured,¹³² and the man suffering from baldness dreams that Asklepios applied some sort of drug to his scalp and made it grow hair.¹³³ The precise way that the god cured could also be obscured, as is the case of a paralyzed man named Hermodikos of Lampsakos who “while incubating was healed and ordered after leaving to carry back to the sanctuary as great a stone as he could” (τοῦτον ἐγκαθεύδοντα ἰάσατο καὶ ἐκελήσατο ἐξελθόντα λίθον ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὅπόσσον δύναιτο μέγιστον), an act that proved the god’s miraculous power (i.e., ἀρετή).¹³⁴ Other cures had little or no connection to incubation, however, and were included on the steles because these inscriptions were intended to highlight the miracles that occurred at the Epidauros *Asklepieion*, or at least were somehow associated with it, regardless of their nature: so, scattered among the numerous dream accounts are episodes set at the sanctuary involving gout being cured by a goose bite,¹³⁵ a mute boy being able to speak soon after entering,¹³⁶ a lame man recovering when a boy steals his crutch and he sets off in pursuit, and the like.¹³⁷ To this group might be added the somewhat related phenomenon, found in two testimonies, of individuals leaving the *Asklepieion* after incubation had failed to produce a result

126 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 98–103 (= Test. No. 13).

127 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 120–122 (= Test. No. 18).

128 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 63–68 (= Test. No. 32). See LiDonnici 1995, 109n.30.

129 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 45–49 (= Test. No. 28).

130 IG IV² 1, 123, ll. 134–137 (= Test. No. 66). See LiDonnici 1995, 129n.49 on the interpretation of the term φαγέδαινα. The passage has been partly restored.

131 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 95–97 (= Test. No. 12).

132 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 122–128 (= Test. No. 41).

133 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 122–125 (= Test. No. 19).

134 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 107–110 (= Test. No. 15). For a dedicatory epigram linked to this episode, see p. 307n.88.

135 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 132–133 (= Test. No. 43).

136 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 41–48 (= Test. No. 5).

137 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 111–112 (= Test. No. 16).

but then being cured during their homeward journey or after arriving home.¹³⁸ As revealed by the testimonies, others came not because of physical suffering, but because they were infertile, and by sleeping at the sanctuary they hoped to gain the ability to conceive.¹³⁹ In addition to the majority of testimonies, which only attest to Asklepios's miraculous powers, there are some that served as cautionary tales, showing how those who either doubted these powers or had benefited from them but failed to pay for a cure would suffer the god's wrath and be punished with an affliction, leading them to recognize their error and, after atoning, be cured.¹⁴⁰ Some skeptics were not punished for their disbelief, but instead healed in their sleep by Asklepios, who made a point of having it be recognized that they had had their minds changed by experiencing his powers directly—in one case by declaring that the patient should henceforth be named “Unbeliever” (Ἄπιστος), and in the other ordering that “as a payment she [*i.e.*, the patient] dedicate in the sanctuary a silver pig as a memorial of ignorance” (μισθὸν μάντοι νιν δεησοῖ ἀν[θέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὅν ἀργύρεον ὑπόμνημα τᾶς ἀμαθείας).¹⁴¹ Some of the testimonies were indeed worthy of skepticism, as they involved unrealistic situations—most famously, the examples of impossibly long pregnancies being resolved by the god.¹⁴² The numerous and varied testimonies not only attest to Asklepios's powers, but also the widespread popularity that these earned him: as noted above, the testimonies would begin

138 In one testimony, a woman with an abdominal problem interpreted as a “false pregnancy” ([παρ]ἑκύησε) is operated on by a man who turns out to be Asklepios after having traveled some distance (IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 26–35 (= Test. No. 25); see LiDonnici 1995, 104n.14 and Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies humaines*, p. 79), while in the other it is a man who returned home after not seeing a vision at Epidauros, but was cured by one of the sanctuary's sacred serpents that had hidden in the wagon (IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 69–82 (= Test. No. 33); for this testimony as evidence for the cult's spread, see pp. 178–179).

139 See Appendix III.

140 Punishment for skepticism: IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 95–101 (= Test. No. 36). Punishment for non-payment: IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 7–9 (= Test. No. 22; see LiDonnici 1995, 101n.6); cf. IG IV² 1, 123, ll. 21–29 (= Test. No. 47; see LiDonnici, *ibid.*, 116n.1, 120–121nn.25–28), punishment for failure to pay money vowed to Asklepios in non-therapeutic context, and IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 48–68 (= Test. Nos. 6–7), failure to make a dedication to Asklepios with money entrusted by another worshiper. See Dillon 1994, 251–253 (at p. 253 unnecessarily assuming that Test. No. 47, for which he presents a new text at p. 260, pertains to incubation). See also Chaniotis 2012b, 209–210.

141 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 22–33 (= Test. No. 3), 33–41 (= Test. No. 4). See also IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 72–78 (= Test. No. 9), in which it was not a blind suppliant who was skeptical, but rather others at the sanctuary who mocked the idea that his vision could be restored by Asklepios when his eyes were completely missing.

142 IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 3–22 (= Test. Nos. 1–2). See p. 605.

with the name and *polis* of the individual who had sought the god's help, and these show that by the late-Classical Period people were coming to Epidauros from all over the Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece seeking treatment.¹⁴³

These testimonies not only represent evidence for Asklepios's popularity beyond Epidauros, but also provide an early glimpse into the growth of his cult, which is significant because the practice of therapeutic incubation appears to have spread with the cult, at least when Epidauros was the point of origin. While the cult is believed to have originated at Trikka, and there is limited evidence for the god having been established at sanctuaries outside of Thessaly (including Kos) directly from Trikka, the bulk of the evidence for new *Asklepieia* records that Epidauros was the "mother" sanctuary, supporting Pausanias's statement that "I find that the most prominent *Asklepieia* (arose) from Epidauros" (τὰ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιεῖα εὐρίσκω <ὄντα> τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου).¹⁴⁴ Most of this evidence is to be found in literary sources, but according to one inscribed "miracle" testimony the sanctuary of Asklepios at Halieis was a direct offshoot from Epidauros, and one with an elaborate foundation narrative: a man named Thersandros had come to Epidauros suffering from consumption but failed to receive a dream through incubation; however, one of Asklepios's sacred snakes had stowed away in the wagon returning him to Halieis and cured him upon arrival, following which the city consulted

143 See pp. 120–121.

144 Paus. 2.26.8. On the cult's spread from Epidauros, see Riethmüller 2005, 1:230–240, Gorrini 2002–03, 176–179, and Melfi 2007a, 508–513, 520–524; cf. Herzog 1931, 36–39. Literary sources link the origins of just two *Asklepieia* to Trikka: according to Strabo, at Gerenia, on the far side of Mt. Taygetos from Sparta, there was a temple of Trikkaian Asklepios that was a copy (ἀφίδρυμα) of the one in Trikka (Strabo 8.4.4, p. 360), while Herodas says that "Asklepios came hither to Kos from Trikka" (κῶσκληπιὸς Κῶς ἦλθεν ἐνθαδ' ἐκ Τρίκαρης) (Herod. 2.97). (Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 1:237 identifies the Kos *Asklepieion* as an offshoot from Epidauros without sufficient reason, drawing on an unreliable tradition in Pausanias (see n. 151).)

One *Asklepieion* that has been linked to Epidauros can be omitted from the list, however: on the basis of the epithet Ἀποβατήριος in one mid-second century CE inscription Louis Robert suggested that Asklepios arrived at Iasos by boat, either from Epidauros or Kos, and was followed in this by Cécile Nissen (*I.Iasos* II 227; see Robert (L.) 1963, 316 (= Robert, *OMS* III:151) and Nissen 2009, 254–255). However, since the term can more generally be used in reference to a landing area (see *LSJ*, p. 193 + *Suppl.* p. 43, s.v. "ἀποβατήριος"), it is at least as likely that the god was simply being recognized as one of those worshiped by people with business in the harbor (where other *Asklepieia*, including those at Peiraeus (see Sect. 3.3.3), Lebena (see p. 151) and Smyrna (see n. 100), were located). (Nissen, *ibid.*, 263–264 also suggests that Asklepios Apobatērios would have been a protector for sailors.)

the oracle of Delphi and was instructed that instead of returning the snake they should establish a new sanctuary of Asklepios in their own city.¹⁴⁵ Of the other *Asklepieia* founded during the Classical Period that were likewise offshoots of the Epidauros sanctuary, there is roughly contemporary evidence for only two: the well-known *Asklepieia* at Peiraeus and on the southern slope of the Athenian Acropolis, both established during the Peloponnesian War.¹⁴⁶ The early evidence for the two sites takes the form not only of literature, inscriptions, and material remains, but a unique monument named for the Acropolis sanctuary's founder, the "Telemachos Monument," that both narrates Asklepios's arrival and represents it in relief.¹⁴⁷ To these should almost certainly be added the Aegina *Asklepieion*, which is known to have been active at the time that Aristophanes composed his *Wasps*, though there is no explicit source linking the sanctuary to Epidauros,¹⁴⁸ and perhaps the Parian *Asklepieion* as well, due to the island's proximity to Athens and the ties between the two.¹⁴⁹ Another important offshoot founded during the Classical Period was the Lebena *Asklepieion*, the earliest phase of which dates to the early- or mid-fourth century BCE.¹⁵⁰ It may also be inferred from a Roman-era source that the cult at Epidauros Limera in the southern Peloponnesus was

145 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 69–82 (= Test. No. 33); see LiDonnici 1995, 111n.40. The sanctuary has not yet been found (see Riethmüller 2005, 11:98–99, Cat. No. 36).

146 For the Peiraeus and Acropolis sites, see Sects. 3.2.3 and 3.3.3.

147 For the Telemachos Monument, see p. 187.

148 See p. 208.

149 Melfi has suggested that Asklepios's cult came to Paros by way of Athens sometime c. 400–350 BCE (Melfi 2007a, 441–443), which would make the Parian *Asklepieion* an indirect offshoot of Epidauros. For this sanctuary, see p. 153.

150 Melfi has dated the *thesauros* to the first half of the fourth century BCE based on comparison with other *thesauroi*, as well as the form of the *alpha*'s inscribed on some of the *thesauros*'s building blocks (*I.Cret* I, xvii, 6bis; see Melfi 1998–2000 and Melfi 2007b, 74–76; cf. Melfi 2004, 518). Although Pausanias in the mid-second century CE stated that the worship of Asklepios had spread first to Balagrae and then Lebena (Paus. 2.26.9; quoted p. 562n.110), an inscription from Lebena that dates paleographically from the second century BCE to the second century CE can be interpreted as recording the cult's spread directly from Epidauros by an individual named Theon who had been healed there (*I.Cret* I, xvii, 8 + 10A + 7 (= Melfi 2007b, 164–167, No. 10A–C); see n. 177). As the partly preserved beginning of the narrative appears to state (*I.Cret* I, xvii, 8, ll. 5–10 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 78–80, No. III.1),

Θέων Ἀνθῶτα Λεβηναῖος Α[---]|ΩΝ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ἐθεραπεύθη ---? καὶ ἤγαγε (*vel sim.*) (?) τὸν | θιὸν ἔχων ναὺν ἰδίαν καὶ Ι[---]|ΙΑΝ τὸς οἰκίῃος καὶ ἐπέτυχ[εν ---]| Ω (= ὦ *vel* ὦ?) καὶ ἰάτρευσεν αἰ ἐχρημάτ[ισε(ν) ὁ θιός? ---]]¹⁰. ΟΙΑ π[ροσ]πλήν φοίκαδε ΟΙ[---].

established in the fifth century BCE, though this is uncertain.¹⁵¹ The establishment of the Sikyon *Asklepieion*, also linked to Epidauros and situated on the city's plateau, seems to have occurred in the late-Classical Period, though the evidence is similarly unreliable.¹⁵²

Theon son of Anthotas, of Lebena, [---] was healed at Epidauros [---] and conducted (?) the god, having his own boat, and [---] his relatives and succeeded [*i.e.*, in his prayer or vow] [---] and practiced medicine in the manner that (the god) had instructed [---] to sail homeward [---].

Melfi was the first to connect this text with *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 10A (= No. 10B) and *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 7 (= No. 10C), which appear to continue the tale, and to restore ῥῥαγε in line 6 so as to have Theon conveying the god. The text presented here is a modified version, taken from an edition I am currently preparing, in which I also will challenge the conventional thinking that lines 1–4 pertain to a *neokoros* recording healing miracles. Sineux interprets this passage differently, seeing an initial cure at Epidauros and a follow-up cure back at the Lebena sanctuary, but not the passage's significance for the history of the cult at Lebena (Sineux 2006b).

- 151 According to Pausanias, Epidauros Limera was founded by citizens of Epidauros who had been sailing to Kos as envoys to Asklepios but decided to abort their mission and found a city where they had landed after receiving dream-oracles (Paus. 3.23.6–7; see Riethmüller 2005, 11:119–122, Cat. No. 44). Since a reference in Thucydides indicates that the city was already in existence in 424 BCE (Thuc. 4.56.2), if it was indeed founded by Epidaurians then it is likely that a temple of Asklepios was built soon after this. (Despite Riethmüller's assertions, Pausanias's story cannot be taken as evidence that Asklepios was already established on Kos by 424 BCE, since the claim of a mission to Kos leading to the foundation of Epidauros Limera can be explained as later propaganda intended by the Epidaurians to draw a spurious link between Kos and Epidauros, and thus between the two *Asklepieia* (Riethmüller 2005, 1:206–209; *contra*, see Renberg 2009, building on Sherwin-White 1978, 336–338).)
- 152 The one source referring to the cult's establishment at Sikyon is Pausanias, who says that Asklepios was brought there from Epidauros in serpent form on a mule-drawn wagon by a woman named Nikagora, mother of Agasikles and wife of Echetimos, all figures who are otherwise unattested (Paus. 2.10.3). The evidence of Pausanias leads to two possible *termini ante quem*: as independently concluded by Emma Stafford and Yannis A. Lolos, the sculptor Kalamis to whom Pausanias attributed the cult statue is likely to have been the later one bearing that name, which would presumably establish the date of both image and sanctuary as sometime in the fourth century BCE (Stafford 2003, 93; Lolos 2011, 382–383, 410). The two scholars differ on precisely when this might have been, however, with Lolos arguing for a date in the first quarter of the century, while Stafford opts for a date in the mid-fourth century or a later one c. 300 BCE. If Pausanias's information regarding the sculpture is unreliable, a secondary *terminus ante quem* might be provided by the tradition, also recounted by Pausanias, that Aristodama, mother of the Sikyonian national hero Aratos (271–213 BCE), had slept with Asklepios when he apparently was in serpent form (Paus. 4.14.7–8), since if this was already rumored in Aratos's lifetime the god would

Asklepieia with links to Epidauros were also being founded during the Hellenistic Period, most notably at Pergamon, though in this particular case the cult may have been introduced during the final decades of the Classical Period.¹⁵³ This Hellenistic expansion of the Epidaurian cult was not limited to the Greek East, since according to the emperor Julian the cult came to Tarentum

have had to be present at Sikyon by 270 BCE at the latest. (A much earlier foundation date sometime after 480 BCE was claimed without explanation by Hiller von Gärtringen in *IG* IV² 1, p. xv, and disputed in Herzog 1931, 36–37, though despite Herzog a date in the mid-fifth century was retained in Riethmüller 2005, 11:64–65.) For the speculative claim of incubation having been practiced at the Sikyon *Asklepieion*, see pp. 679–680.

- 153 The first phase of the Pergamon *Asklepieion*'s construction has been dated c. 275–250 BCE, but the date when the god arrived in the city is not recorded, and has been subject to speculative claims. According to Pausanias, the lone source for this event, the cult was brought by an individual named Archias son of Aristachmos, who was injured—apparently quite seriously—while hunting near Pergamon on the slopes of Mt. Pindasos and healed in Epidauros, prompting him to bring the cult back with him on his return (τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀρισταίχμου, τὸ συμβάν σπᾶσμα θηρεύοντι οἱ περὶ τὸν Πίνδασον ἰαθεὶς ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Πέργαμον) (Paus. 2.26.8). It has been widely held that this was the Archias who, as recorded in the “Pergamene Chronicle,” was the one who called for the establishment of *prytaneis* in the city and, if his name has been correctly restored, served as the first one ([συνέταξεν(?)] Ἀρχίας [πρυτάν]εις ἀ[ρ]ε[ισ]θ[α]ί τῇ[ς] | [πόλεως κατ'] ἔτος ἑκάστον καὶ πρῶτος ἐπρυτάν[ει]εν Ἀρχ[ί]ας) (*I.Pergamon* 2, 613, A, ll. 1–3 (= *OGIS* 1 264 = *FGrH* 506 F 1)). The establishment of the institution of the *prytaneis* most likely dates to the second quarter of the fourth century BCE, since the first *prytanis* would have served before or around the time of the Great Satrap Revolt, which comes next in the “Chronicle,” and is thought to have occurred c. 366–360 BCE (ll. 4–9; see Osborne 1973, 547–549). Therefore, for Pausanias's Archias to be the same as the pre-Attalid civic leader named in the “Chronicle” it would have to mean that Asklepios was worshiped in Pergamon on a much lesser scale, or perhaps even privately, for as much as a century before construction began on any of the surviving structures at his famous sanctuary—one of multiple problems associated with the establishment of Asklepios at Pergamon that has been generally overlooked (see Renberg 2017). [See also p. 270 *addendum*.]

What god, if any, preceded Asklepios at the site of the *Asklepieion* has also been a matter for conjecture: while there is no reason to doubt that the spring that eventually fed into the Sacred Well (see p. 246) was already associated with Nymphs (see Riethmüller 2005, 1:339, noting the presence of the Nymphs at the Lebena and Athens *Asklepieia*, and citing Aristid., *Or.* 39.3 along with a late-Hellenistic relief probably showing Nymphs (Pergamon Inv. No. VTS 63/94 (= De Luca 1984, 127–128, No. S 58 + Pl. 58)), and *I.Pergamon* 3, 124, a dedication to the Nymphs and Moirai), such a shrine would have been limited to a small area of the “Felsbarre,” and these goddesses can hardly be considered a true predecessor of Asklepios. Moreover, while Riethmüller was right to be skeptical of Deubner's theory that there was a significant link between Asklepios and the hero Telephos and that his *heroon* had preceded the *Asklepieion* (Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 1:339–340, citing Deubner (O.)

after Pergamon—presumably, as an indirect offshoot from Epidauros, though this is not recorded—and before Rome.¹⁵⁴ Considerably more is known about Asklepios's spread to the latter: Rome's Tiber Island *Asklepieion* was founded in 291 BCE or soon thereafter, when in response to a devastating plague the Senate consulted the Sibylline Oracles and determined that an embassy should be sent to Epidauros seeking Asklepios's aid, and the ambassador returned with a sacred serpent that swam from his ship to the island, designating the place where the god would be worshiped.¹⁵⁵ When Asklepios's cult spread, so too did the practice of incubation, the appeal of which is made obvious by the geographical diversity of those whose visits to Epidauros were recorded in the testimonial and dedicatory inscriptions.¹⁵⁶ Thus incubation became so prominent a feature of worship at the Peiraeus or Athens sanctuary that Aristophanes lampooned it,¹⁵⁷ while abundant documentary sources from Lebena and Pergamon show its centrality to worship at the two sites. More limited evidence also associates Smyrna with incubation,¹⁵⁸ which may have been practiced at Rome as well,¹⁵⁹ but for some sites linked to Epidauros no evidence for the practice survives.¹⁶⁰

1984, 345–351), his proposal that the cult of Apollo, who was worshiped there as Apollo Kalliteknos at his own temple, was a forerunner of Asklepios's is purely speculative.

- 154 Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 46, ed. Masaracchia (= 200B, ed. Neumann). It is not known whether incubation was practiced at the Tarentum sanctuary, but since this brief reference appears in a list of what Julian perceived to be important *Asklepieia*, mostly listed in order of their establishment and all coming after Epidauros, it can be inferred that this was the case from the context: "He came to Pergamon, to Ionia, after these to Tarentum, and later he came to Rome" (ἦλθεν εἰς Πέργαμον, εἰς Ἰωνίαν, εἰς Τάραντα μετὰ ταῦθ', ὕστερον ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην). Taras was a Spartan colony and the cult of Asklepios spread from Epidauros to other parts of the Peloponnesus, making it likely that the cult would have reached Taras indirectly via Sparta.
- 155 Livy 10.47.6–7 and [Livy], *Per.* 11; Ov., *Met.* 15.622–744; Val. Max. 1.8.2; and Ps.-Aur. Vict., *De vir. ill.* 22.1–3. See Renberg 2006–07, 91, 93–94 and Sineux 2008, 395–396.
- 156 This pattern of incubation having been practiced at *Asklepieia* linked to Epidauros was noted in Riethmüller 2005, 1:238. There are too few proven examples for it to be clear how often the pattern repeated.
- 157 There is doubt regarding which sanctuary was Aristophanes's setting (see p. 185).
- 158 For Smyrna, an offshoot of Pergamon's sanctuary, see n. 227. There is also indirect and uncertain evidence for incubation at the Balagrae *Asklepieion*, the remains of which are from the Roman Period but include Hellenistic elements (see Appendix 1.9.2).
- 159 Whether incubation was a feature of worship at the Tiber Island sanctuary is unclear, though if it did occur the earliest evidence is from the Imperial Period and thus might represent a later influence (see Sect. 3.3.7).
- 160 See pp. 165–166 for the Alipheira *Asklepieion*, which dates to the second half of the fourth century BCE and has been speculatively linked to incubation and identified as a likely

3.3.3 *Athens and Peiraeus*

Though clearly offshoots from Epidauros, the two major Attic *Asklepieia* have produced sources for incubation that actually predate the earliest ones from the “mother” sanctuary, in the form of a detailed comic narrative by Aristophanes and multiple reliefs.¹⁶¹ The Athenian *Asklepieion*, built on a terrace near the Theater of Dionysos, has produced an enormous number of reliefs, statues and inscriptions dating back as far as the late-fifth century BCE.¹⁶² While the inscriptions, in marked contrast to those from the Epidauros sanctuary, make no direct reference to incubation and appear to allude to it in only three cases,¹⁶³

offshoot from Epidauros—a relatively early one—due to architectural and topographical elements. Another *Asklepieion* that has been linked to Epidauros by Pausanias but not to the practice of incubation is the one that he saw at Naupaktos, albeit in ruins at the time (Paus. 10.38.13). (The date of the sanctuary’s establishment is unknown but is likely to have occurred sometime during the Hellenistic Period. The editors of *LGPN* have assigned its founder Phalysios, whose sight according to Pausanias was miraculously restored upon receiving writing tablets brought for him from Epidauros by the poetess Anytē after she had received them from Asklepios in a dream, to c. 300 BCE, presumably because this is thought to have been her *floruit* (*LGPN* III.B, 416, s.v. Φάλυστος; for Anytē, see Gow/Page, *HE*, pp. 11: 89–91).)

- 161 In addition to the two *Asklepieia* for which we have the most extensive documentation, the god also came to be worshiped at several lesser sites in Attica, as is indicated by a variety of sources (see Riethmüller 2005, 11:10–15, Cat. Nos. 1, 3–9 and 11:35–43, Cat. Nos. 11–15). The identification of one of these sites should be reconsidered, however: an undiscovered shrine possibly located in the area of the Kerameikos and shared with Amphiaraos, as was suggested by Georgios Despinis (Despinis 1999, followed by Vikela 2006, 50; cf. Leventi 2003, 46n.1). Despinis based this on the find spots of a fourth-century BCE inscription for Asklepios and Hygieia (*IG* 11² 4417) and two reliefs from that period, one thought to show Asklepios (Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 2), and the other showing Amphiaraos and Hygieia (Athens, N.M. 1396 (= Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* 11:347–348, No. 93 + Pl. 50 = *LIMC* I, “Amphiaraos,” No. 65 + photo = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 236, No. 496 + photo = Leventi, *ibid.*, 152, No. R68 + Pl. 44; inscription *IG* 11^{3.1}, 2, 450)). Despinis subsequently questioned whether the Asklepios relief did indeed originate in the area of the Kerameikos, viewing the Acropolis site as more likely (Despinis 2013, 94–95). Moreover, since there was a mythological link between the Athenian hero Theseus and Amphiaraos (see Sineux 2007a, 92–97), the relief of Amphiaraos and Hygieia may have originated at the *Theseion*, which is thought to have stood somewhere in this area, rather than this hypothetical sanctuary of Asklepios. (For the hypothetical Kerameikos site see also Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:20–22, Cat. No. 7, citing *IG* 11² 4417 and the Asklepios relief but not the one with Amphiaraos, and not including Despinis 1999.)

- 162 For studies of the sanctuary, see n. 45.

- 163 Only a single dedicatory inscription, from the second century CE, clearly indicates a divine communication most likely obtained through incubation: a *cippus* featuring a 21-line hymn to Asklepios by a *zakoros* who wished the god to cure his “incurable” (ἀνίατος,

up to seventeen dedicatory reliefs from this *Asklepieion* dating from the late-fifth to the early-third centuries BCE feature incubation scenes—a type of artifact not yet found at Epidauros.¹⁶⁴ Despite the sanctuary's prominence and the disproportionate number of written sources from Athens, however, there are surprisingly few literary references to medical cures obtained there, only one of which is clearly associated with incubation:¹⁶⁵ Damascius's report that

l. 23) gout, followed by a four-line addendum thanking him for having done so, “just as you promised” (ὥσπερ ὑπέσθης, l. 25), which must allude to a dream (IG 11² 4514 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:242, No. 428 = Girone, *Iamata*, 31–35, No. 1.1 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 199–202, No. 18); see Nissen 2009, 237–238). Whether Asklepios healed the dedicant directly or prescribed a remedy or regimen is uncertain, since the reference to the god's “skill” (τέχνη) (l. 22) obscures the nature of the dream. A likely allusion to incubation is inscribed on the marble column from fourth-century BCE Athens dedicated by someone δεινὰ παθὼν καὶ πολλὰ [i]δὼν σωθεῖς, an apparent reference to symbolic healing dreams (i.e., “having been saved after suffering terrible things and seeing many things (in dreams?)” or “having been saved after suffering terrible things and many, after seeing (a dream?)”) (SEG 23, 124, ll. 5–8 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 36–38, No. 1.2); see Nissen, *ibid.*, 238), while a damaged dedicatory inscription made κατ' ὄναρ and referring to treatment for disease might likewise reflect a cure obtained in this manner, though it is not certain that it originated at the *Asklepieion* (IG 11² 4538; see pp. 34–35n.95 for this formula).

164 For reliefs from the *Asklepieion* in general, see now Despinis 2013, 45–132 *et pass.*, the most important discussion to date, with pp. 85–97 devoted to the incubation reliefs. Reliefs clearly or potentially belonging to this subgroup are cataloged in Appendix VIII of this volume, with illustrations and basic bibliography, and are referred to throughout by their catalog entry.

165 There are also four ambiguous literary sources possibly pertaining to incubation there. According to Aelian, after recovering from consumption the comic poet Theopompos, a contemporary of Aristophanes, dedicated an altar with a relief showing himself lying in bed while Asklepios stretched his hand toward him, which *could* indicate incubation but need not, and cannot be linked to the Athenian *Asklepieion* with certainty (Ael., frag. 102, ed. Domingo-Forasté; quoted n. 257). (Roughly around this time the orator Aeschines, after all, traveled to Epidauros for treatment (see pp. 121–122).) The recovery by the Hellenistic philosopher Krantor of Soloi during a stay of some duration in the *Asklepieion*—that the Athenian sanctuary is intended is clear from the circumstances of his career—may have involved incubation, but the one source recording this event simply states that he relocated to the sanctuary and later recovered (Diog. Laert. 4.5.24). No less problematic is the Aelian fragment recording that the fifth-century BCE tragic poet Aristarchos of Tegea, whose plays performed in Athens included an *Asklepios*, had been healed by this god and commanded to make thank-offerings, since even though there is the strong inference that he had incubated there is no way of knowing whether this was done at Athens or in his native Peloponnesus, possibly at Epidauros (Ael., frag. 104, ed. Domingo-Forasté (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:261–262, No. 455)). Aelian is also the source of yet another ambiguous—albeit colorful—anecdote which may allude to incubation: according to his

the fifth-century CE philosopher Plutarch and the less prominent Domninus each engaged in the ritual because of an unspecified ailment in the case of the former and coughing up blood in the case of the latter, and both received the same instruction to consume pork.¹⁶⁶ To these sparse references, however, might be added one of the most valuable literary sources for incubation in any cult, if this *Asklepieion* rather than the one at Peiraeus was the setting for Aristophanes's elaborate, comic treatment of incubation in the *Plutus*, where the ritual is undertaken by the god Wealth with the encouragement of some who hope to ensure greater fairness in the world by restoring his sight to him and thus permitting him to better judge who deserves prosperity.¹⁶⁷

On the Nature of Animals, one of the sanctuary's dogs famously caught a thief when those who were sleeping there (τῶν καθευδόντων) were in too deep a sleep to detect him, and this group may have included Asklepios's patients as well as the temple officials whose lack of vigilance is mocked, though the lack of the ἐν- prefix renders this more uncertain, as the generic term for sleeping is used rather than ἐγκαθεύδειν (Ael., *NA* 7.13).

- 166 Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 89A, ed. Athanassiadi (= *Suda*, s.v. Δομνίνος = Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:240–241, No. 427); see n. 48 on the topographical problem associated with Plutarch's overnight stay, which was at the *prodomos* of the temple. Plutarch: *PLRE* I, "Plutarchus 5," Domninus: *PLRE* II, "Domninus 4."
- 167 Ar., *Plut.* 649–747 (summarized pp. 238–239). Despite the fact that one of the *scholia vetera* to Aristophanes specifies Athens (εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τὸν ἐν ἄστει λέγει Ἀσκληπιόν. δῶο γὰρ εἶσιν, ὁ μὲν ἐν ἄστει, ὁ δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ) (*schol.* Ar., *Plut.* 621), there has been some dispute over whether this scene is set in the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* rather than the one in Athens itself, even though the latter was in the immediate vicinity of the Theater of Dionysos, where the play was performed, and one would expect Aristophanes to have informed the audience if a less obvious location was intended. The main reason for assigning the scene to Peiraeus is the reference to bringing Wealth to the sea for preliminary bathing—perhaps a subtle Aristophanic joke? (see p. 241)—before leading him to the sanctuary (Ar., *Plut.* 653–659). If the setting were indeed the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* then the sea would have been a short distance away, but if it was the Acropolis site then either Wealth bathed a few kilometers away at Phalerum (not at Peiraeus, which was more distant) or the reference to his being washed in ψυχρὰ θαλάττη is not to the freezing-cold seawater of the harbor, but rather that of a water basin close to the sanctuary's entrance. If a water basin, perhaps one even filled with water carted in from the sea, it was most likely located just outside the *temenos* (see pp. 240–241); perhaps the cistern in the area where the Augustan stoa later stood was involved (see n. 72). Though such an interpretation is plausible, the fact that after bathing Wealth and his companions "came to the sanctuary of the god" (ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τέμενος ἦμεν τοῦ θεοῦ) indicates traveling some distance, not simply walking a few steps, and thus the use of a basin seems less likely for the probable Athenian setting. If, however, the passage *does* pertain to the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* and seawater, then the Delian *Asklepieion*, located close to shore, would represent a likely parallel, in terms of the sea itself potentially

Even if it is not the setting for this famous scene in the *Plutus*, there is nonetheless good evidence that incubation was practiced at the Peiraeus *Asklepieion*, located between the Zea harbor and Mounychia hill.¹⁶⁸ This sanctuary, which has been treated by some as the first cult site of Asklepios in Attica, was hastily explored during a salvage excavation, and since the results were never fully published it is unknown whether the incubation structure survived antiquity.¹⁶⁹ However, a relief showing a woman being healed by Asklepios—the most famous relief of an incubation scene from an *Asklepieion*—did survive, and

having been used for purification (see n. 100). For the novel suggestion of *thalattē* referring to a basin, see Ginouvès 1962, 341–342, 355–357 (building on the earlier arguments of Girard 1881, 70–71), but with the reservations of Parker 1996, 181n.102; cf. Roebuck 1951, 158n.17. On the issue of the scene's setting in general, see especially Robert (F.) 1931, whose preference for the Peiraeus was followed by, e.g., Roos 1960, 60, Aleshire 1989, 13, Graf 1992, 177–178, Dillon 1994, 245, and Lamont 2015, 40, whereas varying degrees of skepticism have been expressed by Parker, *ibid.*, 181, Sineux 2006a, 196–197, and Melfi 2007a, 318–320; see also Riethmüller 2005, 1:250–251, accepting the value of the *scholium* as evidence but implausibly proposing that bathing in the sea might have been intended as a reference to the mysteries.

168 On the Peiraeus *Asklepieion*, see now Lamont 2015, the sanctuary's definitive study; see also von Eickstedt 2001 and Riethmüller 2005, 11:25–35, No. 10; cf. Aleshire 1989, 13, 35, Verbanck-Piérard 2000, 314–317, and Gorrini 2002–03, 187–189.

169 For a brief report listing sculptures and other artifacts found during these excavations, some of which are reproduced in von Eickstedt 2001, see Dragatsis 1888. See also M. Petritaki, *ArchDelt* 56–59 B1 (2001–04) [2010], *Chron.* 445–446, on a more recent rescue excavation that turned up a fragmentary dedication to Asklepios (*SEG* 57, 196), thus establishing the site as part of the *Asklepieion*.

The reason for concluding that this site predates the sanctuary in Athens itself is that the Telemachos Monument (see p. 187) refers to Asklepios “having come from Zea” ([ἀ]νεληθὼν Ζεόθεν[ε][ν]) (*SEG* 47, 232, ll. 9–10; see Clinton 1994, 23–24, 30), which could signify that the cult spread from a sanctuary previously established at the harbor, though it is more likely simply that this had been where the god had arrived by boat from Epidauros. (For arguments against the Peiraeus cult site predating the one in Athens, a view endorsed by Clinton, see Parker 1996, 181–182; see also Wickkiser 2008, 137n.24, favoring Parker's more cautious approach. More recently, Jessica Lamont has argued for the harbor being the site of Asklepios's first Attic sanctuary, but some of her evidence is open to different interpretation (Lamont 2015, 39–41). In addition to the issue of when the cult reached the Acropolis site there is also the secondary matter of how the god was conveyed: Clinton, *ibid.*, 23–24 has convincingly challenged Alfred Körte's emendation of ll. 13–14 from ΔΙΑ[.]|[---] to δρ<ἀ>[χ][οντα], which eliminates the source for Asklepios arriving in the form of a serpent rather than a cult image, while Wickkiser 2009b has argued for the god's conveyance by chariot into Athens.)

represents striking evidence for the practice.¹⁷⁰ Another incubation relief, now lost, that represented Asklepios, a woman and a goddess standing by a patient on a couch while four worshipers and a servant with pig approach is believed to have originated at the Peiraeus sanctuary.¹⁷¹ Moreover, incubation at the site may well be shown in a small scene on the Telemachos Monument, a unique monument from the Athenian *Asklepieion* around 400 BCE that documents both visually and verbally the narrative of the cult's arrival in Athens in addition to aspects of the god's worship there, and consists of a large, inscribed pilaster surmounted by a rectangular *amphiglyphon* (i.e., a two-sided *pinax*) atop a square with relief panels on all four sides.¹⁷² Side B of the *pinax*, which is dominated by a temple on the left that has been identified as the one in Athens, is missing much of the right half, but a small fragment survives that seems to show an incubation relief (i.e., a relief within a relief) in which Asklepios attends to a patient on a couch, and is thought to symbolize the Peiraeus sanctuary due to the prow of a ship located just below (Fig. 11).¹⁷³

170 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1. Admittedly, by the logic used to argue that an Amphiaraios relief found at the god's small shrine in Rhamnous might represent the practice of incubation at the main *Amphiareion* in Oropos (see pp. 293–295), this and the other Peiraeus incubation relief could honor the god for his healing accomplishments up the road in central Athens. But this appears to have been a larger and more important site than the Rhamnous shrine, making the possibility of incubation more likely.

171 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2.

172 The fragments of the “Telemachos Monument” are held by multiple museums: Athens, N.M. 2477, 2490, 2491 and one uninventoried; Brit.Mus. GR 1920.0616.1 (as well as what appears to be an ancient copy of the fragment, Brit.Mus. GR 1971.0123.1); Museo Maffeiano, Inv. No. 28615; and Padua 14. The inscription, partly preserved in five fragments (Athens, E.M. 8821–8825), was originally edited in separate entries as IG 11² 4960 and 4961, then for the first time as a single text by Luigi Beschi (Beschi 1967–68, 412–416 (= SEG 25, 226)). Lines 1–26, i.e. IG 11² 4961 + 4960a, were subsequently re-edited by Kevin Clinton (Clinton 1994, 21–25 (= SEG 47, 232, with additional corrections supplied by Clinton to SEG)). The best edition of all of the fragments, though not the inscription, is Wulfmeier, *Griechische Doppelreliefs*, 141–146, No. WR 37 + Pl. 21–22, with extensive bibliography. Important discussions include: Beschi 1967–68; Beschi 1982; Clinton, *ibid.*; Verbanck-Piérard 2000, 302–305; Beschi 2002, 19–25; Riethmüller 2005, 1:241–250 *et pass.*; Wickkiser 2008, 62–76; Lefantzis/Tae Jensen 2009, 103; cf. Greco, *Topografia di Atene*, 1:184 and Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 201, “Atene 135,” cf. pp. 51–53.

173 On this fragment in the Museo Maffeiano, see Beschi 1982, 40 + fig. 7 (photo) and Beschi 2002, 21 + fig. 6 (as well as Ritti, *Museo Maffeiano*, 51, No. 18 + photo, though only for the image on the other side); cf. van Straten 1995, 71, van Straten 1992, 255, Riethmüller 2005, 1:244–245, and Sineux 2007b, 25–27. The link between the boat and Asklepios's journey by sea is that of Beschi 2002, 21. Wickkiser 2009b argues that the horse seen behind the



FIGURE 11
 Fragment from Side B of the “Telemachos
 Monument,” showing relief in which
 Asklepios treats a patient (Museo Maffeiano,
 Inv. No. 28615).

PHOTO: MUSEO LAPIDARIO MAFFEIANO,
 VERONA

That this *Asklepieion* was still an active healing shrine centuries later is indicated by an Imperial-period dedication to Asklepios Mounychios and Hygieia by someone who had been healed (θεραπευθείς) and by an anatomical relief of male genitals dedicated to Asklepios alone from the same period.¹⁷⁴ While this dedication does attest to the sanctuary’s healing function, it gives no indication of how the cure was obtained, and therefore the only epigraphical evidence that might point specifically to incubation is a fourth-century BCE *lex sacra* indicating the number of cakes to be given to different divinities as

incubation *pinax* represents the chariot that brought Asklepios from Peiraeus to his new sanctuary in Athens. For the suggestion that Side B shows the original temple, see Lefantzis/Tae Jensen 2009, 114n.14, with the subject—as well as the need for Side B to be considered Side A instead—to be addressed in greater detail in Tae Jensen’s dissertation (see n. 35).

- 174 Asklepios Mounychios/Hygieia: *IG* 11² 4529. Asklepios: *IG* 11² 4527 (= van Straten 1981, Appendix A 10.1 = Forsén 1996, 77, No. 10.1 + fig. 76). See also the relief from this sanctuary for Agathē Theos (“Good Goddess”) dating c. 300 BCE that shows a worshipping couple, near whom a leg-shaped anatomical votive hangs (Peiraeus Mus. 211 (= *ibid.*, Appendix A 10.2 = Edelmann, *Menschen*, 199, No. C14 + Fig. 13; inscription *IG* 11² 4589)).

preliminary offerings, a practice associated with incubation in sources from other sites but not exclusively limited to it.¹⁷⁵

3.3.4 *Lebena*

Though receiving practically no attention in the literary sources,¹⁷⁶ the Lebena *Asklepieion* has proven to be one of the most valuable sources of information about incubation, thanks to the survival not just of the site itself, but of a large number of both testimonial and dedicatory inscriptions as well as an incomplete *lex sacra* that together reveal many facets of the god's healing practice there during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁷⁷ Regrettably, the *lex sacra* was too

175 IG II² 4962 (= *LSCG* 21). A series of small altars thought to come from this sanctuary or the one on the slopes of the Acropolis might also be evidence for the practice. On these inscriptions and the use of cakes prior to incubation, as well as the uncertain evidence for incubation represented by this *lex sacra*, see pp. 250–252.

176 As mentioned above, Philostratus made a brief reference to Lebena's popularity among both Cretans and Libyans (Philostr., *VA* 4.34; see p. 122), while Pausanias linked the site to Balagrae (Paus. 2.26.9; see p. 562).

177 For the *Asklepieion*'s remains, see p. 151. All of the inscriptions from the Lebena *Asklepieion* or plausibly linked to it have been cataloged, translated and commented upon by Melfi (Melfi 2007b, 110–113, 155–199), a work of great importance but one with insufficient information regarding divergences from Guarducci's texts in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, which still must be consulted. Among Melfi's most significant contributions is for the first time linking three inscribed blocks, one of which was previously thought to include a healing testimony, and recognizing that they likely belong to a single document recording the sanctuary's establishment by a citizen named Theon who had brought the cult from Epidaurus after being healed there (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 8 + 10A + 7 (= Melfi, *ibid.*, 164–167, No. 10A-C, cf. pp. 127–128); see n. 150). Dedicatory inscriptions: *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26A, 26B, and *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 26 *adn.* (= Melfi, *ibid.*, Nos. 29, 30, 32, 43, 45A, 45B, 46). (The last three dedications record or allude to dreams but are not necessarily linked to incubation (see pp. 34–35n.95), while *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 24, records the dedication of two statuettes of Oneiros by an individual who regained his eyesight, quite possibly through incubation (see p. 681).) Testimonial inscriptions: *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 9, 10B, 11A-B, 12A-B, 14A, 15(?), 20, 43(?) (= Melfi, *ibid.*, Nos. 10, 13, 12, 11A-B, 19A-B, 14, 27, 18). *Lex sacra*: see next note. The testimonial and dedicatory inscriptions are also reproduced and commented on in Girone, *Iamata*, pp. 75–135, and most are included in Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 121–167, Nos. 5–12; cf. Guarducci, *EG* IV:154–158. Other studies of the inscriptions pertaining to incubation and the god's miraculous cures and prescriptions include: Bultrighini 1993, 81–99; Detorakis 2000; Girone 2004; Sineux 2004a; and Sineux 2012. A number of the restorations made to various testimonial and dedicatory inscriptions by Guarducci and her predecessors have been accepted by later scholars, even when these are speculative or do not fit the recorded letter traces or *lacuna*. An attempt to rectify this will be made for the

damaged for even a single coherent phrase to be read, so it is of relatively little value.¹⁷⁸ The testimonial inscriptions, undoubtedly compiled by sanctuary

texts cataloged in Renberg (in preparation), *b*, and some of the results are reflected in the passages quoted in the present work.

Two other texts previously linked to incubation based on their reference to physical attributes of this *Asklepieion* (or another) are unlikely to be pertinent. One of these is an inscription that, although found built into a wall at a church near modern Plòra (ancient Pyloros), was assigned to Lebena by its first editor, Federico Halbherr, evidently because it recorded a construction or restoration project being overseen by a digger and involving beds (ἐπεμελήθη | κοιτῶν Ἀμαρ | Μάτρω ὁ καπανεύς (= σκαπανεύς) | Στραψιμένης Σωμένω), which put Halbherr in mind of the *Asklepieion*'s incubation dormitory (Halbherr 1890, 718, No. 168). Guarducci, however, rightly noted that even if the inscription was correctly interpreted as pertaining to the cult of Asklepios, it could have come from another sanctuary, one closer to Pyloros than Lebena (*I.Cret* 1, xxv, 2 + photo (= Melfi, *ibid.*, 160, No. 6 + fig. 76)). Possibly relevant to this issue is an incomplete testimonial inscription from Lebena that refers to a bed-chamber (κοιτῶν) rather than beds, which led Melfi not only to tentatively link the two inscriptions, but to speculate that incubation took place in individual rooms, perhaps in the “lodging” (κατάλυμα) apparently mentioned in the following line (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 12B (= Girone, *Iamata*, 102–103, No. 111.7 = Melfi, *ibid.*, 173–175, No. 19B = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 131–137, No. 7B)). However, in addition to its being unlikely that κατάλυμα would have been used for an incubation structure, in this inscription the word is restored ([κατα]λύματι), and since there are possible alternative restorations for -ΛΥΜΑΤΙ this matter is even more speculative. Further complicating the matter is that the text's apparent reference to chestnuts (καστάνεα) in line 7, which was thought by Girone to have been part of a prescription from the god, may instead pertain to a chestnut tree, perhaps one into which a sacred serpent had climbed. If so, rather than reflecting a therapeutic dream, the inscription may have described a scene reminiscent of one of the Epidaurian testimonies, though in that testimony the snake is moving away from a tree rather than climbing one (see Prêtre/Charlier, *ibid.*, 134–135, citing *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 1–3 (= Test. No. 44)). (A better parallel for this inscription may be the Classical relief of uncertain provenience showing an elderly man who is infirm from age or sick apparently experiencing a healing miracle due to encountering a sacred serpent—or a divinity represented as one—in a tree while being carried to or from a sanctuary by four youths (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg IN 2308 (= Hausmann 1948, 181, No. 170 + fig. 3, cf. pp. 53, 58–59 = Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 173–174, No. 233a = Edelmann, *Menschen*, 225, No. H1 + fig. 37 (photo) = Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 206, “Calcidica 1,” cf. pp. 86–87 + fig. 80)). Although the relief has been assigned to the Asklepios cult by Hausmann, there is no way to identify the god involved.)

178 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 3 (= Melfi 2007b, 159, No. 5): [---] | [---]ΖΩ[---] | [..]ατω θυσ[---] | [..]Ν ὁ ἱεροργός [---] | [---]ΑΣ κ' ἐφεύδῃ | Η[---] |⁵ [---]Ν χά τις ἔχη | [---] | [--- ἐφε?]ύδων θυσ[---] | [..]ΕΡ φεσπε[ρ ---] | [---]Ω ΑΠΕ[---] | [--- τῶ] Ἰ' Ἀσκ[λαπιῶι ---] | [---] (modified from Melfi's edition). Other than the attestation of the rare verb ἐφεύδεν (see p. 111.25), the inscription does not add to our knowledge of the cult. It is, however, possible to discern that

officials,¹⁷⁹ are particularly significant, since unlike the Epidaurian testimonies they include not only accounts of miraculous cures, but also records of recoveries achieved by following Asklepios's prescriptions.¹⁸⁰ One testimony, for example, is essentially indistinguishable from those of the Epidauros steles: according to an inscription preserving two healing testimonies and the beginning of a third, Asklepios had ordered (προσέταξε) an individual suffering from sciatica to come to the sanctuary, where the god operated (ἔταμε) upon him in his sleep and he regained his health.¹⁸¹ In contrast, another testimony states that a resident of Gortyn who was suffering from a stomach ailment received in his sleep instructions (not preserved) and regained his health by following them,¹⁸² while other worshipers themselves recorded the prescriptions that

it pertained to sacrifice (ll. 2, 6), apparently in the evening (l. 7.) (Incorrectly pointing to εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν in the main Pergamon *lex sacra* (*I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 9, 26; quoted pp. 194–195) along with the Oropos *Amphiareion*'s requirement that women were to sleep in the western part of the incubation stoa (*I.Oropos* 277, ll. 45–47; see p. 628), Melfi problematically reads line 7 as a reference to the western part of an incubation structure.)

179 Even if it is incorrect to interpret *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 8 (= Melfi 2007b, No. 10A) as both referring to a *nakoros* who was cataloging dedicatory texts written on wooden boards (σανίδες) (ll. 1–4) and preserving the first testimony (ll. 5–10; quoted n. 150), which has been standard but now appears incorrect, the fact that the testimonies were inscribed on blocks from one or more walls of the incubation dormitory (see *I.Cret*, p. 159), which would have been done after its construction, points to official involvement.

180 Since these appear to date at least two centuries later than the Epidauros inscriptions, there has been some temptation to consider them evidence for an evolution in the god's *modus operandi*, but this is ill-advised (see pp. 216 and 229–230).

181 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 9, ll. 1–5 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:239–240, No. 426 = Girone, *Iamata* 81–82, No. 111.2a = Melfi 2007b, 169–170, No. 13 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 121–125, No. 5): Δήμανδρον Καλάβιος Γορτύνιον ἰσ[χι][α]λγικὸν γενόμενον προσέταξε ἀπο[μο]λὸν ἐς Λεβήναν ὅτι θεραπεύσειν αἰ[ψα] | δ' εὐθόνα ἔταμε καθ' ὕπνον χύγις ἐ[γέ]νετο ("Demandros son of Kalabis, of Gortyn, having sciatica, the god commanded to come to Lebena so that he could treat him. Immediately upon his arrival the god operated in his sleep and he became healthy"). See Nissen 2009, 246 and Sineux 2004a, 137–138 *et pass.*

182 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 11A, ll. 4–12 (= Melfi 2007b, 167–168, No. 11A = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 127–130, No. 6): Κλάδον |⁵ [--- Γορτ]ύνιον στομαχικὸν πόνον | [ἔχοντα εὐθό]ντα πεδὰ θιάσω παρ τὸν | [θιὸν καὶ προσ]ευχόμενον β[ιω]μὸν θήσ[ειν] --- αὐ]τὸν ὕπνος ἔλαβε [---] | [--- κ]αὶ πορτευθὼν ἔφαγε [---] |¹⁰ [---] Σ καὶ αἶματος φύσις ΕΥ.. | [--- προσ]έταξε καὶ .ΘΕΝΙ | [---] χοῦτως ὑγιὲς ἐ[γέ]νετ[ο]. (For line 6 Melfi restores [εὐθό]ντα rather than Guarducci's [ἐλθό]ντα, copying the use of the local dialect in line 9, πορτευθὼν for προσελθὼν.) Other testimonial inscriptions likewise recorded the god's prescriptions: see in particular *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 12A (= Melfi, *ibid.*, 173–175, No. 19A), which mentions peppered wine and other substances (quoted n. 297); *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 14A (= Melfi, *ibid.*, 171–172, No. 15A), a badly damaged text making reference to myrtle berries (see n. 296); and *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 20 (quoted

they had obtained instead of a sudden and miraculous cure.¹⁸³ Unfortunately, most of the stones on which the surviving testimonies were inscribed are broken, so they do not reveal as much regarding therapeutic incubation and the god's prescriptions as one would like. Such prescriptions are found incompletely preserved in two of the most detailed dedicatory inscriptions from the sanctuary, both commissioned at the god's command (κατ' ἐπιταγήν): the plaques left by a Roman citizen named Publius Granius Rufus after he had been cured of different, though possibly related, ailments in the first century BCE.¹⁸⁴ In one of these inscriptions, Rufus refers to his chronic tuberculosis (or a similar respiratory problem) having been cured by a series of medicines derived from plants as well as ordinary food ingredients such as honey and egg; in the other, he reports treating some sort of shoulder ailment with a topical application made from barley-meal, wine, ground pine cone, olive oil, and other substances. Despite such inscriptions that detail prescriptions, the aforementioned testimony indicating an operation for sciatica shows that, at least for a time, incubation at the Lebena *Asklepieion* was also supposed to lead to miraculous cures, and not just the slightly more mundane experience of receiving instructions for how to cure oneself. But it is for the prescriptions that the Lebena testimonies and dedications are most valuable, and collectively they provide a window into the types of ailments and range of cures being employed at a number of *Asklepieia* during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁸⁵

3.3.5 Pergamon

The Pergamon *Asklepieion* was the most popular in Asia Minor, reaching its zenith in the second century CE with a major expansion, and was regularly

n. 295), a damaged text mentioning cardamom and possibly hibiscus. For these and other prescriptions from Asklepios, see Sect. 3.4.3.

183 See especially *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 19, ll. 3–9 (= Melfi 2007b, 184–185, No. 32), in which a woman's unhealed finger wound (or another problem) was treated by an application of burnt oyster shell mixed into rose ointment and mallow mixed with some other substance (restored by some as olive oil) (quoted p. 234). While this inscription has sometimes been treated as a third-person testimony, it appears to be a dedicatory text.

184 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 17–18 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:252–253, Nos. 439–440 = Girone, *Iamata*, 116–129, Nos. 111.12–13 = Melfi 2007b, 181–184, Nos. 29–30 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 141–153, Nos. 9–10; both partly quoted pp. 233–234); see Guarducci, *EG* IV:156–158. For what is known of Rufus's family and his proxeny status at Gortyn, see Sineux 2004a, 138–139 and Melfi, *ibid.*, 182.

185 While the testimonies are all Hellenistic, some of the pertinent dedications date as late as the third century CE.

visited—with stays ranging from a single day to periods of months or even years—by prominent political, literary and medical figures, as the uniquely rich literary sources attest.¹⁸⁶ The epigraphical sources are also especially rich. As with Epidauros and Lebena, Pergamon has provided some of the most detailed epigraphical evidence for incubation the cult of Asklepios. Of greatest value is a lengthy second-century CE *lex sacra*, which partly survives as a composite text (Fig. 12).¹⁸⁷ Devoted entirely to incubation, and thus to be



FIGURE 12

Sacred regulation from Pergamon
Asklepieion (I.Pergamon 3, 161, Copy A).

PHOTO: DEUTSCHE
ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT
(ISTANBUL) (NEG. D-DAI-IST-PE-
65-120-14)

186 On the site's remains, see Sect. 3.2.4.

187 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161A–B + Pls. 49–51, edited and commented upon in Wörrle 1969. The document survives as an inscription that is broken at the top and thus preserves only thirty-six lines (Copy A) and also as four incomplete fragments (two joining) that preserve parts of seventeen lines (Copy B), with each copy being used to restore the other. This document, like the other Pergamon *lex sacra* discussed below (*I.Pergamon* 2, 264 (= *LSAM* 14)), dates to the Imperial Period (see Wörrle, *ibid.*, 168–170, 178n.51), and—as was also most likely the case with the other—was based at least in part on earlier Hellenistic documents, evidence for which can be found in the anachronistic reference to Phokaian coinage that would have been in use around the time the sanctuary was established centuries earlier (ll. 31–33; see Wörrle, *ibid.*, 185–187; cf. *BE* 1971, 555). Thus the regulations would not have

contrasted with *leges sacrae* that included incubation among multiple ritual practices that they regulated,¹⁸⁸ the surviving portion of the inscription informs worshipers in detail what sorts of bloodless offerings, sacrifices, and monetary payments they must make to Asklepios and other divinities, and also addresses purity requirements and other aspects of the process:

[---] | [---] καὶ τραπεζοῦσθω σκ[έ]||λος δεξιὸν κ]αὶ σπλάγχχνα κα[ι] λαβὼν ἄλλον στέφανον ἐλάας π[ρο]||[θυέσθω Διὶ] Ἀποτροπαίω πόπανον ῥαβδωτὸν ἐννεόμφαλον καὶ | [Διὶ Μειλιχίω] πόπανον ῥαβδωτὸν ἐννεόμφαλον καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι |⁵ [c. 7] καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Προθυραῖαι καὶ Γῇ ἐκάστη πόπανον | [ἐννεόμφ]αλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας θυέτω χοῖρον γαλαθηνὸν | [τῷ Ἀσκλη]πιῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τραπεζοῦσθω σκέλος δεξ[ι]||[ὸν καὶ σπ]λάγχχνα. ἐμβαλλέτω δὲ εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς|. | [εἰς δὲ τῇ]ν ἐσπέραν ἐπιβαλλέ[σ]θω πόπανα τρία ἐννεόμφαλα, |¹⁰ [τούτων μέ]ν δύο ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξω θυμέλῃν Τύχῃ καὶ Μνημοσύνῃ, | [τὸ δὲ τρίτ]ον ἐν τῷ ἐγκοιμητήριῳ Θέμιδι. ἀγνεύετω δὲ ὁ [εἰσπορευ]όμενος εἰς τὸ ἐγκοιμητήριον ἀπὸ τε τῶν προειρημέ[νων] πάν-|των καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ αἰγείου κρέως καὶ τυροῦ κα[ι] | [c. 7] ΙΑΜΙΔΟΣ τριταῖος. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ὁ ἐγκοιμώμενος |¹⁵ [ἀποτιθέμ]ενος καταλειπέτω ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος. ἐὰν δὲ τις βού[λ]ηται ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπερωτᾶν πλεονάκεις, προθυέσθω χοῖρο[ν], | [ἐὰν δὲ καὶ] ὑπὲρ ἄλλου πράγματος ἐπερωτᾷ, προθυέσθω χοῖρο[ν] | [ἄλλον κατὰ] τὰ προγεγραμμένα. εἰς δὲ τὸ μικρὸν ἐγκοιμητήριον | [ὁ εἰσιὼν ἀγ]νεύετω τὴν αὐτήν. προθυέσθω δὲ Διὶ Ἀποτ[ρο]||²⁰ [παίω πόπ]ανον ῥαβδωτὸν ἐννεόμφαλον καὶ Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ πόπ[α]||[νον ῥαβδω]τὸν ἐννεόμφαλον καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Προθυραῖαι καὶ Ἀρτέμι[δι c. 6] καὶ Γῇ ἐκάστη πόπανον ἐννεόμφαλον. ἐμβαλλέ[σ]τω δὲ καὶ | εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς. περιθυέσθωσαν | [δὲ πελανο?]ς (vel [ἀλφίτο]ις?) μέλιτι καὶ ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένοις καὶ λιβανωτῷ |²⁵ [πάντες οἱ θ]εραπεύοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπόμενοι τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ ΙΕ[. ?] | [c. 9]. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐπιβαλλέσθωσαν οἱ τε ΠΡΟ[. ?] | [c. 8 ε]ἰς τὸ ἐγκοιμητήριον καὶ οἱ περιθυσάμενοι πάν[τες πόπα]να τρία ἐννεόμφαλα Θέμιδι, Τύχῃ, Μνημοσύνῃ ἐ[κ]άστη πό[πανον]. καθιστάτωσαν δὲ ἐγγύους τῶν ἱατρῶν τῷ |³⁰ [θεῷ, ὃ ἂν α]ὐτοὺς πράσσηται, ἀποδώσειν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ. | [c. 8] ἱατρα μὴ νεώτερα ἐνιαυσίων. ἐμβαλέτωσαν δὲ |

been created on a single occasion, but rather added over time, necessitating new versions to be inscribed and displayed. On this inscription, in addition to the various studies of incubation published over the past four decades, see: Sokolowski 1973; *NGSL*², pp. 61–63; and Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 223–231 *et pass.*

188 Most notably *I.Oropos* 277 (partly quoted pp. 275–276).

[εἰς τὸν θησ]αυρὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἱατρα, Φωκαῖδα τῶι Ἀπό[λ]||[λωνι καὶ
Φ]ωκαῖδα τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι, ὕγιεις γενόμενοι καὶ ἐάν τι | [ἄλλο αὐτ]οὺς αἰτή{ι}-
σῃ ὁ θεός. |³⁵ [c. 2 K]λώδιος Γλύκων | [ἱερ]ονομῶν ἀνέθηκεν.

[---] and he shall place on the cult table the [right] leg and entrails and, taking another olive wreath, [he is to make a preliminary offering to Zeus] Apotropaïos of a nine-knobbed, ribbed *popanon* [*i.e.*, cake], and to [Zeus Melichios] of a nine-knobbed, ribbed *popanon*, and to Artemis [---], Artemis Prothyraia and Gē a nine-knobbed *popanon* each. Having done these things, he shall sacrifice a suckling pig to Asklepios on the altar and place on the cult table the right leg and entrails. And he is to put three *obols* in the *thesauros* [*i.e.*, offertory box]. [Towards] evening he shall contribute three nine-knobbed *popana*—two [of these] on the outdoor *thymele*-altar for Tyche and Mnemosyne, [but the] third one inside the incubation dormitory to Themis. Whoever enters the incubation dormitory shall be pure from all the aforementioned [*i.e.*, types of pollution] and from sex acts, goat meat and cheese, and . . . on the third day. The one incubating, [setting aside(?)] the wreath, is to leave it on the *stibas* [*i.e.*, ritual mat]. If one should wish to inquire multiple times [regarding] the same matter he is to make a preliminary offering of a young pig, [and if he also] wishes to ask about another matter he is to make a preliminary offering of [another] young pig, [according] to what is written above. [Whoever enters] the small incubation dormitory shall be pure in the same mode of purity. He is to make a preliminary offering to Zeus Apotropaïos of a nine-knobbed, ribbed *popanon*, and to Zeus Melichios a nine-knobbed, ribbed *popanon*, and to Artemis Prothyraia, Artemis [---], and Gē a nine-knobbed *popanon* each. He is [also] to put three *obols* in the *thesauros*. [All those] worshipping the god are to go around making offerings with [round cakes(?) or barley meal(?)] moistened with honey and oil and with incense, following the priest and [---]. Towards evening both those [---] into the incubation dormitory and those having gone around making offerings are all to contribute three nine-knobbed *popana* to Themis, Tyche, and Mnemosyne (a *popanon* to each). They are to establish sureties of their medical fees [for the god, whatever] he exacts of them, that they will pay within a year. [---] medical fees not younger than a yearling. Having become healthy, they are to put the medical fees [in the] *thesauros* of Asklepios, a Phokaian *hektē* for Apollo and a Phokaian *hektē* for Asklepios, and whatever [else] the god demands of them. [?.] Clodius Glykon, serving as *hieronomos*, dedicated this.



FIGURE 13 Facsimile of sacred regulation from Pergamon Asklepieion (I.Pergamon 2, 264).

SOURCE: REPRODUCED FROM I.PERGAMON 2

Another *lex sacra*, also assigned to the second century CE, likewise pertains to incubation, but due to its fragmentary state it is both less complete and less easily restored (Fig. 13):

- [---]
 [εἰσπορευέσ?]θω εἰς [τὸ ἱερόν *vel* ἐνκοιμητήριον? ---]
 [--- ἥμ]έρας δέκα ΑΠΟΔΕΞΕΤΟ.[---]
 [--- ἀπὸ δ' ἀφοροδ]εῖων λουσάμενος· ἐὰ[ν δέ τις θέλῃ τῶν πό-]
 [νων (*vel sim.*) ἀπαλ]λάσσεσθαι, περικαθαίρε[τω ---]
 5 [ἀλεκτρυό?]νι λευκῶι καὶ θείωι καὶ δα[δί?, ---]
 [--- σινδο?]νιάσας περικαθαίρετω Ω[---]
 [--- εἰ]σπορευέσθω πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τ[ὸν(?)] ---]
 [--- ? εἰς τὸ] μέγα ἐνκοιμητήριον ὃ ἐγκο[ιμᾶσθαι βουλόμενος]
 [--- ? ἐν ἱμα]τίοις λευκοῖς, ἀγνοῖς ἐλάας ἔ[ρνεσιν ἐστεμμένους],
 10 [ἔχων (*vel sim.*) μήτε δακ]τύλιον, μήτε ζώνην, μ[ήτε? ---]
 [---]ς, [ἀν]υπόδητος[ς.....]
 [---].¹⁸⁹

189 I.Pergamon 2, 264 (= LSAM 14); for the date see n. 187. Sokolowski's edition, based partly on that of Josef Zingerle (Zingerle 1924, 171–176) and the discussion of Pierre Roussel (Roussel 1926, 305–312), is more extensively restored than Max Fränkel's (which is reproduced with translation as Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:291, No. 513); see also Wörrle 1969,

[---] let him enter(?) into [the sanctuary? the incubation building? ---] for ten days [--- from] sex acts, having washed himself. If [anyone should wish] to be freed [from his suffering], let him completely purify [---] with a white [rooster?], brimstone and a small torch(?), [---] having dressed in linen let him completely purify [---] let him enter towards the god [---] into(?) the great incubation building the one [wishing(?)] to incubate [--- in(?)] white garments, [wreathed] with holy [shoots] of olive, [having neither] ring nor belt [nor(?) ---], unshod [---].

180–181 on this text. While the inscription itself is lost and thus there can be no improvements to its reading, it is due for a full reassessment that can take advantage of new discoveries, such as the inscription from the Yaylakale *Asklepieion* (*SEG* 60, 1333; quoted p. 243), as well as the important work done on sacred laws in recent years. Most notably, for example, Roussel had argued for [ἀπὸ ἀφροδ]εισίῳ in l. 3 (Roussel 1926, 306–307), but Sokolowski opted to abandon it; Müller, however, is correct that Roussel's restoration is preferable based on the Yaylakale inscription that he edited (Müller 2010, 444). Moreover, as indicated by Müller, having this phrase in line 3 makes the restoration of [ἀπὸ μὲν γυ][ναϊκὸς ἡμέ]ρας δέκα in lines 1–2 by Zingerle, Roussel and Sokolowski superfluous, and for this reason—as well as that it would be an excessively long period of time for maintaining sexual purity—their restoration should be abandoned. The text presented here is my own, in which I have stripped away a century's worth of both implausible and plausible (but speculative) restorations, and also have made changes partly based on the facsimile provided by Fränkel, which has been the basis of all other versions as well, but it is not intended to be the last word on this inscription's proper reading. Among the more significant changes are: removing the restorations of [ἀπὸ καί][δους ἡμέρας...] for lines 1–2 and μ[ήτε χρυσίον?, μήτε τὰς] | [τρίχας πεπλεγμένας?] for lines 10–11; opting simply to reproduce the letters ΑΠΟΔΕΞΕΤΟ.[---] at the end of line 2 from the facsimile rather than emending them to form the reference to childbirth (ἀπὸ δὲ <τ>ετοχ[ύας]) proposed by Zingerle that does not correspond well to the facsimile (Zingerle, *ibid.*, 173), or following Fränkel in emending the text to ἀποδέξετ<α>[ι] (and making other changes to the purity requirements indicated in lines 1–3, based on the Yaylakale inscription), or else assuming two incorrect letters and emending the spelling to ἀπεδέξατο (a term suiting the context, though an imperative or subjunctive would be expected); and including ἐνκοιμητήριον as a possible restoration for line 1 based on the suggestion in Graf 1992, 188n.149. Some traditional restorations have been retained even if problematic: [ἀλεκτρού?]νι in line 5, for example, was restored in Roussel 1926, 310–312 because of the association of Asklepios with roosters, including a white rooster in the testimonial inscription from Rome (*IGUR* 1 148, l. 16; quoted pp. 231–232), but the evidence for this shows them to have been sacrificed as thank-offerings after a cure, not employed for the purpose of purification (see n. 386).

Together the *leges sacrae* from Pergamon provide a wealth of information, much of it unattested elsewhere, regarding the rituals and requirements for engaging in incubation.¹⁹⁰

At least one dedicatory inscription, though considerably less wide-ranging than the sacred laws, also represents evidence for incubation at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* by recording an individual's recovery after following a dietary regimen that apparently was attributed to Asklepios:

Ἀσκληπιῶι φιλανθρώπῳι θεῶι Πό(πλιος) Αἰλ(ιος) | Θέων Ζηνοδότου καὶ
Ζηνοδό[τ]ης Ῥόδιος | ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν μὴ πιών καὶ φα|γῶν ἔωθεν ἐκάστης
ἡμέρας λευκοῦ πι|⁵πέρεος κόκκους δεκαπέντε καὶ κρομμύου | [ῥ]μῖς κατὰ
κέλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐναργῶς ἐκ | [πολ]λῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων σωθεὶς | [ἀνέ-]
θηκα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφίδου Πο(πλίου) Αἰλ(ίου) | [Καλλι]στράτου τοῦ καὶ
Πλαγκιανοῦ |¹⁰ [Ἀντιπ]άτρου τὸ παιδικὸν εὐχῆν.¹⁹¹

For the people-loving god Asklepios, Publius Aelius Theon of Rhodes, son of Zenodotos and Zenodotē, for 120 days each morning avoiding drink and eating fifteen white peppercorns and half an onion according to the god's instruction, manifestly having been saved from dangers many and great, has dedicated this *paidikon* [*i.e.*, probably a statue of Asklepios as a boy or infant], and also on behalf of his nephew Publius Aelius Kallistratos, also named Plancianus, son of Antipatros, as a vow-fulfillment.

The syntax of this inscription from the late-second century CE makes it more likely that the divine command concerned the means of regaining health rather than the subsequent need to make a dedication, but two other dedications indicating communications from Asklepios are more ambiguous. One, a short inscription recording that someone had undergone a medical procedure, as opposed to having been operated on by the god himself in a dream, indicates that either the procedure itself or the decision to make a dedication afterwards was done in compliance with a divine command: "Julius Meidias having

190 Several important elements of these inscriptions are discussed below (see Sect. 3.4.4).

191 *SEG* 37, 1019 (= Gironne, *Iamata*, 147–150, No. IV.2 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 209–213, No. 20); see Müller 1987, with discussion of the prescription at pp. 212–223, and Steger 2004, 154–165. The same worshiper is also known from an altar dedicated because of a dream (κατ' ὄναρ) to Eurostia ("Strength") at the *Asklepieion* or somewhere nearby (*I.Pergamon* 3, 127 + Pl. 37), while his nephew's premature death is recorded elsewhere, suggesting that his inclusion in this dedication means that he was sick at the time (see Müller, *ibid.*, 209–212).

been bled from his muscle according to a command dedicated this" (Ἰούλιος Μειδί[ας] | φλεβοτομηθεὶς | ὑπὸ τοῦ μυὸς | κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν ἀνέθηκ[ε]).¹⁹² The other inscription is a plaque with an ear in repoussé relief that retains traces of gilding and features the common dedicatory formula κατ' ὄνειρον, which in this case could indicate either that the worshiper's ear was cured following incubation and he opted to represent it as an anatomical gift, or that the dedication was made at the prompting of a dream after his prayers for treatment had been heard by Asklepios, whose own ear is represented.¹⁹³

Long before the discovery of these important inscriptions, however, the central role of incubation in the god's worship at Pergamon was well known, since it was abundantly documented in the *Sacred Tales* (Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι) written by one of the sanctuary's most famous visitors, the sophist Publius Aelius Aristides Theodoros (commonly known as Aelius Aristides),¹⁹⁴ and also more briefly noted by some other Imperial-period authors who did not themselves claim to have undergone incubation at the site.¹⁹⁵ A massive work from which five books and a fragment of a sixth survive, the *Sacred Tales* covers roughly

192 *I.Pergamon* 3, 139. For a potential parallel, see the somewhat vague passage in Galen referring to a worshiper of Asklepios at Pergamon whose chronic pain was relieved by an arteriotomy performed because of a dream: "A worshiper of the god in Pergamon was relieved of a chronic pain in his side through an arteriotomy at the tip of his hand, himself coming to this (idea) from a dream" (θεραπευτῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ χρονίου πλευρᾶς ἀλγῆματος ἀπηλλάγη δι' ἀρτηριοτομίας ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ γενομένης, ἐξ ὀνείρατος ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθὼν καὶ αὐτός) (Galen, *Cur. rat. ven. sect.* 23, ed. Kühn XI, p. 315; see von Staden 2003, 21). This is preceded by Galen's description of himself performing an arteriotomy because of instructions received in two vivid dreams (which belonged to a series of dreams received at the time), though he does not say that the dreams came from a god (Galen, *Cur. rat. ven. sect.* 23, ed. Kühn XI, pp. 314–315; see von Staden, *ibid.*, Harris 2009, 210–211, and Brockmann 2013, 58–59, the latter inferring an attribution of the dream to Asklepios).

193 *I.Pergamon* 3, 91 + Pl. 30 (= van Straten 1981, Appendix A 35.2). In contrast, other dedications of ears or eyes from Pergamon do not refer to a dream (van Straten, *ibid.*, Appendix A 35.1, 35.3, 35.4, 35.6), raising the question of whether the meanings they were intended to convey were significantly different. (See pp. 353–354n.41 for a relief from Epidauros that both represents two ears in relief and refers to the worshiper's having had his ears healed, which eliminates ambiguity in that case.)

194 The name "Theodoros" is primarily attested by Aristid., *Or.* 50.53–54; see Behr 1981–86, 11:437n.91 and Downie 2013, 13–14.

195 Other authors: Philostr., *VA* 4.11, *VS* 1.25, p. 535 (see n. 287) and 2.25, p. 611 (quoted n. 287); Galen, *In Hippoc. Epid.* VI 4.4.8 (quoted pp. 24–25), *Subf. emp.* 10, pp. 78–79, ed. Deichgräber (see n. 16), and *Comm. in Hippoc. Iusi.*, frag. B1c (quoted p. 205); Ruf. Eph., *apud* Orib., *Coll. med. rel.* 45.30.10–14 (see n. 16); cf. Stat., *Silv.* 3.4.23–25 and Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.3.

twenty-five years of interactions between the endlessly suffering Aristides and Asklepios, who regularly appeared in his famous patient's dreams or else sent dreams featuring other figures or symbols, while Aristides slept in the incubation dormitory and at other locations.¹⁹⁶ This work, the distillation of more than

196 Aristid., *Or.* 47–52, ed. Keil (= *Sacred Tales* 1–6). Aristides also discussed his experiences and interactions with the god, though mostly in a more allusory manner, in a number of his orations, such as his *Speech Concerning Asklepios* (*Or.* 42). The *Sacred Tales* are too extensive for proper treatment here, as is the vast amount of scholarship devoted to them. In addition to the essential translation with commentary and annotated translation produced later by Charles A. Behr (Behr 1968; Behr 1981–86, 11:278–353, 425–445, 467–470), the detailed review of Behr 1968 by André Jean Festugière (Festugière 1969), the subsequent annotated translations into German and Modern Greek, respectively, of Heinrich O. Schröder (Schröder (H.) 1986) and by Elisavet Kouke (Kouke 2012), see: Michenaud/Dierkens 1972 (on dreams in the *Sacred Tales*); Gourevitch 1984, 17–71 (later perceptions and influences); Müller 1987, 223–233 (discussing Aristides as well as another worshiper whose cure at Pergamon was recorded epigraphically (*SEG* 37, 1019; p. 198)); Quet 1993; Behr 1994 (exploring various biographical issues, and providing a post-1960 bibliography); Remus 1996 (discussing his social milieu of fellow incubants); Andersson/Roos 1997 (surveying psychological analyses of Aristides and emphasizing his narcissism); Jones 1998 (employing the *Sacred Tales* to study the topography of the Pergamon *Asklepieion*); Sfameni Gasparro 1998 (pp. 203–253 of 2002 version); Horstmanshoff 2004 (using Aristides's evidence to explore the question of the link between “temple” medicine and Hippocratic medicine); Steger 2004, 141–154 (using Aristides as a case study for healing in the Asklepios cult); *ThesCRA* III (2005), 98–99, s.v. “Aelius Aristide et la divination” (L. Pernot) (a brief overview of his belief in and consultation of oracles); Harris 2009, 64–66, 118–122 *et pass.* (a broad study of dreams in antiquity); Petsalis-Diomidis 2010 (approaching Aristides from a theoretical perspective, and primarily valuable for the large amount of material it draws together; cf. Petsalis-Diomidis 2006b); Israelowich 2012 (a major study of the *Sacred Tales* and its author, in the context of the medical and religious practices of his day); Stephens 2012 and Stephens 2013 (attempting to combine a psychological analysis of Aristides with a contextualization of his religious life); Downie 2013 (a literary study that focuses especially on the rhetorical nature of the *Sacred Tales*, but begins with a useful overview of Aristides's career and the most pertinent scholarship at pp. 3–35); Rosenberger 2013; Petridou 2016; and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 153 (K. Stebnicka). See also the recent edition of fragments from and testimonies concerning Aristides's lost works (Robert 2012), and the collection of essays, primarily focusing on other aspects of his writings, in Harris/Holmes 2008. For an inscribed hymn from Pergamon that may have been composed by Aristides and alluded to some of his interactions with the god, see Jones 2004, 95–98 and Robert, *ibid.*, 551–552 on *I.Pergamon* 3, 145 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 140–146, No. IV.1 = *Steinepigramme* I, 594–596, No. 06/02/16). There is also an invaluable website devoted to Aristides, associated with an ongoing project of translating his works run by the University of Strasbourg as part of the “La Méthodologie de Strasbourg” project (<http://www.classicalsace.unistra.fr>). [See also p. 270 *addendum*.]

300,000 lines of notes that Aristides had taken over the years before finally deciding—at the god's prompting¹⁹⁷—to write them up for public consumption, provides not only extensive information regarding the author's experiences, but also represents a tremendously rich source for incubation in general. Beginning in 144 CE at age twenty-seven, when the chronically sick Aristides believed himself to have been summoned by the god from his home in Smyrna to the Pergamon *Asklepieion* where he spent the next two years recuperating,¹⁹⁸ Aristides experienced several periods of often devastating illness—sometimes real and sometimes apparently psychosomatic—during which he would turn to the god for intensive, occasionally radical, treatment.¹⁹⁹ Thus many of the 130 dreams preserved in his *Sacred Tales* were obtained through incubation, though it is also clear that some were received without his solicitation, and are instead evidence for his belief that Asklepios took a strong interest in all aspects of his life;²⁰⁰ moreover, some of these dreams involved other gods,²⁰¹

197 Aristid., *Or.* 48.1–4; cf. *Or.* 48.9.

198 Aristid., *Or.* 48.7; cf. 48.69–70 and 50.14. Aristides had received his first dream of Asklepios roughly half a year earlier, towards the end of 144 CE.

199 Two years earlier Aristides had been visiting Egypt and became seriously ill, evidently relying upon Sarapis for medical assistance (see Behr 1968, 21–22 and Behr 1978, 15, and Sfameni Gasparro 1998, 135–136 (pp. 244–250 of 2002 version)). Though he maintained a high regard for this god upon his return, giving a speech honoring him at Smyrna in early 142 CE in which he briefly prayed for a continued recovery and his future well-being (*Or.* 45.34), it was to Asklepios that he would turn in the future. (This version of events may not be as certain as Behr and others have indicated: the speech at Smyrna does seem to suggest that Aristides attributed his recovery at least in part to Sarapis, but the other sources Behr has cited, *Or.* 36.49 and *Or.* 36.91, refer to Aristides's falling seriously ill but do not credit Sarapis with his recovery (though see his vague comment at 36.124). Therefore, the role that Sarapis played in Aristides's religious life is somewhat ambiguous.)

200 The figure of 130 dreams is that of Behr (Behr 1981–86, 1:2). Among examples of dreams with no discernible link to health or incubation are the dream that prompted Aristides to begin composing lyric poetry (Aristid., *Or.* 50.31), and other dreams pertaining to his writing poems and songs (Aristid., *Or.* 50.39–47). The *Sacred Tales* also includes two episodes when Aristides tells of receiving a dream from Asklepios regarding the need to leave his current location in search of a cure, and in neither case does the dream appear to have been solicited or received at an *Asklepieion*: in one case he was staying in the area of the temple of Zeus Olympios near Mt. Çatal Dag and in the second he was in Smyrna (Aristid., *Or.* 50.1, 51.1; for the temple's location, see Behr 1968, 5–6).

201 See, e.g., the dream in which Athena appears to Aristides while he is bedridden, comforting him and inspiring his decision to seek health by means of an enema of Attic honey (Aristid., *Or.* 48.41–43), his dream of gods from the Underworld advising him regarding his grief (Aristid., *Or.* 49.47), and his references to dreams concerning the

or even no god at all.²⁰² Whether the dreams he recounted were solicited or unsolicited, and whether he was describing his nocturnal visits from Asklepios or his own waking activities that were prompted by the god, Aristides's narrative represents an invaluable source for incubation, and a unique attestation of the religious life of an especially devoted worshiper.

3.3.6 *Trikka and Kos*

Trikka and Kos, two of the other most famous sanctuaries of Asklepios, are associated with incubation by evidence that is considerably more limited. The cult of Asklepios is said to have originated at Trikka, and while no explicit evidence of Asklepios's medical practice there survives and the sanctuary itself has not been identified, Strabo's statement that cures were recorded on *pinakes* at the site (as at Epidauros and Kos) strongly suggests incubation, as one would expect.²⁰³ If scholars have been correct in interpreting the reference to making an offering to Apollo Maleatas and descending into a subterranean *adyton* at Trikka (ἐν Τρίκκῃ . . . | εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ) in Isyllos's fourth-century BCE hymn from Epidauros as an allusion to incubation then it might even have been an early feature of the god's cult.²⁰⁴ However, since descending into an

inspirational dreams he received from different gods whose hymns he composed (Aristid., *Or.* 50.39–41).

- 202 See, e.g., Aristid., *Or.* 51.48–53, a lengthy description of a dream (and dream-within-a-dream) featuring two doctors, and Aristid., *Or.* 51.18, about a dream Aristides that experienced in which he was reading Aristophanes's *Clouds*, and which he took to be prophetic when the next day saw the arrival of clouds and rain.
- 203 Strabo 8.6.15, p. 374; cf. Them., *Or.* 27.333C, p. 11:156, eds. Downey/Norman. On Asklepios's worship at Trikka and the sanctuary's possible location, see Riethmüller 2005, 1:91–98; cf. Wickkiser 2008, 35–36. For the evidence linking the origins of the cult of Asklepios to Trikka, see Aston 2004 and Dillon 1994, 242n.14. Despite claims that particular archaeological remains belonged to the Trikka *Asklepieion*, nothing has been identified with certainty (see Tziaphalias 1988, especially pp. 178–182, for the remains and history of excavations there, and A. Tziaphalias, *ArchDelt* 48 B1 (1993) [1998], *Chron.* 249 + fig. 1, identifying a potential location; cf. Aston, *ibid.*, 23n.12 and Gorrini 2007, 495). Riethmüller's belief in the likelihood that the sanctuary was at the eastern base of the acropolis in the area now occupied by Agioi Anargyroi is plausible (*ibid.*, 1:96), since these saints, Kosmas and Damian, were believed to heal through dreams at certain shrines, and *Asklepieia* were sometimes replaced by Christian healing shrines (on this phenomenon see pp. 751–752, and for Kosmas and Damian, see pp. 763–764; see also Ballas 1998, on continuity of practice at the site).
- 204 *IG* IV² 1, 128, ll. 29–31 (Isyllos Hymn). For the “Isyllos Hymn,” see Bremmer/Furley 2001, 11:180–192, No. 6.4, with translation and analysis at 1:227–240 (dating the inscription c. 335–330 BCE at 1:233–236), Kolde 2003 (at pp. 257–301 arguing for a date of 280 BCE), and Piguet 2012, 57–58, 78–80 *et pass.* (opting for a date of c. 300 BCE). On Isyllos's brief

adyton is not elsewhere associated with rituals at an *Asklepieion* but does have parallels among oracular cults such as that of Trophonios, there is a strong possibility that Isyllos was referring to some divinatory procedure; perhaps the shift in the Amphiaraos cult from a hero who gave prophecies to a god who also healed and issued health-related dreams represents a parallel, in which case it would be possible that therapeutic incubation arose at Epidauros rather than Trikka, just as in the cult of Amphiaraos it may have started at Oropos rather than Thebes.²⁰⁵ The best piece of evidence indicating that incubation was practiced at Trikka dates to the Imperial Period: in Origen's polemic against Celsus he quotes him listing Trikka with Epidauros, Pergamon and Kos as one of the sites at which Asklepios was both "foretelling the future" (τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγοντα) and "doing good works" (εὐεργετοῦντα), and since dreams would have been the god's medium for communicating the future the term εὐεργετεῖν presumably alludes to Asklepios's providing prescriptions and miraculous cures through dreams in addition to the more mundane task of maintaining and restoring his worshippers' health.²⁰⁶

Based on Celsus's reference, the same logic applies not just to the Trikka *Asklepieion*, but also to the Kos *Asklepieion*, the site which according to Herodas was established as an offshoot of the Trikkan cult ("Asklepios came hither to Kos from Trikka"), but for which incubation is sparsely attested.²⁰⁷ Among Asklepios's most important sanctuaries, the Kos *Asklepieion* was especially famous for its association with Hippocrates and the Hippocratic school, the medical school of the Asklepiads, who claimed descent from Asklepios.²⁰⁸ While a negligible number of dedicatory inscriptions survive,²⁰⁹ and none of

reference to Trikka as a possible allusion to incubation, see Sineux 1999, 160, Bremmer/Furley, *ibid.*, 11:187–188, and Aston 2004, 25–26.

205 For Amphiaraos, see pp. 103–104; for Trophonios, see Appendix 11.2. Of those discussing these verses of Isyllos, Antje Kolde stands out for questioning the assumption that they allude to incubation, preferring to see the Trikka ἄδυτον as the antecedent of the Epidaurian *tholos* (Kolde 2003, 120–126).

206 Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.3; cf. 3.24, employing similar language (θεραπεύοντα καὶ εὐεργετοῦντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγοντα) but not referring to specific *Asklepieia*.

207 Herod. 2.97 (see n. 144).

208 See Gamberale 1978 (arguing for Podalirios as the Asklepiads' progenitor), Wickkiser 2008, 21–22, 54–56, and Interdonato 2013, 153–156; cf. Pietschmann 1896, 1683–1685 and Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:20. For the Asklepiads at Knidos, see Nissen 2009, 261–267. More broadly, see Solin 1998, 66–67 for the relationship between the Kos *Asklepieion* and local physicians, and Nissen 2007, a general study of the relationship between Asklepios and physicians; cf. Samama, *Médecins*, p. 25.

209 IG XII.4, 2, 496–507.

these refers or alludes to miraculous cures, literary sources make clear that the site was once associated with cures of divine origin: in addition to mentioning *pinakes* that recorded cures at Kos in the aforementioned passage referring to Epidauros and Trikka, Strabo states elsewhere that “They say Hippocrates especially practiced dietetics based on the (inscribed) cures dedicated there” (φασὶ δ’ Ἱπποκράτην μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀνακειμένων θεραπειῶν γυμνάσασθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς διαίτας), and Pliny the Elder likewise attests that such inscriptions once existed at the sanctuary, where “It had been the custom for those freed of their ailments to write in the temple of this god what type of help they had received, so that afterwards a similar one [*i.e.*, cure] would be available” (*cum fuisset mos liberatos morbis scribere in templo eius dei quid auxilium esset, ut postea similitudo proficeret*), as the Seleucid king Antiochos the Great had done.²¹⁰ Another source for these *pinakes*, though not incubation itself, can be found in Herodas’s fourth *Mime*, a poem most likely set in this sanctuary, in which the worshiper Kynno instructs her companion Kokkale to place a *pinax* near the statue of Hygieia as thanks for a cure.²¹¹ Despite the surprising lack of more specific references to incubation at Kos—to which might be added a passage on purity in a recently published sacred law, depending on its restoration²¹²—the *Asklepieion*’s antiquity, prominence and size, as well

210 Strabo 8.6.15, p. 374 and 14.2.19, p. 657; Plin., *H.N.* 29.2.4; see Sherwin-White 1978, 354–355 and Solin 2013, 43–46; cf. Paul 2013, 182. Strabo’s comment regarding Hippocrates, which is echoed by Pliny’s subsequent statement that Hippocrates copied down these cures and used them to establish clinical medicine, represents a fanciful tradition, since his career predated the *Asklepieion*. While these written records of cures are lost, one remedy survives that may be among the ones that Pliny, at least, had in mind: according to another passage in his work, Antiochos the Great used an antidote for animal poisons (with the exception of asps) that was inscribed in verse at the Kos temple, though it is unclear whether he believed that he had received the prescription directly from Asklepios (Plin., *H.N.* 20.100.264; cf. 29.3.5). In addition to the prose summaries of its botanical ingredients in Pliny’s *Natural History* and an anonymous medical treatise ascribed to Pliny the Younger (Ps.-Plin., *Med.* 37.11–13, p. 98, ed. Önnersfors), the epigram itself has been preserved in the works of Galen (Galen, *Antid.* 2.17, ed. Kühn XIV, pp. 201–202). See Sherwin-White, *ibid.*, 275–277 on the literary sources for the Kos *Asklepieion*’s association with divine healing (and p. 276n.108 for the Antiochos epigram, which she rightly compares to some of the remedies recorded at Lebena that likewise involved mixing several ingredients).

211 Herod. 4.19–20. For the likely setting of this poem as Kos, see Sineux 2004b, 36–39; cf. Sherwin-White 1978, 349–352.

212 IG XII.4, 1, 289, l. 14, [--- κε]κοιμήσθαι κατὰ τὸς νόμος, which Chaniotis suggests instead restoring with [ἐν]κοιμήσθαι because incubation was practiced at the *Asklepieion* (EBGR 2011, 21 (at p. 335) and SEG 60, 895 (at p. 248)).

as the comment attributed to Celsus and the references to inscribed cures, make it a very reasonable assumption that the sanctuary included facilities for incubation, even if the structure or structures cannot be positively identified.²¹³ This assumption finds further support in an Arabic fragment from a lost work ascribed to Galen, the *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath*, though perhaps by another medical writer:

People in general bear witness to the fact that it was God who gave them the craft of medicine through inspiration in dreams and visions delivering them from severe diseases. Thus, we find an innumerable large number of people to whom their cure came from God, some (obtaining it) through Serapis, and others through Asclepius in the city of Epidaurus, the city of Kos, and the city of Pergamon—the last-mentioned one being my own city.²¹⁴

As is also the case with Celsus, Galen's listing of Kos with the major incubation sanctuaries at Pergamon and Epidauros, in this case referring to medical dreams, represents good evidence for incubation being practiced there in Roman times. In contrast to Trikka, however, for Kos there is also evidence for healing at the *Asklepieion* during the Hellenistic Period, both direct (*i.e.*, Herodas's *Mime*) and indirect (*i.e.*, Antiochos's cure). Regrettably, the sources for both sanctuaries are too thin for us to determine whether incubation at Kos was an element of worship learned from Trikka, Epidauros, or another cult center.

213 Such was the conclusion of Sherwin-White 1978, 346–354 *et pass.* On the buildings that have been proposed as sites for incubation, see pp. 146–148. One source that has been cited as evidence for incubation at Kos can be discarded: *ICos* 348, a dedication of unknown provenience featuring Zeus's eagle in relief that was prompted by a dream and thus linked to the practice in Pietschmann 1896, 1690.

214 Galen, *Comm. in Hippoc. Iusi*, frag. B1c (trans. Rosenthal). See Rosenthal 1956 on the fragments and *testimonia* for this work, which was translated into Syriac in the ninth century and then Arabic. Rosenthal analyzed the issue of authorship, concluding that while Galen cannot be rejected as the author, it is quite possible that another medical writer of the second through sixth centuries CE was responsible for the Greek original (*ibid.*, 82–87); however, more recent scholarship favors Galen as the author (see Jouanna 2012, 263 with n. 7). On this passage, see Kudlien 1981, 118–119, Harris 2009, 211–212, and Van Nuffelen 2014, 346.

3.3.7 Rome

In Rome, the most prominent site of Asklepios's worship in the Latin West, incubation may well have been practiced at one or two of the god's sanctuaries, but the literary and epigraphical sources do not present a clear picture of by what means he would heal his worshipers.²¹⁵ The god was first introduced to the city in 292 or 291 BCE, at the height of the cult's expansion from Epidauros, and a temple was dedicated to him on the Tiber Island in 291 BCE or a later year, all in response to a devastating plague.²¹⁶ This sanctuary, which was large and prominent enough that some referred to the island as the "Island of Asklepios,"²¹⁷ is shown to have been a healing sanctuary by various sources, especially the hundreds of terracotta anatomical votives dredged up from the riverbed or found nearby that date to the mid-Republic.²¹⁸ The evidence for incubation at the site, however, is more ambiguous than commonly recognized. Some sources can be dismissed outright: the three unprovenienced Latin dedicatory inscriptions made *ex viso*, *iussus* and *ex iusso numinis dei*, which have been repeatedly cited as evidence for incubation despite the fact that the inscriptions can be linked neither to the sanctuary nor matters of health.²¹⁹ The best evidence for incubation at the Tiber Island *Asklepieion* is to be found in two Greek inscriptions, neither of which has a well-established provenience. One of these, a dedicatory inscription, records the gift of a silver anatomical votive to Asklepios after "having been saved by your hands from a swelling of the spleen" (ὄνχο[ν] σπληνὸς σωθεὶς ἀπὸ σῶν χερῶν)—language that, although metaphorical, is reminiscent of the incubation reliefs that show the

215 On Asklepios and incubation in Rome, see Renberg 2006–07, 128–134, from which this discussion is drawn; see also Sineux 2008, covering similar ground. (Though discussing incubation briefly at pp. 17–18, the focus of Brandenburg 2007 is primarily the final years of the cult of Asklepios and the history of Christian worship that replaced it on the Tiber Island, as well as the evidence for reuse of some of the building material, and thus the work serves as a useful complement to the other two.)

216 For the history of Asklepios's introduction to Rome, briefly discussed above at p. 182, see Renberg 2006–07, 88–90, with discussion of the temple's *dies natalis* at p. 93 with n. 17; see also Brandenburg 2007, 13–16 and Sineux 2008, 395–396.

217 Suet., *Claud.* 25.2; Dion. Hal. 5.13.4.

218 The anatomical votives are collected and analyzed in Pensabene/Rizzo/Roghi/Talamo 1980. For the literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources attesting to the sanctuary's healing function, see Renberg 2006–07, 94–105.

219 *CIL* VI 8, 14, 30844 (= Renberg 2006–07, 155–156, Nos. 31–33); see Renberg, *ibid.*, 129–132. Most recently linked to incubation in Brandenburg 2007, 17 and Sineux 2008, 398, 401. For the problems associated with attributing such formulaic inscriptions to incubation, see pp. 34–35n.95.

god placing his hands on the patient as well as the written sources for this.²²⁰ There is good reason to link this dedication to the Tiber Island sanctuary, particularly the fact that it was donated to Rome's Antiquarium Comunale by the archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani around the time that the Tiber River was being dredged and the anatomical votives as well as some Latin dedications to the god were found, but no records have been left regarding its origin. The other Greek inscription that may attest to incubation at this sanctuary is the frequently cited collection of four healing testimonies, most likely dating to the reign of Caracalla, that each employ the same language (ἐχρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς or just ἐχρημάτισεν) to record that a worshiper was instructed by the god to undertake certain actions and prepare certain substances with which he should heal himself.²²¹ In contrast to the Epidaurian testimonies, these four surviving testimonies make no reference to sleeping at the sanctuary, so it cannot be ruled out that these individuals received dreams at home or elsewhere summoning them to receive treatment from Asklepios. However, if the traditional interpretation of them is correct, the testimonies do appear to indicate that at the height of the Imperial Period worshipers in Rome could engage in therapeutic incubation at a sanctuary of Asklepios, though it is not certain where: since the belief that this inscription originated at the Tiber Island *Asklepieion* depends on a single unreliable Renaissance antiquarian, it is possible that instead it should be assigned to the much less well attested Esquiline *Asklepieion*, which seems to have had a mostly Greek clientele.²²² Since the inscription recording

220 IGUR I 105 (= Renberg 2006–07, 157–158, No. 37 (with topographical note) = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 181–184, No. 15); see Renberg, *ibid.*, 128–129 and Nissen 2009, 237. For Asklepios's healing hands, see pp. 220–221.

221 IGUR I 148 (quoted pp. 231–232).

222 For the sixteenth-century source Johannes Metellus (*i.e.*, Jean Matal), see Renberg 2006–07, 139 and Sineux 2008, 393–394. Sineux at n. 3 makes the interesting suggestion that the inscription's relocation to Naples, where it is today part of the Farnese collection at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, may be attributable to the Tiber Island having been Farnese property, which would strengthen the association of the inscription with the sanctuary. For the Esquiline sanctuary, see Renberg, *ibid.*, 105–108 *et pass.* The evidence that such a sanctuary existed is circumstantial, but reasonably strong, as epigraphical finds in the area appear to confirm a literary source. This source, a possibly spurious account of Diocletian deciding to restore the site preserved in an anonymous martyrology of the late-sixth or early-seventh century, the *Suffering of the Four Crowned Saints*, is of particular interest:

Veniens vero Diocletianus ex Sirmis post menses undecim, ingressus est Romam. Et statim iussit in terras Traianas templum Asclepii aedificari et simulacrum fieri ex lapide proconisso (= proconnesio). Quod cum factum fuisset, praecepit omnes curas in eodem templo in praegomas (= praeconias) aeneas cum caracteribus infigi, et iussit ut omnes militiae

the dedication of a silver spleen is likewise unprovenienced and may have come from the Esquiline sanctuary if it was not recovered from the Tiber's riverbed, there is even less reason to conclude that incubation was practiced at Rome's Tiber Island sanctuary.

3.3.8 Other Asklepieia

In the case of some *Asklepieia*, only literary sources reveal the practice of incubation: a passage in Aristophanes's *Wasps*, dating to 422 BCE, indicates that Athenians could practice incubation by sailing to Aegina in the days before the cult of Asklepios was introduced to Attica, or at least well established there;²²³ in southeastern Achaia some distance from Pellene was a sanctuary

venientes ad simulacrum Asclepii sacrificiis et ad turificandum compellerentur, maxime urbanae praefecturae milites (Passio SS. Quattuor Coronatorum 22, edited in AA.SS., Nov. III, p. 778 (= BHL 1836)).

Diocletian, coming from Sirmium after eleven months, entered Rome and immediately ordered that the temple of Asclepius in the Baths of Trajan be restored and a statue be made from Proconessian marble. And when this had been done, he instructed that all the cures achieved in this very temple be inscribed publicly in bronze and posted, and he ordered that all of the services, especially the soldiers of the urban prefecture, be compelled to approach the statue of Asclepius with sacrifices and to offer incense. If the story is true, it is conceivable that Diocletian, seeing an inscribed plaque recording miraculous cures from a century earlier already on display, had ordered that the cures happening in his own day receive a similar treatment. (If so, and the inscription originated at the Esquiline *Asklepieion*, its possible sighting at the Tiber Island in the Renaissance might be explained by the Esquiline site having been closed first by the Christians and important objects relocated to the god's remaining sanctuary in Rome.)

To the evidence noted in Renberg, *ibid.*, 122–123 potentially pointing to the sanctuary's importance to the local Greek community can be added the evidence collected in Palombi 2007 for the medical profession having been active a short distance to the west. (Indeed, it stands to reason that there would have been a sanctuary or shrine of the physicians' patron in close proximity to where their guild was based.)

- 223 Ar., *Vesp.* 121–123: ὅτε δῆτα ταύταις ταῖς τελευταῖς οὐκ ὠφέλει, / διέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, εἴτα ξυλλαβῶν / νύκτωρ κατέκλινεν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ (“So when there was no help from these rituals he sailed across to Aegina, and taking (Philokleon) with him he had him bed down for the night at the sanctuary of Asklepios”). On the evidence for the cult at Aegina, see Polinskaya 2013, 263–265 and Riethmüller 2005, 11:72–73, Cat. No. 25. The suggestion of Fernand Robert that the Apellas inscription from Epidauros refers to a consultation at Aegina is possible, since Apellas does state that “During the voyage, while in Aegina, the god commanded me not to become so greatly irritated” (κατὰ δὴ τὸν πλοῦν ἐν Αἰγείνῃ ἐκέλευσεν | με μὴ πολλὰ ὀργίζεσθαι), perhaps a reference to a dream received at the *Asklepieion* there (Robert (F.) 1929, on *IG* IV² 1, 126, ll. 4–5; for Apellas, see pp. 169–171).

of Asklepios that according to a brief reference in Pausanias, the only source for it, was named “Kyros” and was a place where “people’s cures come from the god” (ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καλούμενον Κύρος, καὶ ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεταί), and was also known for its abundant water supply;²²⁴ Asklepios’s famous temple at Aegae in Cilicia has not produced any archaeological remains, but Libanius, living a relatively short journey away in Antioch, on different occasions sent a proxy when he was too hobbled by gout to travel or was seeking help for his chronic migraines,²²⁵ and other authors also reveal that the sanctuary was famous for healing in this manner;²²⁶ in Mysia,

However, this can be questioned, since he had been “sent for by the god,” and thus might have seen no need to incubate at a lesser *Asklepieion* when he was so close to Epidauros.

224 Paus. 7.27.11. See Riethmüller 2005, 11:188, Cat. No. 85.

225 Libanius’s proxy consultations are the subject of Lib., *Eps.* 706–708, 1300, and 1374 and Lib., *Or.* 1.143 (see Appendix XI1). For proxy incubation, see Appendix IV.

226 Philostr., *VA* 1.7 and *VS* 2.4, p. 568 (quoted n. 121); Euseb., *Vit. Const.* 3.56; Sozom., *Hist. eccl.* 2.5.5. See also Serenus Sammonicus, *Liber Medicinalis, proem.* l. 5, ed. Pépin (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:339–340, No. 615), at the beginning of this medically-themed poem of the Imperial Period listing the sanctuary with Pergamon and Epidauros as Asklepios’s favorites. On the literary sources for the sanctuary, see Robert (L.) 1973, 184–193 (= Robert, *OMS* VII:248–257); cf. Ziegler 1994, focusing on coinage (but discussing the closure at pp. 208–209), and Hild/Hellenkemper 1990, 160–164. For these and the other sources, see Riethmüller 2005, 11:382–383, Cat.-App. No. 346. See also Strasser 2002, building on Robert’s work to argue that two dedications to Asklepios and Hygieia first recorded at Messina originated at Aegae, and Bitto 2002, assigning them instead to ancient Messana (*I.Messana* I 38 (= *SEG* 42, 870) and *IG* XIV 402 (= *I.Messana* I 38 *adn.*)). (Since the two articles appeared the same year, and Bitto’s treatment in *I.Messana* was published the year before, the matter remains unresolved.)

According to Eusebius and Sozomen, the temple was destroyed by Constantine, but Zonaras recorded that it was reestablished by Julian in 363 CE after he passed through Cilicia (Zonar. 13.12C–D, ed. Dindorf; see Graf 2015, 253–254 (p. 129 of 2013 version), Watts 2015, 48, 111, 136–137, and Wiśniewski 2015, 112–113, 116, 118–119), and some of Libanius’s letters appear to show that it was again in use (see Appendix XI1). See also Libanius’s protest against the sanctuary’s closure under Constantine and his successors (Lib., *Or.* 30.39), and his brief allusion to this in a letter to a colleague living in Cilicia whose oration praising Asklepios had lamented the destruction, and had also noted that the god’s power was revealed by inscriptions left by those who had been healed (νῦν μὲν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν δεικνὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἃ ἦν τῶν ὑγιανάντων) (*Ep.* 695.2). As suggested by Heikki Solin, another protest might have been implicit in the dedication made at Epidauros in 355 CE by a priest addressing the god as “Asklepios of Aegae” (Ἀσκληπιῶι | Αἰγέωτι | ὁ ἱεροφάντης | καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ σωτή|ρος Μνασέας Ἑρμιονεὺς | κατ’ ὄναρ | τὸ σλβ’) (*IG* IV² 1, 438; see Solin 2013, 14–15). The *Asklepieion* and its eventual replacement by the Christians is the subject of a new article by Ildikó Csepregi (Csepregi 2015); moreover, in his article of the same

Aristides reveals that incubation was practiced not only at Pergamon, but also at Poimaneion, and probably Smyrna, where he spent much of his life teaching rhetoric;²²⁷ and, according to the often unreliable biography of the Late Antique philosopher and holy man Proclus, a mysterious shrine at Adrotta in Lydia from which visitors were able to obtain “oracles” (χρησμοί) leading to miraculous cures proved to be an oracle of Asklepios, and since the passage refers both to healing oracles that saved visitors from great dangers (χρησμοὶ δίδονται ἐκάστοτε ὑγιαστικοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων σῶζονται παραδόξως οἱ προσιόντες) and Proclus himself receiving a dream from the god it can be inferred that some form of incubation could have occurred there, even if the site was not a typical *Asklepieion*.²²⁸

In contrast to *Asklepieia* linked to incubation solely or primarily by literary sources, three others that were entirely overlooked in surviving works of literature are known to have provided facilities for incubation because of the discovery of an inscribed *lex sacra* from each site:²²⁹ at both Amphipolis and Erythrai

year Robert Wiśniewski rightly questions whether the claims that the sanctuary was completely closed by Constantine are accurate, but does not take into account an important comment by Libanius in *Ep.* 695 indicating that the site's healing function had ceased for a time (see p. 695). (It is occasionally stated that Constantine wanted to use building materials from the *Asklepieion* for construction projects in Constantinople. Although Zonaras clearly refers to the columns having been reused for a local church, there appears to be no ancient source attesting to this, but the origin for this belief—if not simply a misreading of Zonaras—may lie in the preference of the *Life of Constantine*'s editors Ivar A. Heikel and Friedhelm Winkelmann for the more reliable manuscript's φέρεσθαι (“to be carried (away)”) over another's καταβληθῆναι (“to be thrown down”), in reference to the command Constantine issued regarding the temple. But even if φέρεσθαι has correctly been retained in the text, the destination for any parts of the temple that might have been born away from Aegae is a matter for speculation. It is also unclear to what extent the sanctuary was accessible to worshipers before Julian's restoration, but if the temple itself was largely or completely destroyed the site's use would have been minimal at best.)

227 Poimaneion: Aristid., *Or.* 50.3–7; for the other evidence of Asklepios's worship at the site, see Riethmüller 2005, 11:368, Cat.-App. No. 258. Smyrna: Aristid., *Or.* 47.12, 47.17; cf. *Or.* 23.16–17; for epigraphical and other sources from the sanctuary, see Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:359–360, Cat.-App. No. 224. According to Pausanias, the Smyrna *Asklepieion* was an offshoot from Pergamon's, so incubation there would not be unexpected (Paus. 2.26.9).

228 Marin., *Procl.* 32. See Athanassiadi 1993, 9 for a brief discussion of Proclus's visit. On the evidence for Adrotta, which has not yet been located, see Saffrey/Segonds 2001, 167. For the inclusion of the site among those associated with “auditory epiphanies,” see p. 565n.1.

229 The chance loss of the opening lines of a *lex sacra* from first-century CE Rhodes may have deprived us of a possible fourth addition to the list, since the surviving text has strong parallels among the *leges sacrae* from *Asklepieia*, but the god's name has not been preserved:

[---] | [ἀπὸ ἀφρ]οδισίω[ν], | ἀ[πὸ] κυάμων, | ἀπὸ καρδίας. |
 ἄγνὸν χρῆ ναοίῳ θ[υ]ῖ^ωδεος ἐντὸς ἰόντ[α] |
 ἔμμεναι· οὐ λουτρῶι | ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρόν. |
 καθ' ἀδίτους θύοντα | ἐνβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θη¹⁰σαυρὸν βοὸς (δραχμᾶν) α', τῶ[ν] | ἄλλων
 τετραπόδων [·'], | ἀλέκτορος ε' (BE 1946/47, 157 (= LSCG Suppl. 108))

[---] from sex acts, beans and heart.

*It is necessary for the one entering the fragrant temple
 to remain chaste: pure not from a bath, but in his soul.*

The one sacrificing at the *adyta* should toss into the *thesauros* one drachma for a bull,
 [?] for all other four-legged animals, and five for a rooster.

(For this and similar *leges sacrae*, see Accame 1938, its *editio princeps*, and *NGSL*², pp. 17, 59; cf. Petrović/Petrović 2006, 157, 172 and Robertson 2013, 229–232.) The reference to multiple shrines (ἄδυτα, though written as the rare masculine form; see Accame, *ibid.*, 72) suggests incubation, though not conclusively (see p. 16n.43). (If these were multiple incubation structures the inscription would represent the one parallel for the reference to two incubation dormitories at Pergamon (see pp. 138–142).) The requirements that a worshiper abstain from sex, beans and (animal) hearts are similar to those found in the Yaylake inscription (see below), among others (see pp. 242–244), but by no means limited either to the cult of Asklepios or the practice of incubation. (Robertson, *ibid.*, 231, unaware of such parallels, claims that because “food interdictions are mostly non-Greek . . . there can be little doubt” that this inscription comes from the cult of Sarapis.) Moreover, the possibility of sacrificing a rooster rather than a bovine or other quadruped potentially links the inscription to the cult of Asklepios (see n. 386). Perhaps most significantly, lines 4–6 provide an exact quotation from the inscription on the Epidauros temple (Porph., *Abst.* 2.19.5; quoted differently in Clem. Al., *Strom.* 5.1, §13.3, ed. Le Boulluec (= Page, *FGE* 120); see Parker 1983, 322–325, Versnel 2011, 415, Chaniotis 1997, 163–166 and Chaniotis 2012a, 128–129, the latter attributing the regulation to an oracle from Apollo). This is not enough to link the inscription to the cult of Asklepios, however, since lines 6–7 quote a maxim of unspecified origin that is known from Clement of Alexandria, ἴσθι μὴ λουτρῶ ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρός (“Be pure not from a bath, but in your soul”) (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 4.22, §142.3, ed. van den Hoek), and also appears in almost identical language in an “Oracle of Sarapis for Timainetos” (Σαράπιδος χρησμός Τιμαίνετω) included in the *Palatine Anthology* appendix devoted to oracles:

ἀγνάς χεῖρας ἔχων καὶ νοῦν καὶ γλῶτταν ἀληθῆ
 ἴσθι μὴ λουτροῖς, ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρός
 ἀρκεῖ γάρ θ' ὁσίοις ῥάνις ὕδατος· ἄνδρα δὲ φαῦλον
 οὐδ' ἄν ὁ πᾶς λούσῃ χεῦμασιν ὠκεανός (*Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 183, ed. Cougny).

Having chaste hands and soul and a truthful tongue

be pure not from a bath, but in your soul.

For the pious a drop of water suffices; but not even the whole ocean

with its streams would wash clean the wicked man.

(The text employed here is drawn from G. Wolff, *Philologus* 17 (1861), 551–552, which was based on a manuscript superior to that used for Cougny's text and, in turn, Merkelbach

steles detailing the rituals required for incubation reveal that this was a feature of Asklepios's cult there as far back as the mid-fourth century BCE,²³⁰ while the surviving portion of a sacred law from a sanctuary established by the leader of an Attalid mountaintop garrison at Yaylakale (Yalaköy) around 200–150 BCE publicizes the purity requirements for any who would enter for the purpose of engaging in incubation.²³¹ Another sanctuary of Asklepios—albeit one shared with Apollo—which was located in Beroia but remains undiscovered can be identified as an incubation sanctuary not from a sacred law, but on the strength of a dedicatory inscription from 131/30 BCE recording a prominent citizen's gift of a stone *enkoimētērion*, no doubt either a new addition or an improvement on a preexisting structure, possibly a wooden one.²³² Similarly, a dedicatory inscription from Ephesos that thanks Asklepios and Hygieia for curing a

2001b, 85, §148. Also edited as Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 61.) These lines have led Accame to conclude that the inscription could be from the cult site of either Asklepios or Sarapis, though showing the other's influence (Accame, *ibid.*, 75; echoed in BE). This is preferable to assigning it to one divinity or the other, as Gorrini and Melfi do on the grounds that the inscription refers to *adyta* (Gorrini/Melfi 2002, 258 at n. 102), which ignores the association of this term with *Sarapieia* (see, e.g., the Alexandria sanctuary (p. 334n.10)). Overall, although the inscription is more likely to be from the Rhodian *Asklepieion* known from Diod. Sic. 19.45.4 (on the remains of which see Ch. Phantaoutsaki, *ArchDelt* 53 B3 (1998) [2004], *Chron.* 933–935), it cannot be ruled out that it was from a *Sarapieion*, or even a sanctuary shared by the two gods (as suggested by Sokolowski in *LSCG Suppl.*); nor can the sanctuary of another divinity be ruled out. It therefore cannot be used as evidence for incubation at this *Asklepieion*.

230 Amphipolis: SEG 44, 505 (= *NGSL*² 13). See the detailed commentary of Chryssoula Veligianni (Veligianni 1994), partly replaced by Eran Lupu's commentary in *NGSL*². The sanctuary itself is as yet undiscovered, though sculptural and additional epigraphical evidence has been found (see Riethmüller 2005, 11:320, Cat.-App. No. 13). Erythrai: *IErythr* 11 205, ll. 30–32 (= *LSAM* 24A); quoted pp. 264–265. For the limited numismatic evidence of Asklepios's worship at Erythrai, see Riethmüller, *ibid.*, 11:355, Cat.-App. No. 203.

231 SEG 60, 1333 (quoted p. 243).

232 EKM I 18: ἔτους ἡ' καὶ ι', | Μαρσύας Δημητρίου | Ἀπόλλωνι, Ἀσκληπιῶι, Ὑγίειαι | τὸ ἐνκοιμητήριον λίθινον | καὶ τὴν πρὸ τούτου ἐξέδραν | κατεσέυασεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ("In the year [131/30 BCE], Marsyas son of Demetrios built for Apollo, Asklepios and Hygieia a stone incubation dormitory and the *exedra* in front of it, using his own resources"). The sanctuary, which Asklepios shared with Apollo and Hygieia, has not been excavated, but is also known from an administrative document unearthed near the *agora* (EKM I 16, on which see Allamani-Souri 1984), as well as additional sources (see Riethmüller 2005, 11:321, Cat.-App. No. 16). Since both inscriptions name Apollo first it is possible that he was thought to play an active role in healing through dreams, but it is more likely that he was no longer the dominant god at the site and was named as something of a formality, as appears to have been the case at Epidauros (see pp. 173–174).

head ailment and restoring vision is very likely to be evidence for incubation at an *Asklepieion* because it refers to a revelation from the god (χρηματισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ), though the altar was not found *in situ*,²³³ while a fragmentary inscription from Phrygian Hierapolis may have recorded a healing miracle, though this is uncertain.²³⁴ From the chance survival of much of this evidence for incubation at *Asklepieia*—particularly the Yaylakale *lex sacra*, which was found in an unexpected location (*i.e.*, near a mountaintop garrison, in an area with relatively little population²³⁵) it can be inferred that this practice was a central feature of Asklepios's cult at many other sites for which similar evidence has not yet been found, which supports the *communis opinio* that Asklepios was believed to play a direct role in curing the sick and healing the injured throughout the Greek world, and not just at his most famous sites.

3.4 Asklepios's *Modus Operandi*

3.4.1 *The Nature of Asklepios's Therapeutic Dreams*

While the broad range of sources spanning at least eight centuries that are discussed above site by site are essential for pinpointing at which *Asklepieia* incubation is known to have been practiced, when studied together they are also invaluable for determining the circumstances that would sometimes lead worshipers to engage in incubation, the types of results they would hope to achieve, and the nature of the rituals and other activities before, during and after their night of dream-divination. Asklepios was a god whose direct medical

233 SEG 41, 966 (= Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 185–188, No. 16): Ἀσκληπιῶ | καὶ Ὑγείᾳ θεοῖς | ἐπιφανεστάτοις | [ὕ]πέρ κεφαλῆς |⁵ θεραπείας καὶ | ὁμμάτων βλέψ[ε] | ὡς Ζώσιμος Φλ(άβιος) | Μοδέστης πραγμα|τευτῆς χρηματισ|¹⁰θεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (“To Asklepios and Hygieia, most manifest gods, for treatment of his head and an eyesight problem, Zosimos Flavius Modestes, a business agent, (dedicated this) having received a revelation from the god”).

234 *Catalogo Denizli* 46 + photo, re-edited by A. Chaniotis in *EBGR* 2011, 90 to read [--- τ]οῖς λοιπ[---] | [--- π]ροκατεχομ[---] | [---] Σ ἐπιτραφῆ (vel ἐπιτραφῆ[ναι]) [---] | [--- ἐθε]ραπεύθη ἀπ[ὸ] --- |⁵ [--- Ἀσ]κληπιῶ ἐν Π[---] | [--- ἐ]ράσατο ἕως [---], which would refer to an illness seizing hold of a person and eventually being cured, and thus “The text may be the narrative of a healing miracle or an honorific inscription for someone who served as priest (until his death?), after having been cured by the god.” (For Asklepios at Hierapolis, see Riethmüller 2005, II:389–390, Cat.-App. No. 398.)

235 See Müller 2010, 438–440, 447–455. In addition to the garrison there would have been a small village whose inhabitants were linked to the soldiers, as well as scattered farms in the area—hardly an urban center. (I am grateful to Helmut Müller for sharing his thoughts on the inscription and the area where it originated.)

attention was generally sought by those suffering from chronic, though non-terminal, ailments—not patients with a problem that could be easily treated or could be expected to last a short time, but rather those who had despaired of being cured by physicians and decided to turn instead to that profession's divine patron.²³⁶ While prayers and offerings were often sufficient to procure the god's aid when one was visiting an *Asklepieion*—and among the reports of the god healing are some explicitly or implicitly indicating that he had done so with miraculous quickness while the ailing worshiper was still at the sanctuary, not even waiting for him or her to bed down for the night²³⁷—engaging in therapeutic incubation was sometimes considered necessary.²³⁸ Those

236 For sources explicitly referring to this, see pp. 23–24n.70.

237 The Epidaurian testimonies provide most of the examples from the cult of Asklepios: see, for example, the account of the mute boy who gained the power of speech while making the preliminary offerings (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 41–48 (= Test. No. 5)). Other cases in the testimonies do not even record that prayers or offerings had yet been offered up: in one, it is only recorded that a lame man suddenly was able to walk, and indeed run, when out of nowhere a boy snatched away his crutch and he gave chase (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 111–112 (= Test. No. 16); see LiDonnici 1995, 97n.32); in another, which has been heavily restored, it appears that a mute girl is able to speak or yell to her parents when she unexpectedly encounters a serpent (*IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 1–3 (= Test. No. 44); see LiDonnici, *ibid.*, 117nn.6–8); in another, which specifies that he was awake, a man with gout is healed when a goose bites him on the foot (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 32–33 (= Test. No. 43)); and, in two other testimonies individuals are cured by the sacred dogs while awake (see n. 239). See also the epigram by Posidippus that refers to a deaf individual regaining his hearing after praying to Asklepios, which does not indicate whether he had prayed at a sanctuary, though it is implied that this was the case (Posidipp. 99, eds. Austin/Bastianini; see Zanetto 2002, 74–75, Bing 2009, 230–231 (pp. 288–289 of 2004 version) and Di Nino 2005, 63–66 and Di Nino 2010, 235–242; for Posidippus and Asklepios, see n. 243). For a potential parallel from Egypt, see the graffito of the Macedonian laborer Andromachos, who is supposed to have been cured the same day that he arrived at Deir el-Bahari's sanctuary of Amenhotep, though this is not the only interpretation of the text (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 68; see p. 457). As these examples show, not all of Asklepios's miracles involved incubation; but, in addition to these, of course, there must have been countless recoveries attributed to Asklepios that were not as dramatic, and therefore not detailed. (For a curious literary parallel, see Aelian's account of a Tanagran rooster with a damaged foot that was healed by Asklepios, apparently in a single day (Ael., frag. 101, ed. Domingo-Forasté; see n. 386).)

238 Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine from the surviving sources how it was decided when one should engage in incubation, and whether the decision to do so was exclusively that of the worshiper or if a priest or cult official was to be consulted. Similarly, we lack sufficient information regarding whether those who engaged in incubation would begin the process upon arriving at a sanctuary—assuming they did not need to wait for a mandatory period in order to be cleansed of some impurity—or would only do so after

seeking Asklepios's help in this manner, should they be successful in obtaining a dream, would believe themselves to have been directly healed by the god by means of an operation or the application of a medicinal substance, or else to have been given instructions to follow in order to regain their health: thus Asklepios could function as a surgeon or a physician.²³⁹

prayers and offerings over a period of time had failed to achieve the desired result. Even in the few cases of those who recorded or were recorded as having been summoned to an *Asklepieion* to receive treatment it is not stated explicitly that the individual was to engage in incubation immediately upon arriving (though see *IG* IV² 1, 126, ll. 5–6, which may imply this in the case of Marcus Julius Apellas (quoted pp. 169–171), or *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 9, ll. 4–5, a testimony recording that someone came to Lebena on the god's instructions and was operated upon (quoted p. 605n.9)).

- 239 In a small number of cases it was an animal—either a sacred serpent, or one of the dogs routinely found at some *Asklepieia*, or, as with the goose mentioned just above, an animal that simply happened to have been present (see n. 237)—that was perceived to effect a cure rather than the god doing so directly, as is revealed by the Epidaurian “Miracle Inscriptions” and one literary source concerning individuals licked by one of the *Asklepieion*'s dogs or serpents. This is first seen in Aristophanes's *Plutus*, when Wealth's eyelids are licked by two serpents (Ar., *Plut.* 732–736), though in that case Asklepios was also present and tending to his divine patient. It is described a few decades later in three to five of the inscribed testimonies: a blind boy regained his eyesight and another boy had a growth on his neck cured, both by dogs licking them while they were awake (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 125–126 (= Test. No. 20); *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 35–38 (= Test. No. 26), with ὕ[παρ] restored), and a man who fell asleep outside the incubation dormitory after a night spent there had his ulcerating toe healed by a serpent while dreaming that a young man had been treating his ailment (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 113–119 (= Test. No. 17)); see also *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 89–95(?) (= Test. No. 58), a mostly obliterated testimony that refers to a serpent, and *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 4–8 (= Test. No. 45), in which a viper (ἔχις) rather than a sacred serpent bites a patient, leading to a cure). It is also shown in a most memorable manner in the relief from Oropos that apparently represents Amphiaraios tending to his worshiper Archinos's upper arm, as would have been seen in his dream, while a serpent is shown licking the same area, presumably representing what had happened in the material world (Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1; see p. 273). A less dramatic relief appears to represent the same phenomenon: a Roman-era marble plaque of unknown provenience that records the healing of a woman's ear ([τ]οῦ ὠτί[ο]υ θεραπει[ί]ας Μαριδία Πώλλα | [ἐ]ρηίς εὐχαρί[σ]τήριον) features in relief a pair of ears with a snake touching each with its tongue or mouth (Woburn Abbey, lost, no inv. no. (= *CSIR-Great Britain* III.3, 101, No. 80 + fig. 40 (= van Straten 1981, Appendix A 56.1)). In the case of the testimony and relief featuring a serpent it is clear that the god himself was represented by the animal, as was also the case of the serpent that stowed away aboard a wagon heading to Halieis and other serpents that were brought to cit-ies in order to establish the cult of Asklepios there (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 69–82 (= Test. No. 33); see pp. 178–179), and may have been the case with the serpent in a dream that lay upon the abdomen of an infertile woman who subsequently was able to conceive

Much of the evidence for Asklepios curing in a quick and miraculous manner dates to the Classical Period, while all of the evidence for him providing prescriptions and recommending regimens dates to Hellenistic and Roman times, which has led more than one scholar to conclude that there was an evolution in the god's *modus operandi*.²⁴⁰ However, this perception is likely to be either overstated or incorrect, and the apparent evolution might better be attributed to the types of sources that survive from the different periods and highlight different aspects of the god's healing practice.²⁴¹ In the case of immediate cures, the best source of the Classical Period is to be found in the Epidaurian testimonies and Aristophanes's description of the god Wealth's eye ailment being cured overnight, but a belief in the god's miraculous quickness was also evident in the literary and epigraphical sources of later periods.²⁴² Among literary sources, the most notable examples are in the brief series of *Iamatika* by the

five children (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 116–119 (= Test. No. 39)). (In contrast, if another testimony has been correctly restored, a woman dreamed that Asklepios came to her *with* a serpent rather than as one, and had the serpent impregnate her (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 128–131 (= Test. No. 42)). See Appendix III.2 for both testimonies.) But the sacred serpents of Asklepios are well attested at Epidauros, and thus clearly part of waking reality, regardless of what dreams may have been received there (Paus. 2.28.1; cf. Ael., *NA* 8.12). Unlike the serpents that represented the god, dogs were merely his agents, as is demonstrated by the fact that one or both of the tales about sick individuals being cured by dogs use the term ὕπαρ to specify that they had been awake and not dreaming at the time. For healing by serpents (and dogs, to a lesser extent) at Greek cult sites, see Ogden 2013, 367–370 and Angeletti/Agrimi/Curia/French/Mariani-Costantini 1992, the latter a scientific study arguing for the serpents' (and dogs') saliva having had curative properties; see also van Straten 1995, 64–65, Riethmüller 2005, 1:239–240, and Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies humaines*, pp. 60–61.

240 In one of the standard early works on incubation in the cult of Asklepios, Louis-Théophile Lefort concluded that during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE the god performed direct and instant healing (Lefort 1906, 23, 101), whereas in Roman times he was issuing prescriptions (*ibid.*, 101–102). See also Luigi Moretti in *IGUR* 1, pp. 128–129 and Beerden 2012, 40, making similar statements.

241 See Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:151–152, Renberg 2006–07, 129n.197, and Nissen 2009, 230–235. As there are no pertinent sources before the late-fifth century BCE any evolution that might have occurred before then would be undetectable. This, regrettably, also prevents us from assessing the true impact of Hippocratic medicine on the cult, or vice versa (see p. 235).

242 Another source from the Classical Period might be found in the dedicatory epigram of the orator Aeschines, since it refers to a cure obtained at Epidauros either over three nights or three months, depending on whether the text should be emended (quoted pp. 121–122, with textual issue at n. 15). While scholars tend to opt for the longer period, and therefore an experience involving a prescription and long-term treatment, it is possible that a quicker, more miraculous cure was described. The latter would be

Hellenistic poet Posidippus²⁴³ and a passing comment by Aristides,²⁴⁴ while testimonial inscriptions from *Asklepieia* continued to refer to operations successfully undertaken by the god, as is attested by the second-century BCE text from Lebena recording that an individual suffering from sciatica was operated on by Asklepios in his sleep.²⁴⁵ Similarly rapid success, showing the god still performing miraculous cures in Roman times, is indicated by the dedicatory inscription from Epidauros that dates to 224 CE and was given by a worshiper “whom the god healed in the incubation dormitory when he had scrofulous swellings on his throat and a cancerous lesion on his ear, visibly standing nearby in such a manner as he is in his temple (?)” (ὁν ὁ θεὸς | εἰλάσατο ἐν τῷ

more typical of other sources from this period, the former typical of the Hellenistic and Roman-era sources.

243 On Posidippus's seven epigrams that concern healing and Asklepios or Apollo, the *Iamatika* (Posidipp. 95–101, eds. Austin/Bastianini), see: Zanetto 2002 (especially pp. 75–78, with proposed restorations of Posidipp. 98); Bing 2004; Di Nino 2005 and Di Nino 2010, 187–274; and Wickkiser 2013 (with additional references). Among the epigrams purporting to be from dedications to Asklepios is one for an individual cured of a six-year affliction and epilepsy “in a single night” (νυκτὶ μῆνι) and another for someone healed in a dream (ἐπ’ ὄνειρῳι . . . ἰηθῆ[ς]) after suffering for six years with a piece of bronze, presumably from a weapon, in his thigh (Posidipp. 97–98; see Di Nino 2005, 61–63 and Di Nino 2010, 220–235). See also the epigram by Posidippus indicating that a severely hobbled individual regained full use of his legs after sacrificing to Asklepios (Posidipp. 96; see Di Nino 2005, 67–69 and Di Nino 2010, 216–220). To these might be added another epigram from the *Iamatika* section that does not name Asklepios but perhaps alludes to a single night of incubation leading to the restoration of a blind, old man's sight just two days before his death, though the poem's reference to a “quiet” or “peaceful” sleep (τὸν ἥσυχον ὕπνον) may well be the sleep of death (Posidipp. 100; see Bing 2009, 229–230 (pp. 287–288 of 2004 version), and Di Nino 2005, 66–67 and Di Nino 2010, 242–249). Regardless of whether the stories behind the epigrams were completely fabricated by the poet, their striking similarity to the Epidaurian testimonies—see especially *IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 95–97 (= Test. No. 12), *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 55–60 (= Test. No. 30), 63–68 (= Test. No. 32), 119–122 (= Test. No. 40), examples of lingering arrow and spear wounds—suggests a continued belief in Asklepios working healing miracles through incubation. However, if the older Epidaurian testimonies and similar contemporary documents served as the poet's inspiration, as Peter Bing and Margherita Maria di Nino independently suggested (Bing, *ibid.*, 221–224 (pp. 281–283 of 2004 version); Di Nino 2005, with more extensive discussion in Di Nino 2010, 187–274), these would not necessarily represent evidence for the cult during the Hellenistic Period.

244 Aristides refers to a time in recent memory when “the god performed many great operations” (τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα . . . ἐχειροῦργησεν ὁ θεός) (Aristid., *Or.* 50.64), which appears to attest to such miracles occurring in Roman times, but see Behr's comment that “Aristides has only heard of this type of cure, but never seen or experienced it” (Behr 1968, 36).

245 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 9, ll. 1–5 (quoted n. 181).

ἐν|κοιμητηρίῳ, χοι|ράδας ἔχοντα ἐπ[ι] | τοῦ τραχή[λου] καὶ | καρκίνον [τ]ο[ῦ] ὠ[τός], | ἐπιστάς ἐ[ν]αργῶς οἷος ἐστ[ι] ἐν τῷ ναῶ]], and while the god's precise healing method is not indicated, an operation (or healing touch) rather than a prescription appears to be implied.²⁴⁶ In contrast, other inscriptions of the Roman era show that the god's cures could take a considerable amount of time: thus, for example, an inscribed epigram found along the Via Cassia northwest of Rome records a 100-day recovery period for consumption (though no reference to incubation is made),²⁴⁷ while the dedication from the Pergamon *Asklepieion* recording Asklepios's prescribed dietary regimen states that the worshiper had followed it for 120 days, presumably after having engaged in incubation just once.²⁴⁸ The experience of engaging in such long-term stays at Pergamon or other *Asklepieia* hoping that one's current prescription will work or that one will receive further guidance from the god is briefly illustrated by Aristides, who describes sitting around the Temple of Hygieia with a friend and "seeking to learn from each other, as we had been accustomed to do, if the god had recommended anything new, for what we were suffering was also somewhat comparable" (διεπυνθανόμεθα ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ εἰώθειμεν, εἴ τι καινότερον εἴη παραγγελῶς ὁ θεός· καὶ γάρ πως ἔστιν ἃ καὶ παραπλήσια ἐκάμνομεν).²⁴⁹ Overall, such sources for the varied ways in which the god cured and time frames within which this occurred show that, putting aside the belief that one could simply pray to him for better health and attribute any subsequent recovery to him, there were two sides to Asklepios the healer: an omnipotent god who performed superhuman healing miracles, and a medical practitioner who issued prescriptions and assigned dietary or physical regimens, and even—like mortal practitioners—sometimes experienced failure.²⁵⁰

3.4.2 *The Representation of Asklepios's Therapeutic Dreams*

This belief in the god's ability to heal directly in therapeutic dreams, either by a mere touch or the application of some curative substance, or even an operation, is illustrated in Attic reliefs that are roughly contemporary to the Epidaurian

246 IG IV² 1, 127 (see p. 169). The nature of this ailment was quite possibly similar to that experienced by the Cretan Publius Granius Rufus (*I.Cret* I, xvii, 18; see p. 292).

247 SEG 43, 661, cf. 51, 1430 (see p. 237).

248 SEG 37, 1019 (quoted p. 198).

249 Aristid., *Or.* 50.16–17 (quoting sect. 16).

250 The nature of Asklepios's "double identity" has been explored by Versnel (Versnel 2011, 416–419), who contrasts the god's similarities to human doctors in certain respects with his ability to perform feats that would be impossible for mortals (*ibid.*, 400–404), such as fixing an eye when the socket was empty (*ibid.*, 406–407, citing IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 72–78 (= Test. No. 9)). Versnel also notes the pattern of supernatural miracles generally being performed for those said to have come to the god as a "suppliant" (*ibid.*, 410–412).

“Miracle Inscriptions.” The most vivid example of this is the finely carved relief from the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* that dates to c. 400 BCE—thus predating the Epidauros steles, if not some of the earlier testimonies they preserve—and represents Asklepios as he places his hands on a sleeping female patient whom he is treating while Hygieia and the woman’s family look on,²⁵¹ while a fragmentary relief from the Athenian *Asklepieion* appears to represent Machaon or Podalirios performing a head operation while Asklepios looks on and oversees the procedure.²⁵² Reliefs from the Athenian sanctuary likewise appear to show Asklepios healing by touch, but due to their fragmentary nature this cannot be ascertained: for example, a piece of one relief preserves much of the god’s body and the patient’s head, upon which Asklepios has placed his right hand;²⁵³ a very similar fragment that features an unknown figure looking on beside the god similarly seems to have shown Asklepios placing his right hand on a patient’s head (if it indeed did represent the god rather than a person);²⁵⁴ a fragment that preserves Asklepios’s head, upper torso and part of his right arm may have shown him healing with it;²⁵⁵ and, another probably represented the god putting his right hand over the head of a now-missing patient while a woman kneels beside the god in evident supplication for the well-being of her family member.²⁵⁶ It can safely be assumed that the surviving reliefs represent a larger group devoted to this theme, as is indicated by a literary source describing one such work that is now lost: according to a fragment of Aelian, the comic poet Theopompos, a contemporary of Aristophanes, believed himself to have been cured of consumption by Asklepios and subsequently dedicated an altar with a relief showing himself lying on a bed while Asklepios stood beside him, stretching his hand toward the patient.²⁵⁷

251 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1. For the different interpretations of the god’s healing gesture in this scene, especially whether it is metaphorical or can be associated with a specific procedure, see Sineux 2007b, 15. (If metaphorical, then the same might be true of some of the fragments from Athens discussed here.)

252 Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 3; the interpretation of a trepanation was suggested by Tae Jensen (personal communication). A parallel can be seen in a contemporary relief from the Oropos *Amphiareion* in which Amphiaraos performs surgery on a patient’s upper arm or shoulder (Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1).

253 Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 4.

254 Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 12.

255 Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 8.

256 Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 15.

257 Ael., frag. 102, ed. Domingo-Forasté (text from *PCG* VII, p. 708):

φθόγῃ γούν Θεόπομπον ῥινώμενόν τε καὶ λειβόμενον ἰάσατο καὶ κωμωδίας αὐθις διδάσκειν ἐπῆρεν, δλόκληρόν τε καὶ σῶν καὶ ἀρτεμῇ ἐργασάμενος. καὶ δείκνυται καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ λίθῳ

This physical gesture is among the most noticeable aspects of the incubation reliefs: in most of those that survive, the god can be seen either reaching toward a man or woman lying on a *klinē* or actually treating that figure by hand. This corresponds to a number of written sources indicating that Asklepios was known for his healing touch: one of his epithets was ἡπιόχειρ (“of soothing hand”),²⁵⁸ and similar language appears in literature,²⁵⁹ and it is

Θεοπόμπου (πατρόθεν ὁμολογούντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος, Τισαμενοῦ γὰρ ἦν υἱός) εἶδωλον Παρίας λίθου. καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἱνδαλμα τοῦ πάθους μάλα ἐναργές. κλίνη καὶ αὐτὴ λίθου. ἐπ’ αὐτῆς κεῖται νοσοῦν τὸ ἐκείνου φάσμα χειρουργίαι φιλοτέχνωι. παρῆσθηκε δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὀρέγεται οἱ τὴν παιώνιον χεῖρα, καὶ παῖς νεαρὸς ὑπομειδῶν καὶ οὖτος.

He (Asklepios) healed Theopompos, who was being worn away and reduced by consumption, and induced him to produce comedies once more, having made him whole, safe and well. And even now there is displayed at the base of a stone (altar?) an image of Theopompos—with the inscription linking it to him by means of his father’s name, for he was a son of Tisamenos—in Parian stone. And the representation of his condition is especially distinct. The bed itself is also made of stone [*i.e.*, not merely painted]. Upon it lies ailing his wraithlike image (fashioned) by artistic skill. The god is close by and extends to him his healing hand, and there is also a young boy, smiling a little.

The phrase ὑπὸ λίθῳ preserved in the manuscript tradition is problematic, and an emendation appears to be in order, with the best option being Kühn’s ἐπὶ λίθῳ. More recently, the possibility of ὑπὸ πόλει has been noted in Aleshire 1989, 13–14, with the “city” being a reference to the Acropolis and thus the phrase serving as an indication that the dedication was made at the *Asklepieion* on its southern slope, but this is unconvincing. (See the treatment in *PCG* for additional emendations.)

258 *RIB* III 3151 (= *SEG* 50, 1086, cf. *SEG* 59, 1188 = Samama, *Médecins*, 554–555, No. 524). Cf. *SEG* 28, 983 (= Samama, *ibid.*, 417–418, No. 314). Also of note is the dedicatory inscription from Rome by someone who thanked Asklepios for “having been saved by your hands from a swelling of the spleen” (ὄνχο[ν] σπληγνός σωθεις ἀπὸ σῶν χειρῶν) (*IGUR* I 105; see pp. 206–207).

259 Herod. 4.18 (ἐπ’ ἡπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τείνας). In antiquity, one proposed etymology for Asklepios’s name was that it was formed from ἡπιος (Ps.-Plut., *Xorat.* 845B; Tzetzes, *schol. Lycoph.*, *Alex.* 1054 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:125–126, No. 271); see Riethmüller 2005, 1:34), and Asklepios was even referred to as the personified Ἥπιος by Lykophron (*Lycoph.*, *Alex.* 1054 (quoted p. 305), with *scholium*). See also *IG* II² 4533, ll. 3–6 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:333, No. 598), a short hymn to Asklepios in which the similar epithet ἡπιόφρων (“of soothing disposition”) is employed, and Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 46, ed. Masaracchia (= 200B, ed. Neumann), praising Asklepios for having “stretched out across the whole land his saving right hand” (ἐπὶ πάσαν ὥρεξε τὴν γῆν τὴν σωτήριον ἑαυτοῦ δεξιάν). (The origin of Asklepios’s name may lie elsewhere, though, as noted in Versnel 2011, 420–421n.136—possibly in ancient Anatolia, as most recently argued in Lebrun 2013.)

this quality that was reflected in the surviving reliefs as well as Theopompos's.²⁶⁰ Asklepios's healing hands are also seen in action in Aristophanes's *Plutus*, as Karion describes to the wife of his master Chremylos how the god had felt the head of Wealth and treated his eyes, after having already applied a different substance to those of another blind suppliant.²⁶¹ A few decades later, one of the Epidauros testimonies described the god making a woman become fertile with a touch of his hand,²⁶² while a damaged testimony appears to record his healing an epileptic by pressing some part of him with his ring ([---] ὁ θεὸς τῷ δακτυλίῳ πιέξει).²⁶³ Similarly, the healing power of the god's hands is epigraphically attested in Roman times as well: the lengthy first-person account of the Carian Marcus Julius Apellas at Epidauros notes that "The god touched both my right hand and my breast" (ἤψατο δέ μου καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς χιρὸς καὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ).²⁶⁴

Unfortunately, such reliefs showing Asklepios touching or observing a patient, which were at least partly symbolic, do not represent clear evidence for the contents of the dreams that were received or for certain other aspects of the experience of engaging in incubation, and raise questions that cannot be settled—thus they are of questionable value regarding both what was seen by the dreamer and what would have been seen by one observing him or her that night.²⁶⁵ As noted elsewhere, the presence of animal skins in several of

260 The concept of healing hands was not limited to Asklepios, though the images of him applying his hands to a patient are the most prominent. Mortals both mythological and historical were also sometimes believed to have this power: e.g., a Corinthian crater found in western Chalkidike shows Jason healing Phineus's eyes (private collection, no inv. no.; see Simon (E.) 2004), while Vespasian is reported to have effected a similar cure of a blind man in Alexandria while at the *Sarapieion* (Tac., *Hist.* 4.81 and Suet., *Vesp.* 7.2–3; see Palmer 1993, 357; on Vespasian's visit to the *Sarapieion*, see pp. 338–339). The standard study of healing hands remains Weinreich 1909, 1–66; see also Sineux 2007a, 207n.66, for discussions of the right hand having primacy. For additional sources on Asklepios and others curing directly, see Versnel 2011, 407–408n.89 and *ThesCRA* III (2005), 330, s.v. "Healing through touch" (V.K. Lambrinoudakis with S. Petrounakos), and Gross 1985 for a much broader study of the healing hand in the religions of antiquity.

261 Ar., *Plut.* 716–732 (see p. 230).

262 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 60–63 (= Test. No. 31); see p. 604.

263 IG IV² 1, 123, ll. 115–117 (= Test. No. 62). See Nagy 2012, 97.

264 IG IV² 1, 126, ll. 23–24 (see pp. 169–171). See also the Hellenistic inscription from Lebena referring to Asklepios operating on a patient with sciatica, which indicates direct contact between god and patient, though presumably involving medical instruments rather than just the god's hands (*I.Cret* I, xvii, 9, ll. 1–5; quoted n. 181).

265 There is no evidence to support the conclusion of some (e.g., Hausmann 1948, 52 and Petropoulou 1985, 175) that people described the contents of their dreams to the artist who was to carve their dedicatory relief.

them—or all, if the skins were sometimes painted on—may be an artistic convention rather than an accurate representation of the sacrifices that these worshipers had made.²⁶⁶ More reliable is the representation of bedding materials, which are attested by Aristophanes, and presumably had to be brought to the sanctuary, perhaps carried there in one of the large, hamper-like baskets (κίστη) represented on a number of reliefs.²⁶⁷ Mattresses, however, due to

266 See p. 256.

267 Aristophanes: see p. 258. The presence of a *kistē* carried by a servant on many dedicatory reliefs from Attica and elsewhere has not yet been definitively explained, and poses problems. Stafford, who believes that such baskets could have multiple purposes, may well be correct in suggesting that in the reliefs showing sacrificial processions for Asklepios these contained bedding materials for incubation (Stafford 2008, 214–215). In addition to making good practical sense, this suggestion is somewhat compatible with the recent findings of Richard Hamilton, who statistically analyzed the appearance of these large baskets and the smaller ritual baskets for carrying offerings (καλὸν) (see n. 349), finding that the large baskets do not appear to be linked to rituals conducted at an altar, and also showing in one of his tables that they were more frequently associated with Asklepios than the other gods and heroes he surveyed (Hamilton (R.) 2009, with Table 4). (In addition to the examples from Attica listed by Hamilton at pp. 40–43, one of which is an incubation relief (Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 1), see the comparable reliefs from Epidauros (lost, no inv. no. (= van Straten 1995, 282–283, No. R33 + fig. 58); see n. 113), Patrai (Patras 208 (= *ibid.*, 283, No. R34 + fig. 71, cf. p. 72 = LIMC II, “Asklepios” No. 69 = LIMC V, “Hygieia” No. 24 + photo)), and an unknown provenience (Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Sk. 685 (= *ibid.*, 283, No. R35 + fig. 69)).) However, Hamilton's work also shows that the baskets were always carried by a maidservant and most often associated with groups and children—which does not rule out the possibility that on reliefs for Asklepios the baskets revealed an intention to engage in incubation on the part of one of those represented in a procession, but does suggest that the large baskets shown on so many reliefs had other uses as well, especially since one would expect bedding materials to be carried by male servants at least some of the time. That these baskets had alternative uses is evident from Folkert T. van Straten's discussion, in which he quotes the Inlaw in Euripides's *Thesmophoriazusae* instructing a slave girl to lower the *kistē* she is carrying and take out the sacrificial cake (πόπανον) it contains, leading van Straten to argue that these large baskets could be used for bringing such offerings (van Straten, *ibid.*, 60–61, citing Ar., *Thesm.* 284–285; cf. *ibid.*, 69–70, 96–97; see also Amyx 1958, 268–271). But, of course, a basket this large could contain both bedding materials and offerings—which appears more likely than what van Straten perhaps unintentionally implies, that the *popanon* the Inlaw intends to offer Demeter and Kore is the size of a wedding cake. The greater problem is that, in addition to these Asklepios reliefs and two from Amphiaraios sanctuaries—one from Oropos (Athens, N.M. 1395 (= van Straten, *ibid.*, 283–284, No. R37 + fig. 72); see pp. 281–282)), and one from Rhamnous (Athens, N.M. 1384 (= *ibid.*, 284, No. R39 + fig. 73 = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 226, No. 476 + photo))—several reliefs from other cults not linked to incubation also feature maids carrying a *kistē* (e.g., Brauron 1151–1153 (= *ibid.*, 292–293, Nos. R73–R75 + figs. 57, 86, 87), from the

their bulk would have been exceedingly difficult for an individual, especially one who was sick, to bring to the sanctuary on his own, raising the possibility that these were sanctuary property and one only needed to bring a blanket and pillow—but, of course, those who could afford such reliefs could certainly afford both luxurious beddings and slaves who would transport a mattress.²⁶⁸ Either way, even though some of the reliefs show pillows or mattresses and others do not, that does not mean that the sculptor accurately showed how that worshiper slept: for example, the one incubation relief preserved from the Peiraeus sanctuary shows the use of a pillow and animal skin, but no mattress.²⁶⁹

Representations of the healing process itself likewise pose complicated issues. In the Archinos relief from the Oropos *Amphiareion* there are two distinct scenes pertaining to his night of incubation: one of this patient lying on a mattress—perhaps placed atop a bed, though no legs are shown, and thus a bench may be more likely—and being treated by a sacred serpent, and another that appears to represent the dream in which he saw himself being treated by Amphiaraos.²⁷⁰ The Asklepios reliefs, however, show single scenes that mix elements of reality and dreams: the patient appears as he or she would have looked to others while lying in bed or on a couch, but the other figures present may be more symbolic or impressionistic. For example, there is no way to know whether when Asklepios is accompanied by one or more of his offspring in a relief he or she had also appeared in the dream, perhaps in a manner similar to what is described in Aristophanes's *Plutus* when he is assisted by Panakeia and

sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron; Athens, N.M. 1016 (= *ibid.*, 291, No. R68 + fig. 82), for Demeter and Kore; Athens, E.M. 3942 (= *ibid.*, 297, No. R90 + fig. 93), for Herakles; Athens, N.M. 1408 (= *ibid.*, 285–286, No. R45 + fig. 76) and Vienna, KHM I 1096 (= *ibid.*, 288, No. R55 + fig. 77), both for Zeus). Moreover, in his statistical analysis of altars, animals and baskets on Attic dedicatory reliefs Hamilton has argued that the representation of a *kistē* on one-eighth of these reliefs was merely an artistic convention with no relation either to animal sacrifice or bloodless sacrifice (Hamilton, *ibid.*, especially pp. 33–35). It therefore seems best to conclude that in incubation reliefs a *kistē* may well have represented a hamper with bedding and garments, but that this was by no means the exclusive purpose for such baskets, either in real life or the reliefs; and, conversely, the absence of a *kistē* from a relief certainly does not mean that the worshiper who gave it had not engaged in incubation.

268 For an ambiguous passage in Aristophanes that may refer to such a scenario, see p. 284n.30. See also the hagiographical account of a cure attributed to St. Artemios, in which it is noted that mattresses or bedding (στρωμνή) were brought to the church by parents for their ailing young son and themselves to use (Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 10; see p. 791n.123).

269 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1.

270 Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1.

Iaso, and also in the no less fictitious dream described in the pseudepigraphical Hippocratic letter to Philopoimen in which Asklepios is accompanied by members of his retinue carrying baskets of drugs (οἱ δὲ κατόπιν ἐταῖροι κίστας φαρμάκων εὖ μάλα περισφηνωμένας ἔχοντες ἤεσαν),²⁷¹ and perhaps in one of the Epidaurian testimonies as well.²⁷² In these reliefs there was no one way of representing Asklepios's divine companions, likewise raising the question

271 Ar., *Plut.* 701–703; Ps.-Hippoc., *Ep.* 15, ed. Smith. In addition to these passages, an allusion to Machaon and Podalirios appearing in dreams at Epidauros and elsewhere appears to be the intended meaning of Aristides's statement in *Sons of Asklepios* that,

καὶ αὐτοὺς πολλοὶ μὲν ἤδη ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἐμφανῇ κινουμένους, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄλλοθι πολλαχοῦ· ὁ καὶ μέγιστον ἔστω κατ' αὐτῶν. Ἀμφιάραιος μὲν γάρ καὶ Τροφώνιος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀμφιλόχος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ χρησμοδοοῦσί τε καὶ φαίνονται, οὗτοι δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς διέττουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀστέρες, περίπολοι κοινοὶ καὶ πρόδρομοι τοῦ πατρός. ὅσαχοί δὲ Ἀσκληπιῶ εἰσοδοὶ, καὶ τούτοις κλισιάδες τε [αὐτοῖς] ἀνεῖνται πανταχοῦ γῆς, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡ κοινωνία τῷ πατρὶ σώζεται νέων θυσιῶν παιάνων προσόδων ἔργων ἃ πράττουσιν (Aristid., *Or.* 38.21).

Many people have already seen them in Epidauros and recognized them as they were visibly moving around, and a great number have done so in many places elsewhere. Which should be the greatest fact relating to them: for Amphiaraios and Trophonios in Boeotia and also Amphilochos in Aetolia deliver oracles and make themselves visible, but in contrast these [*i.e.*, Machaon and Podalirios] dart across the world all over the place, like shooting stars, the regular attendants and forerunners of their father. Wherever Asklepios has access, the doors have been opened to them as well all over the world, and by everything—temples, sacrifices, paeans, processions, and the works they achieve—the partnership with their father is preserved.

For Machaon and Podalirios, see p. 304n.80, and for Hygieia and the other goddesses associated with Asklepios see n. 4. A related point has been made by Sineux, raising the interesting question of whether Hygieia would have been in the dream of the person who dedicated the Peiraeus relief (Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1), and noting her absence from written sources for incubation such as the *Plutus*, which might suggest that her inclusion in the relief was done to honor her rather than because she was envisioned aiding Asklepios (Sineux 2007b, 16–17). However, Sineux overlooks the (admittedly much later) letter of Libanius to his proxy Eudaemon, who notes an appearance of the goddess to the latter while he was engaging in incubation on Libanius's behalf at Aegae (Lib., *Ep.* 1300.1; quoted pp. 702–703).

272 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 38–45 (= Test. No. 27), which describes a dream in which Asklepios has “accompanying servants” (ἐπομένους ὑπηρέταις)—presumably divinities, since no source refers to his retinue including human companions—seize and bind to an operating table a patient who tries to run away rather than face an operation to remove an abdominal abscess. See LiDonnici 1995, 107n.21 on the term ῥόπτον, which she interprets as “operating table.”

of whether their pose would reflect their role in the worshiper's dream: they could be inactive, as seems the case with Hygieia in the Peiraeus relief and perhaps one from Athens,²⁷³ or be shown directly treating the patient while Asklepios looks on,²⁷⁴ or else making a gesture suggestive of involvement as Asklepios treats a patient (if the recently questioned interpretation of the relief is in fact correct).²⁷⁵ When the patient's family members are shown, as appears to be the case in the well-known relief from the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* and several others,²⁷⁶ they are represented either standing and observing or in procession—and while it was evidently common for those engaging in incubation to have come to a sanctuary with one or more companions, as is attested in Aristophanes's play and other written sources,²⁷⁷ these individuals would not have been standing around all night watching the patient. Evidence for

273 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1. If Despinis is correct that there is a trace of Hygieia in the fragment of a relief that he recently published, then based on her location it appears likely that she would merely have been an onlooker (Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 7).

274 Most notably, Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 3 appears to feature a head operation undertaken by a male divinity—presumably Machaon or Podalirios—while Asklepios stands off-center. The lost Peiraeus relief also seems to show Asklepios, identifiable by his staff and stature, standing next to a male figure who treats the patient (Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2), and it is possible that in Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 2 he was likewise an onlooker (as was a figure behind him identified as Hygieia), though he may have been preparing to tend to a patient who had been brought to him. Support for the possibility of other divinities healing in Asklepios's presence can be found in the Greco-Egyptian "Imouthes Aretalogy," in which the writer's mother is unable to discern whether the god Imhotep/Imouthes, Asklepios's Egyptian equivalent, or his "servants" (θεράποντες) had been tending him (*P.Oxy* XI 1381, ll. 116–117; quoted pp. 427–429).

275 Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 10 has been thought to show Asklepios sitting beside and tending the patient, who is towered over by another male divinity, presumably one of Asklepios's sons, whose outstretched hand indicates some sort of activity, the precise nature of which is unclear, though he might be sprinkling something over the patient or, as Sineux suggests, extending an object to Asklepios (see Sineux 2007b, 23). While Asklepios is usually shown in reliefs standing over or near the patient, in Aristophanes's account of incubation the god sits beside (παρεκαθέζετο) Wealth (*Ar.*, *Plut.* 727), and this scene would represent a parallel, along with Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 1. See Sineux 2007a, 206–207n.64 for Asklepios as a seated figure. (I am grateful to Jesper Tae Jensen for his thoughts on this relief.)

276 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1.

277 See especially Libanius's letters to friends whom he asked to accompany his brother to the Aegae *Asklepieion* when the latter was supplicating the god and engaging in incubation on behalf of Libanius (*Lib.*, *Eps.* 706–708; quoted p. 697), but also the fictional "Imouthes Aretalogy" found at Oxyrhynchus, in which the narrator's mother is present as he engages in incubation.

this can also be found in Aristophanes, since he describes Karion and Wealth's other companions bedding down when the god does, and Karion's inability to fall asleep reveals an obvious intent to do so.²⁷⁸ Thus the representations of family members in the reliefs seem merely to indicate their presence at the sanctuary without attempting to show accurately how they had spent that night; and, moreover, their absence from the majority of the reliefs does not necessarily mean that a patient had come alone. For these reasons, therefore, regardless of their contents and composition, such reliefs provide little information regarding incubation, particularly because the scenes tend to be rather generic.

3.4.3 *Asklepios the Divine Physician*

While the Epidaurian testimonies and Attic reliefs, among other sources, emphasize Asklepios's miraculous curative powers, which he was thought to wield through operating on a patient or merely applying his touch, a rich variety of literary and epigraphical sources instead show him functioning as a divine physician who issued prescriptions by means of dreams.²⁷⁹ These sources, both first- and third-person, record a wide range of remedies, special diets and physical regimens ascribed to Asklepios. While there is no doubt that such prescriptions were attributed directly to the god, and no sources speak of his issuing a prescription for a patient through a cult servant or medical professional, nonetheless it is often stated that in at least some cases the prescriptions reportedly issued in dreams were in fact determined by priests, cult officials or physicians present at an *Asklepieion*.²⁸⁰ Though certainly a plau-

278 Ar., *Plut.* 663, 672.

279 For Asklepios as practitioner of medicine, see now Versnel 2011, 400–404, 416–419. For Versnel's emphasis on the god's "double identity"—*i.e.*, a super-human miracle worker on the one hand, and on the other a divine physician who like his mortal peers was capable of failure—see n. 250.

280 The evidence for physicians at an *Asklepieion* is strongest at Kos, where one inscription lists them among those receiving parts of sacrifices (*IG* XII.4, 1, 278, l. 53 (= Samama, *Médecins*, 224, No. 121), and another refers to the place "where the physicians are set up" (ἐῖ τοι ἱατροὶ τάσσονται) (*IG* XII.4, 1, 72, A, ll. 18–19 (= *LSCG* 154 = Samama, *ibid.*, 224–225, No. 122)), but there is no explicit evidence for their practicing medicine there (see Solin 1998, 66–67 and Sherwin-White 1978, 275). Even so, Versnel has stated that "*Asklepieia* generally stand out as joint ventures of sanctuary and medical clinic" and noted the close link between the Kos sanctuary and the Asklepiads' medical school (for which see p. 203), while also noting that this was not the case for Epidauros (Versnel 2011, 401). They also appear in the writings of Aristides as among those present at the Pergamon *Asklepieion*, though their precise role is unclear (see most recently Israelowich 2014, arguing for an active role in treating Pergamon's sick; see also Israelowich 2012, 99–100). As Wickkiser

and Gorrini have shown, there is no evidence for the practice of rational medicine at *Asklepieia* in general, but since there is good evidence for physicians' presence—in addition to the Kos inscriptions, see, for example, the phenomenon of physicians dedicating medical instruments to Asklepios, which Wickkiser compares to craftsmen giving tools to their patron god rather than considering it evidence that the instruments were used at the *Asklepieion*—it is not unlikely that their interactions with priests influenced the form that temple medicine took (Gorrini 2005, especially pp. 143–145; Wickkiser 2006, 34–37). In contrast, Nissen has concluded that physicians were involved with Asklepios's cures and the priests would have gained some expertise in medicine as a result (Nissen 2009, 249–251; see also *ibid.*, 46–62 on the broader subject of religious and rational medicine). Regardless of whether physicians and surgeons were tending to Asklepios's patients at his sanctuaries, there is little doubt that the cult of Asklepios was greatly influenced by the revolution that occurred in Classical times with the rise of rational medicine. Evidence for this influence is strongest in the epigraphical sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods that record prescriptions and cures, since they show not only similarities to actual medical practices and prescriptions, but also sometimes employ medical terminology (see n. 298). Thus Asklepios became more of a rational physician than he had been earlier, though his help was mainly sought by those suffering from chronic ailments (see p. 23n.69), and his general relationship with the medical profession is perhaps best viewed as one of “cooperative competition” (see Petzl 2006). For the evidence of doctors' religious activities in general, see Samama, *ibid.*, pp. 64–66; see also Perilli 2006b, pointing to evidence from Pergamon and elsewhere for medical libraries at *Asklepieia*. For the related phenomenon of Asklepios teaching medicine in dreams, see p. 25n.71.

Despite the known presence of medical professionals at some *Asklepieia* at least on occasion, and the clear influence of medicine on the cult of Asklepios, the evidence linking priests, cult officials and physicians to incubation is minimal. While claims to the contrary have been made, there are no explicit sources for priests interpreting patients' dreams and deriving prescriptions that were attributed to Asklepios (see, e.g., Taffin 1960, 333–334, Horstmannshoff 2004, 325, 330, and Sineux 2012). The evidence for dreams being shared with physicians is also problematic. The most prominent source, Aristides's *Sacred Tales*, reveals that the author would sometimes tell physicians of his dreams, but in the particular episodes that he recounts the physician either respectfully yields to the god's superior knowledge (Aristid., *Or.* 47.57) or merely hears the dream and expresses amazement at it before agreeing with Aristides and two *neokoroi* that Aristides should follow the god's prescription (Aristid., *Or.* 48.34–35; see Israelowich 2012, 114–115 and Israelowich 2014, 291–292; cf. Harris 2009, 185n.362). Aelian, too, presents potential evidence, since he tells a story of a patient repeating to a physician the prescription of boar fat and vinegar that Asklepios had given him in a dream, but the physician merely proceeds to explain sarcastically how these two substances would work (Ael., frag. 103, ed. Domingo-Forasté (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:204–205, No. 405)). Another source that is of relatively little value is the bizarre tale of Asklepios having to step in and reconnect the head of a patient whose surgery for a tapeworm at Epidauros had been incompetently performed in his absence by his sons, according to an inscribed testimony (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 10–19 (= Test. No. 23)), or else by “those serving” (ὑποδρώντες), according to the alternate version preserved in Aelian, in which this group appears to be distinguished from

sible conclusion, it is one that does lack firm evidence, and certainly the mere presence of such groups in the epigraphical record cannot be taken as evidence for incubation or their role in it.²⁸¹ Moreover, especially in the cases of such

the temple attendants (ζῳχοροί) (Ael., *NA* 9.33 (see n. 26); for temple attendants, see next note). Although, as Wickkiser has noted, it is possible to take this episode as evidence for humans performing medical procedures at *Asklepieia* (Wickkiser, *ibid.*, 35–36), and LiDonnici has suggested that the “sons” were in fact doctors (LiDonnici 1995, 103n.9, implying that they would have been viewed as Asklepios’s metaphorical children), it is at best a tantalizing hint that others besides Asklepios may have been operating—in both senses of the word—at his sanctuaries, and Wickkiser is correct that no conclusion can be drawn from these two sources. Dillon, in noting the lack of evidence for priests at *Asklepieia* performing as doctors, draws a parallel to Oropos, where a sacred law makes clear that incubation could take place without a priest being present at the sanctuary (Dillon 1994, 256, citing *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 25–29: κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν, ὅταν παρῇ, τὸν ἱερέα, | ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, τὸν θύοντα καὶ τεῖ θυσίει αἰϋτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ δη|μορίων τὸν ἱερέα). However, in favor of the assumption regarding priests or cult officials playing a direct role in curing worshipers is a passage in Lucian’s account of the “false prophet” Alexander’s establishment of Glykon’s sanctuary, according to which Alexander, knowing many “useful drugs” (χρήσιμα φάρμακα), would prescribe medicines and diets (Lucian, *Alex.* 22). Since Lucian later states that Glykon was known for healing the sick it can be inferred that when Alexander was attributing to the god prescriptions which he himself had decided upon these “useful drugs” were among them (Lucian, *Alex.* 24). But without more reliable evidence than this it is difficult to demonstrate that those serving Asklepios would treat his patients themselves.

- 281 In particular, the officials called *neokoroi* (*nakoroi* in Doric texts) have sometimes been linked to incubation (most recently in Sineux 2012, 420), but their having served at an *Asklepieion* does not alone constitute evidence that incubation was practiced there. After all, the sources show a range of activities in which *neokoroi* engaged at *Asklepieia* and similar sites: *e.g.*, recording and posting in public the names of those engaged in incubation, as at the Oropos *Amphiareion* (*I.Oropos* 277, ll. 39–43 (quoted pp. 275–276); see also *I.Oropos* 276, overzealously restored by Sokolowski in *LSCG Suppl.* 35), assisting worshipers making offerings (Herod. 4.79–85), overseeing sacred implements and (symbolic?) medical instruments (as revealed by *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 2 (= *LSCG* 144 = Melfi 2007b, 160–163, No. 7), a *lex sacra* dictating that upon leaving office a *nakoros* must transfer these items to his successor (see *NGSL*², p. 30)), or even discussing god-sent dreams and prescriptions with their recipients (Aristid., *Or.* 48.35 (see previous note), 49.22–23). Therefore, although there should be no doubt that *neokoroi* would regularly assist those who were present at a sanctuary to engage in incubation or had done so already, and also would have had other roles to play, the presence of such officials alone cannot be taken as proof. Thus Melfi’s use of inscriptions referring to *neokoroi* to link *Asklepieia* to incubation cannot be accepted: *IG* XII.5, 126 (= *LSCG* 112), a seemingly unrelated sacred law which mentions a *neokoros* and might have mentioned the sick in a passage that has been inconclusively restored [ἐάν δέ τις] | [τῶν ἀρρώ]στων by Hiller von Gärtringen in *IG* (but left unrestored by

educated individuals as Aristides, it is quite plausible that they had enough knowledge of scientific medicine in addition to commonly recognized folk remedies for their subconscious minds to determine suitable prescriptions—and even those with no such knowledge could have experienced autosuggestion after reading the prominently displayed inscriptions recording how others had obtained cures.²⁸²

As noted before, this prescriptive aspect of the god's medical practice is first attested in the Hellenistic Period, but this should not lead to the conclusion that it developed then. The lack of sources clearly pointing to Asklepios giving prescriptions or calling for regimens during the Classical Period is not conclusive proof that this was not already a significant element of the cult: after all, the earliest written sources for cures attributed to Asklepios, most notably the Epidaurian testimonies of c. 350–300 BCE, trumpeted the god's flashier accomplishments, and omitted countless other recoveries attributed to the god, any number of which might have been achieved by following his prescriptions of medicines, diets or physical activities that took effect over several days or weeks.²⁸³ And, even if these testimonies do not show him giving prescriptions, a small number *do* report that he himself had applied some type of medicine to the patient: the generic term for “drug” or “medicine” (φάρμακον) appears

Sokolowski) (ll. 6–7), is treated by her as evidence for incubation at the Paros *Asklepieion* (Melfi 2002, 343, 348 and Melfi 2007a, 444; for this sanctuary, see p. 153); and, in turn, Melfi has noted the presence of *neokoroi* at the Delos *Asklepieion* (IG XI.4, 1032) and, citing her article on Paros, reached a similar conclusion about that site (Melfi 2007a, 464; cf. Melfi 2002, 348 with n. 123). (This piece of evidence is particularly questionable, since the Delian inscription has also been assigned to the cult of Sarapis instead (see n. 102).) The same principle applies to the comparable group of temple attendants named *zакoroi*, who are assigned to Epidauros in Aelian's version of the miraculous tale of the worm-infested woman whose head is cut off by well-meaning servants (Ael., *NA* 9.33; see previous note) and also known from two or three inscriptions (IG IV² 1, 393, 711, 742(?)), and also are epigraphically attested at the Athenian *Asklepieion* (e.g., IG II² 4514 (see n. 163)), and thus presumably served at other *Asklepieia*. For *neokoroi* and *zакoroi* in Greek religion, including the range of their responsibilities, see Riel 2011.

282 This could easily have been the case at Kos, where, as noted above, “It had been the custom for those freed of their ailments to write in the temple of this god what type of help they had received, so that afterwards a similar one [*i.e.*, cure] would be available” (Plin., *H.N.* 29.2.4; see p. 204).

283 See Edelstein, *Asclepius* II:152, noting the possibility that Asklepios's role as “consulting physician” may date back to the Classical Period. See pp. 121–122 for an ambiguous fourth-century BCE source that may pertain to a long-term cure (*Anth.Pal.* 6.330 + IG IV² 1, 255).

four times on the first stele, and “herb” (πόα) appears once on another stele.²⁸⁴ Similarly, dedicatory reliefs could easily represent the god directly healing a patient, and such a wondrous occurrence was obviously thought worthy of artistic commemoration, but a dream in which Asklepios issued a prescription or ordered that a particular regimen be followed would be difficult to represent visually, and thus the god would have been more likely to be thanked in some other manner.²⁸⁵ It is significant that in the incubation scene of the *Plutus* the slave Karion describes in detail the god preparing a noxious drug from garlic, fig juice, mastic and vinegar, since although the situation is a comic one in which the god intended to harm a dislikeable patient, Aristophanes’s repeated target Neokleides, by applying this to his eyes, the passage nonetheless represents implicit evidence for medicinal treatments—and perhaps prescriptions as well—being an important element of therapeutic incubation during the period when the Attic reliefs were created.²⁸⁶ During the Hellenistic and Roman periods comparable concoctions are widely attested not only in the literary sources,²⁸⁷ but in inscriptions from the *Asklepieia* at Epidauros, Lebena, Pergamon and Rome.

284 φάρμακον: *IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 40–41 (= Test. No. 4), 77 (= Test. No. 9), 119 (= Test. No. 17), 124 (= Test. No. 19); cf. *IG* IV² 1, 122, l. 125 (= Test. No. 41). πόα: *IG* IV² 1, 122, l. 121 (= Test. No. 40). See Nissen 2009, 242.

285 One relief does show Asklepios offering to a worshiper a vessel that might contain medicine, but there is no way to know whether this represented a prescription, let alone whether the scene was intended to represent a dream (Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 11).

286 Ar., *Plut.* 716–725. For these ingredients see Sommerstein 2001, 183, noting a similar prescription recommended for Neokleides out of hostility by a fellow citizen elsewhere in Aristophanes’s work (Ar., *Eccl.* 397–407; see Sommerstein, *ibid.*, 181).

287 In addition to the general reference to Asklepios’s retinue carrying baskets of drugs made in the letter of Ps.-Hippocrates that dates to the late-Hellenistic or Roman Imperial periods (Ps.-Hippoc., *Ep.* 15; quoted p. 224), more specific examples of Asklepios’s medicines include: Philostratus’s account of the sophist Hermokrates of Phokaea telling the emperor that he had been “ordered by Asklepios of Pergamon to eat partridge smoked in frankincense” (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστὶ μοι προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσκληπιοῦ πέρδικα σιτεῖσθαι λιβανωτῷ θυμώμενον) (Philostr., *vs* 2.25, p. 611; on this sophist, see Jones 2003, 127–130); Aristides’s references to various cures, such as dissolving wormwood in vinegar (Aristid., *Or.* 48.28–35); Aelian’s story about a patient prescribed boar fat and vinegar (Ael., frag. 103, ed. Domingo-Forasté; see n. 280); Galen’s reference to a man at Pergamon instructed both to consume medicine derived from vipers and apply it to his skin (Galen, *Subf. emp.* 10, pp. 78–79, ed. Deichgräber; see n. 16); and, Damascius’s anecdote concerning the Late Antique philosopher Plutarch and a colleague both receiving an instruction to consume pork from Asklepios at the Athenian sanctuary (Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 89A, ed. Athanassiadi; see pp. 184–185). To these can be added a

These inscriptions, which include third-person testimonies as well as dedications featuring narratives by the worshipers themselves, give many insights into the types of substances employed in Asklepios's cures. In some cases, prescriptions consisted solely of ordinary foodstuff: most notably, the lengthy account of Marcus Julius Apellas found at Epidauros records that for his different maladies the god prescribed "cheese and bread, and celery with lettuce" and "milk with honey," and later anise with olive oil for headaches (in addition to various regimens and practices);²⁸⁸ similarly, according to the shorter Pergamon dedicatory inscription of Publius Aelius Theon, Asklepios had instructed him to eat fifteen white peppercorns and half an onion each morning for 120 days, as well as to avoid drinking.²⁸⁹ The majority of epigraphical sources for Asklepios's prescriptions, however, reveal combinations that could include some sort of food or beverage, part of a plant not normally cultivated for food, or a substance derived from a plant or animal. This can best be seen in the four surviving testimonies from Rome's Tiber Island or Esquiline *Asklepieion*:

[---] |

αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις Γαίῳ τινὶ τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ[ὶ τὸ] ἱερὸν βῆμα
καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, εἰ<τ>α ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερόν | καὶ θεῖναι
τοὺς πέντε δακτύλους ἐπάνω τοῦ βήματος καὶ ἄραι τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ὀρθὸν ἀνέβλεψε τοῦ |⁵ δήμου παρεστῶτος
καὶ συγχαιρομένου, ὅτι ζῶσαι ἀρεταὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡμῶν
Ἀντωνεῖνου. |

Λουκίῳ πλευριετικῷ καὶ ἀφηλπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐχρησμάτι-
σεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τριβώμου ἄραι τέφραν καὶ μετ' οἴνου ἀνα|φυράσαι
καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ πλευρόν· καὶ ἐσώθη καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἡὺχαρίστησεν |¹⁰ τῷ θεῷ
καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεχάρη αὐτῷ. |

αἶμα ἀναφέροντι Ἰουλιανῷ ἀφηλπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐχρησ-
μάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τριβώμου ἄραι κόκκους στροβίλου καὶ

curious anecdote told by Philostratus concerning Polemo (*PIR*² A 862; *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 86o (K. Stebnicka)) at Pergamon, according to which the famous sophist made a jest in his dream after the god had told him to avoid cold drinks (vs 1.25, p. 535 (= p. 46, ed. Kayser).) As noted below (see p. 235), many of these prescriptions have strong similarities to those found in ancient medical writings, and some have been shown to have valid medical value.

288 *IG* IV² 1, 126 (quoted pp. 169–171). On the god's prescriptions for Apellas, see Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, pp. 192–197.

289 *SEG* 37, 1019 (quoted p. 198).

| φαγεῖν μετὰ μέλιτος ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας· καὶ ἐσώθη καὶ ἐλθὼν δημοσίᾳ |
 ἠὺχαρίστησεν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δήμου. |

¹⁵ Οὐαλερίῳ Ἄπρῳ στρατιώτῃ τυφλῷ ἐ χρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν
 αἶμα | ἐξ ἀλεκτρυῶνος λευκοῦ μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ κολλύριο<ν> συντρίψαι καὶ ἐπὶ
 | τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπιχρεῖσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἐλήλυθεν |
 καὶ ἠὺχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῷ θεῷ.²⁹⁰

In those same days he issued an oracle to a certain Gaius, a blind man, to approach the sacred platform and prostrate himself, and then to go from the right to the left and place his five fingers atop the platform and then lift his hand and place it over his own eyes. And he saw properly once again, with the people standing by and joining him in his joy that living miracles were happening during the time of our August emperor Antoninus.

To Lucius, who was pleuritic and despaired of by all men, the god issued an oracle that he should go and take away ashes from the triple-altar and mix them with wine and place this on his side. And he was saved and publicly gave his thanks to the god, and the people rejoiced with him.

To Iulianus, who was bringing up blood and despaired of by all men, the god issued an oracle that he should go and take away pinecone seeds from the triple-altar and eat them with honey for three days. And he was saved and, appearing publicly, gave his thanks before the people.

To Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, the god issued an oracle that he go and take the blood of a white rooster along with honey and mix them into an eye salve, and over three days anoint his eyes with this. And he saw once again, and appeared and publicly gave his thanks to the god.

Whereas the first cure was achieved merely through actions and gestures, the second involved a mixture of sacrificial ashes and wine (beverage), the third pinecone seeds (food) consumed with honey (food), and the fourth a mixture of honey (food) and rooster blood (animal substance).

290 IGUR I 148 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 157–168, Nos. v.2a–d = Renberg 2006–07, 139–140, No. 6 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 215–220, No. 21); see Guarducci, *EG* IV:158–165, Renberg, *ibid.*, 127–128 *et pass.*, and Sineux 2008 (the latter a detailed study of the inscription's language). For the topographical problems associated with this inscription, see p. 207. The fact that this tablet is broken at the top and on the right, where traces from a second column of text are preserved, indicates that originally there were more testimonies.

Other inscriptions reveal similarly varied medicines that ultimately can be divided into the categories of food, beverage, plant, and animal. This is especially notable in the dedicatory and testimonial inscriptions from the *Lebena Asklepion*, of which the two most detailed, the dedicatory inscriptions of Publius Granius Rufus, also provide the most varied prescriptions.²⁹¹ On the occasion that Rufus was seeking relief for a shoulder ailment,

ὁ [θε]ὸς ἐκέλευσέν με π[ροσ]|καρτερεῖν κ[αί] ἔδ]ωκεν θεραπείαν· | ἄλευρον
κρ[ίθινον]ν μετὰ παλαιοῦ οἴ[νου] |¹⁰ καταπλάσασ[ντα κα]ὶ στρόβειλον λε[οτρι-]|
βήσαντα μ[ετ'] ἐλαίου υ ἐπιθεῖναι, ὁμ[οῦ δέ] | σῦκον καὶ σ[τέαρ τρά?]γειον, εἴτα
θῆν[ιον], | πέπερι, κηρό[πισσον?] καὶ ἔλαιον συ[νεψή]|σαντα ΩΣ[..... ἐ]ν
μαλακῷ ὁ[θονίῳ] |¹⁵ καταράψα[ντα ἐπιθεῖναι (vel sim.) --- τ]οῦ θώρακο[ς ---
ὅσ]|τρεα σημ[--- τ]ῆς σμύρνα[ς (= μύρρας)....] | K..HNAI [--- ἔλ]αιον ἀπο
Τ[.....] | ΤΩΝ (= τῶν?) λυχ[ν ---]Ω ἡλίῳ τῷ [.....] | [τ]οῦ μύρ[του vel -ρου(?)
--- καὶ οὕτω]ς(?) ἀπεθε[ράπευσεν(?)].²⁹²

The god instructed me to remain strong, and provided a treatment: having made a plaster of barley meal (mixed) with old wine and having ground up a pine cone with olive oil, to apply them, along with a fig and goat fat(?), and then milk, pepper, wax-pitch(?) and olive oil all boiled together [---] on soft linen(?) having broken to pieces [to apply it(?) ---]

291 See n. 184 for references.

292 *I. Cret* 1, xvii, 18, ll. 7–19 (= Melfi 2007b, 183–184, No. 30) (revised text derived partly from editions of Guarducci and Melfi, drawn from Renberg (in preparation), b). The nature of this shoulder ailment is unclear due to damage at line 4, which just preserves τ[οῦ δεξ-]ιοῦ ὤμου X[.....]ΚΟΥΣ. This missing word has plausibly been restored as χ[οιράδισ]τους, an unattested diminutive form of χοιράδες (“scrofulous swellings”), by Zingerle (Zingerle 1937, 76–77), which would indicate a glandular issue (Girone, *Iamata*, p. 126) rather than a muscular or skeletal one, most likely a lymphatic problem linked to Rufus’s tuberculosis (as suggested in Sineux 2004a, 142, but perhaps implied by Zingerle; see also Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, pp. 152–153). (The fact that the lymph nodes are located in chains running along the collar bone, in front of the shoulder and beneath the armpit matches the area in which Rufus was said to have been suffering, and thus supports Zingerle’s restoration.) Melfi, who likewise accepts Zingerle’s restoration as plausible, has also suggested as an alternative that Rufus may instead have been suffering from an ulceration, which she restores as [ἐλ]τους or [ῥγ]τους (Melfi 2007b, 183–184). Of Melfi’s two restorations, the first is more likely, both due to the presence of ἔλκος in at least one other healing inscription (see n. 294) and the fact that ῥγκος as a medical term was more often used generally than for a specific type of ailment.

my chest [---] oysters [---] of myrrh [---] olive oil from(?) [---] of the(?) lamps(?) [---] the sun [---] of myrtle(?), and in this manner(?) he cured(?).

Similarly, on another occasion when Rufus had sought the god's help overcoming a chronic lung ailment,

ἔδωκεν εὐζῶμον νήστη τρώγειν, |¹⁰ εἶτα πεπεράτον Ἰταλικὸν πείνειν, | πάλιν ἄμυλον διὰ θερμοῦ ὕδατος, | εἶτα κονίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς σποδοῦ | καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος, εἶτα ῥὸν καὶ | ῥητείνην, πάλιν πίσσαν ὑγρὰν, |¹⁵ εἶτα εἶρην μετὰ μέλιτος, εἶτα μῆλον | Κυθῶ[νιον κ]αὶ πεπ[λ]ίδα συνεψή|[σαντα τὸ μὲν χύμα(?) πεί]νειν τὸ δὲ μῆλον | [τρώγειν(?), εἶτα τρώγει]ν(?) σῦκα μετὰ σπο|[δοῦ ἱερᾶς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ] βωμοῦ ὅπου θύ[ουσι τῷ θεῷ].²⁹³

(Asklepios) gave (a prescription) for me fasting to nibble on rocket, then to drink peppered Italian wine, then to have starch in hot water, then a powder from the sacred ash and sacred water, then an egg and pine resin, and again moist pitch, then iris with honey, then a Cydonian apple [*i.e.*, quince] and petty spurge(?) boiled together—and to drink [the juice(?)] but [to nibble(?) on] the apple—[and then to nibble(?) on] a fig with [sacred] ash [from the] altar where they sacrifice [to the god(?)].

Another dedication from Lebena records that a woman had been suffering from a malignant finger sore (if the ailment has been correctly restored) and was healed after being instructed by Asklepios “to apply oyster shell that she had burned and ground up with rose extract, and to anoint with mallow [mixed with olive oil?]” ([--- λαβοῦσα (*vel sim.*)] | ἐπὶ τοῦ μεικροῦ δακτύλο[υ ἔλκωσιν τινα] |⁵ [ἀ]γρίαν καὶ θεραπευθεῖς[α, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτά]|ξαντος ἐπιθεῖναι ὅστ[ρέου τὸ ὄστρακον] | κατακαύσασαν καὶ λεο[τριβήσασαν μετὰ] | ῥοδίνου καὶ μολόχῃ μ[ετ’ ἐλαίου (?) χρίσας]|θαί.²⁹⁴ The other inscriptions from Lebena that preserve prescriptions are testimonial: a badly damaged inscription makes reference to

293 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 17, ll. 9–20 (= Melfi 2007b, 181–182, No. 29) (text slightly modified). On Rufus's ailment, see Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 144.

294 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 19, ll. 3–9 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 108–111, No. III.10 = Melfi 2007b, 184–185, No. 32 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 155–159, No. 11); text slightly modified. The restoration of ἔλκωσιν is certainly plausible, both due to the limited number of ailments that can afflict the human finger and the term's use in Aeschines's epigram from Epidaurus (*Anth.Pal.* 6.330 + *IG* IV² 1, 255; quoted pp. 121–122). For other attestations of sores (ἔλκος) as well as medical texts pertaining to their treatment, see Girone, *ibid.*, 35n.18; cf. Prêtre/Charlier, *ibid.*, 82, 202.

cardamom, an ear of corn, and probably hibiscus;²⁹⁵ another fragmentary text includes myrtle berries (μύρτον) as part of the prescription (one also possibly given to Rufus);²⁹⁶ and another, as in Rufus's dedication for recovering from the lung problem, records that Asklepios's prescription had included peppered wine, but also records figs, lettuce, crushed laurel, and other ingredients.²⁹⁷ These various substances were not chosen at random, as their appearance in medical writings and other works reveals: thus Asklepios, god of medicine and divine physician, was believed to be issuing prescriptions that were also being used by his human counterparts, showing an influence of rational medicine on his form of temple medicine.²⁹⁸ Indeed, this pattern was recognized in antiquity, as is shown by Artemidorus's statement following references to the Pergamon *Asklepieion* and Alexandrian *Sarapieion* that the gods' prescriptions were easily understood and completely consistent with medical science.²⁹⁹

295 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 20 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 130–132, No. 111.14 = Melfi 2007b, 180, No. 27 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 161–167, No. 12): [---] | [---] ΒΑΛ[--- ἐθεράπ?]ευσεν | [---] ΑΤΑ καρδὰ[μωμον(?) --- καὶ ---]υσκον συνεψή[⁵]σαντα [---] ΩΣ στάχυν | [---] θαλασσον καὶ | [οὔτως(?) ἐθεράπευ?]σε. It has been suggested by Guarducci that line 4 might be restored with [ῥ]υσκον, even though this would be a previously unattested spelling variant.

296 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 14A (= Girone, *Iamata*, 106–107, No. 111.9 = Melfi 2007b, 171–172, No. 15A = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 137–140, No. 8). One of Rufus's two dedications appears to record a prescription including myrtle or myrrh, if a restoration that Guarducci proposed in her notes but not her text itself, [τ]οῦ μύρ[του] or [τ]οῦ μύρ[ου], is correct (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 18, l. 19; quoted pp. 233–234).

297 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 12A (= Girone, *Iamata*, 94–96, No. 111.4 = Melfi 2007b, 173–175, No., 19A = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 131–135, No. 7): [---] | [---] ν εἴτεν χάραξ | [---] ΤΩ ὕδατος καὶ θρι- | [δα ---] πιεν δι' ἄρωμάτων | [---] δάφναν τύψαν[⁵]τα --- κ]αὶ πέπερι μετ' οἷ[νου ---] εἰς πυέλιον ΕΜ[---] Σ χυλῶι χρίεν τὸς ὦ[μος ---] δευμένων τὸ ὕδωρ | [---] αὐ]τὸ ἔφαγεν χοῦ[¹⁰]τως ὑγιῆς ἐγέν[ετο] ("[---] then figs [---] of water and lettuce [---] to drink(?) with spices [---] having crushed laurel [---] and pepper with wine [---] into a small vat [---] to rub the should with a decoction [---] the water [---] he consumed this and thus [became healthy]"). See also Sineux 2012, 412–413.

298 See the detailed commentaries in Girone, *Iamata* and Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, which highlight a large number of parallels between these epigraphical texts and both medical treatises and other pertinent literary sources in order to show the use of various substances by both Asklepios and mortal physicians. The two studies also discuss the natural substances recorded in the inscriptions that today are recognized as having medicinal properties, with that of Prêtre and Charlier being especially valuable not only for the cures, but for the writers' attempts to determine the precise identity and nature of the ailments. For a more general treatment of the influence of medicine on Asklepios's cures, see Nissen 2009, 239–249, especially pp. 241–242, 246–247, and Sineux 2012 (focusing on the Lebena materials); cf. Chaniotis 1995, 334–335.

299 Artem. 4.22, pp. 320, 322, ed. Harris-McCoy (quoted p. 25n.71).

Not all of the inscriptions—or the literary sources, for that matter—crediting Asklepios with a cure provide details regarding how it was achieved: thus not only is it common for a source to gloss over whether incubation had been involved, but even when one makes reference to incubation it can be unclear whether a quick and miraculous cure had been involved or one achieved by following the god's instructions over a period of days, weeks or months. This can be seen in the second-century CE inscribed hymn from the Athenian *Asklepieion* by a *zakoros* whose appeal to the god to cure his gout is followed by four additional lines of verse that thank Asklepios for having done so, “just as you promised” (ὥσπερ ὑπέστης)—which seems to imply a dream received through therapeutic incubation, but gives no indication whether in that dream Asklepios had promised that this individual would awaken fully recovered or would recover only after following a prescribed treatment or regimen.³⁰⁰ Another issue that is not always made clear is whether the person who had become healthy with the god's help by following such a prescription over time had remained at the sanctuary while doing this. For example, the Pergamon dedication recording that an individual had regained his health after following a dietary regimen for 120 days indicates that it had been prescribed by Asklepios, since the phrase *κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ* is employed, but there is no information regarding whether this individual had to remain the whole time at the sanctuary or had received the god's prescription and then followed it for the next four months while otherwise going about his normal activities.³⁰¹ Similarly, the testimony from Rome recording that a blind soldier named Valerius Aper had been prescribed an eye salve for a three-day period appears to imply that he had not remained at the sanctuary during this time, since it says that after he was again able to see he “appeared and publicly gave his thanks to the god.”³⁰² More informative on this point is an epigram on an altar found along the Via Cassia outside of Rome indicating that with the god's help a worshiper named Lupus had spent one hundred days recovering from tuberculosis at the site where the altar had stood, which presumably means that this individual had remained there for the full period, rather than

300 IG II² 4514 (see n. 163). For a parallel, see the inscription from Epidauros that refers to a disease and a dream, without further information (*I.Epidauros* 52; quoted in n. 112), and the similar situation in *SEG* 18, 354, in which a dedication for healed “innards” was given because of a dream, though due to damage to the stone it is unknown which god was being thanked (see n. 382).

301 *SEG* 37, 1019 (quoted p. 198).

302 *IGUR* I 148, ll. 15–18 (quoted pp. 231–232).

believed himself to have received at the sanctuary the aid necessary to recover his health away from it:

ἐνταῦθ' ἀκέσατο Λοῦπο[ν] | ἐν λυγρᾷ φθόγῃ |
 χειμῶνι Παιᾶν Θύβρ[ις] | [ἐκ]ατὸν ἡμασιν· |
 βωμόν δ' ἐδείματ' | Ἀρρία Πλατωνική |
 τιμῶσ' ἐταῖρον | χ' εἰλεουμένη θεόν.³⁰³

Herein Paean of the Tiber cured Lupus of a wretched consumption
 —in winter, within a hundred days.
 Arria the Platonist prepared this altar,
 honoring her companion and propitiating the god.

In this case, apparently recorded by a Platonic philosopher known from Galen and perhaps an inscription,³⁰⁴ incubation need not even have been involved: instead, it is possible that Lupus simply engaged in daily prayers and perhaps also had followed the instructions of a priest or cult official or even a local doctor, rather than acting on a prescription or regimen obtained from Asklepios in a dream.³⁰⁵ A damaged testimony from Epidauros, however, specifically records that incubation had led to a four-month stay at the *Asklepieion* by a man who was severely hobbled, at the end of which he was cured by reentering the incubation dormitory, which shows that incubation could indeed lead to long-term stays at an *Asklepieion*.³⁰⁶ At the opposite extreme is the dedication from Epidauros given by Tiberius Claudius Severus, which states that his ear ulcer had been “healed in the incubation dormitory” (ὃν ὁ θεὸς εἰάσατο ἐν τῷ ἐνκοιμητηρίῳ), suggesting an overnight cure, although there is no way to know whether it was received during the first night of his visit,³⁰⁷ as is true of the other testimonies that say a worshiper was cured in the dormitory.³⁰⁸ As

303 *SEG* 43, 661, cf. *SEG* 51, 1430 (= Renberg 2006–07, 154, No. 29); see Rigsby 2001*b* and Renberg, *ibid.*, 108–109 *et pass.* Sineux assigns the inscription to the Tiber Island without addressing the significant distance the stone would have had to travel (Sineux 2008, 399).

304 *PIR*² A 1115–1116; see Rigsby 2001*b*.

305 For a possible literary parallel, see the epigram of Aeschines, which refers to recovery that took place while the orator was at Epidauros over either three nights, which would imply incubation, or three months, which may or may not have involved more than simple prayers and offering rituals (quoted pp. 121–122).

306 *IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 123–129 (= Test. No. 64); see LiDonnici 1995, 129n.47.

307 *IG* IV² 1, 127 (see p. 169).

308 *IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 3–9 (= Test. No. 1), 48–54 (= Test. No. 6), 107–110 (= Test. No. 15); *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 38–45 (= Test. No. 27), 50–55 (= Test. No. 29), and possibly ll. 102–110 (= Test. No. 37).

such sources demonstrate, unless an inscription is specific regarding how and where a cure was achieved it is impossible to know, even if it is apparent that incubation was involved, since there was no standard experience shared by all.

3.4.4 *The Process of Engaging in Incubation*

Regardless of the outcome, the process of engaging in incubation at an *Asklepieion*—the preliminary rituals and offerings, the manner in which one slept within the incubation dormitory, and the giving of thank-offerings afterwards—were generally the same, though the nature of the offerings varied widely. Due to the extraordinarily rich collection of literary, epigraphical and iconographic sources for incubation at the major *Asklepieia* it is possible to reconstruct in detail this whole process, with few areas of uncertainty.³⁰⁹ The series of actions that would be performed throughout the recorded history of the cult is already in evidence in the earliest detailed source for incubation, Aristophanes's *Plutus* of 388 BCE,³¹⁰ and it no doubt predated this work by several decades at the least. As recounted by Aristophanes's character Karion, (1) the god Wealth is taken to an *Asklepieion* so that he can regain his sight by means of Asklepios's intervention, a goal achieved after (2) Wealth—accompanied the whole time by Chremylos, Chremylos's slave Karion, and some of his other slaves—had bathed, (3) entered the sacred precinct (τέμενος), (4) dedicated cakes and preliminary offerings upon an altar (βωμῷ πόπανα καὶ προθύματα / καθωσιώθη), (5) bedded down in an unspecified structure “as was proper” (ὥσπερ εἰχὸς ἦν) among many other ailing individuals (while Karion and the others, in contrast, went to sleep upon pallets or mats (στιβάδες) that they prepared for themselves), (6) heard the temple servant (πρόπολος) instruct everyone to remain silent after the lamps had been extinguished,

309 Several of the standard studies of incubation cited in n. 1 feature such step-by-step treatments (see especially Wacht 1997, 211–226). Among these areas of uncertainty is the nature and wording of the prayers pertaining directly to the request for a cure (see Appendix v). Presumably, one or more standard, general prayers—perhaps cletic hymns intended to summon the god—were offered to Asklepios, followed by more specific and prosaic appeals for help. (It is worth considering whether one of the Epidaurian testimonies was intended as a humorous cautionary tale that worshipers were to state their requests carefully: according to this odd narrative, a woman who had become pregnant after seeking the god's help through incubation returned there in desperation after her pregnancy had lasted for three years, only to have Asklepios explain to her that while she had asked to become pregnant she had not asked to give birth, which she would finally be able to do now that she had come as a suppliant for this reason (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 9–22 (= Test. No. 2)).)

310 On the play's date, see n. 48.

(7) and then slept there as (8) Asklepios with the help of his daughters Panakeia and Iaso examined and treated each of his patients, finally reaching Wealth and curing him by applying gauze to his eyelids, and then having his daughters cover Wealth's head and face with scarlet cloth before summoning two serpents to lick his eyelids.³¹¹ Even though the scene in *Plutus* represents the only surviving step-by-step account of engaging in incubation—and an incomplete and obviously comic one, at that—it is amply supplemented by the works of Aristides and other authors, the Attic reliefs showing worshipers being treated by Asklepios (often accompanied or even assisted by one or more of his divine retinue), the testimonial inscriptions from Epidauros and Lebena, some particularly detailed dedicatory inscriptions, and a small number of *leges sacrae*.

3.4.4.1 Ritual Purity and the Question of How Water was Employed at *Asklepieia*

If Aristophanes is to serve as a guide, water played a role in at least one type of ritual associated with incubation—but both the issues associated with this passage and the other evidence for the use of water at *Asklepieia* are more complicated than has usually been recognized.³¹² There is abundant physical evidence from *Asklepieia*, including those where incubation is known to have been practiced, for springs, fountains, wells, small basins, basins large enough for full body immersion, and other structures or vessels that held water, as has been discussed above.³¹³ It is far from clear, however, whether any of these

311 Ar., *Plut.* 649–747. On this scene, see the detailed studies of Ervin Roos and Sineux (Roos 1960; Sineux 2006a, with references to earlier studies). Karion's reference to himself and Wealth's other companions putting together στῖβάδες (l. 663) indicates that the preceding mention of Chremylos having instructed his slaves to bring στρώματα to the sanctuary was not a reference to mattresses, but rather to beddings or bed-clothes (l. 624; see Sommerstein 2001, 179). For *stibades* and incubation, see pp. 258–259.

312 For an exception, see Sineux 2007a, 129–136, noting the distinction at *Asklepieia* and the Oropos *Amphiareion* between water used preliminarily for ablutions and water used for bathing that was intended to cure, as well as that water would be drunk. In addition, the recent work of Trümper has called into question the extent to which bathing structures at such sites had a curative function (see n. 95).

313 See pp. 161–163. As Susan G. Cole has noted, fountains (χρήναι) were a widespread feature of Greek sanctuaries, but especially those of Asklepios and, to a lesser extent, Apollo, while such a pattern also appears to be evident for natural springs (πηγαί) and other types of water installations at *Asklepieia* and sanctuaries of Apollo (Cole 1988, 161–163). For water and water installations at *Asklepieia*, see also the more detailed treatment in Ginouvès 1962, 349–361; see also Ginouvès 1994. There should be little doubt of the importance of water at *Asklepieia*, but how it was used is not fully known.

were used exclusively for incubation, and it is likewise unclear whether the water that was available near some incubation dormitories was intended for purification or hydrotherapy, or both.³¹⁴ The only reasonably firm conclusion is that the water available at the entrance to a sanctuary was primarily intended for the symbolic purifications required of all who entered any Greek sanctuary, not just one devoted to Asklepios—as indicated by the comment in the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease* that “As we enter (sanctuaries) we sprinkle ourselves” (εἰσιόντες τε περιρραϊνόμεθα).³¹⁵ Therefore this would have been done not only by those who engaged in incubation at an *Asklepieion*, but also by all other visitors.³¹⁶ Whether Aristophanes had in mind such

314 While we do not have sources from any *Asklepieia* specifying how water available at certain locations was to be used, at other gods' sanctuaries water from particular sources is explicitly known to have been unavailable for certain rituals. Most notably, the sacred spring at the Oropos *Amphiareion* is reported by Pausanias to have been neither for purifications nor ritual hand-cleansing (ἀλύτην οὐτ' ἐπὶ καθαρμοῖς ἢ χερσίνι χερῆσθαί) (Paus. 1.34.4; for the sacred spring, see pp. 288–289). Just as *leges sacrae* do not refer to preliminary sprinkling of water (see next note) or sprinkling sacrificial animals with water, they did not typically indicate how water in a sanctuary was and was not to be used, and this is true of the small number surviving at *Asklepieia*. For a rare example of a document specifying permitted uses for sacred water, see the third-century BCE inscription from Teos honoring Antiochos III that in one passage dictates that water from a fountain dedicated to the Seleucid queen Laodike was to be used for ordinary worshipers' libations, sacrifices on behalf of the city undertaken by priests and priestesses, and baths for brides before their weddings (*SEG* 41, 1003, col. ii, ll. 77–83). Since water at *Asklepieia* is known to have been employed for different goals—in particular, it could wash away impurities, be taken medicinally, or be bathed in as a form of hydrotherapy—it is quite possible that, as at Teos, a single source of water could be used in these different ways, though presumably after the water had been conveyed away from the source itself and distributed to multiple wells, basins, and the like.

315 Hippoc., *Morb. sacr.* 1.13, ed. Jouanna (= 1.46, ed. Grensemann). For the abundant archaeological evidence as well as written sources, see Pimpl 1997, a study with catalog partly devoted to the water basins (περιρραντήρια) at the entrances to Greek sanctuaries and before temples (*ibid.*, 49–60 *et pass.*) See also: Ginouvès 1962, 299–310; Cole 1988, 162; Parker 1983, 19–20; van Straten 1995, 31–49; and Paoletti 2004, 26–29. On such basins marking off the sacred boundaries of some sanctuaries, as well as the likelihood that *leges sacrae* rarely mention such sprinkling because it was so standard a ritual that it did not need to be addressed, see *NGSL*², pp. 207 (with n. 6), 212. (For the *mobile* basins used for pre-sacrificial purifications probably having been called χερνιβεῖον and χέρνιβον, see van Straten, *ibid.*, 33n.62, Pimpl, *ibid.*, 8, and Paoletti, *ibid.*, 23–24.)

316 A good example of a water basin located at the entrance to an *Asklepieion* was found at Corinth, where it was clearly used for preliminary ablution before heading into the sanctuary (see Roebuck 1951, 26–28); others, in contrast, may have been mobile. But even

purification is unclear, however. The experience of the god Wealth occurs somewhere outside of the sacred precinct (and quite possibly some distance away from the entrance), but clearly involves more than a light sprinkling from a small basin: the verb employed is λούειν (“to wash”), and he has been exposed to freezing water while being partly or fully immersed.³¹⁷ Unfortunately, it is unclear why Wealth has undergone this deeply unpleasant ritual, though it appears that this treatment by his companions rather than being an accurate representation of the local purificatory ritual may have been a comical one, with his suffering being part of one of two jokes: if the idea of Chremylos and the others who brought him to the *Asklepieion* was to purify him symbolically before he entered the sanctuary, there would be humor in the degree of overkill (*i.e.*, a freezing bath, rather than a mere sprinkling of water droplets), while the fact that two of the (admittedly later) surviving sacred laws from *Asklepieia* mandate that one had to have washed (λουσάμενος) away impurities caused by sex or other activities may instead suggest an implied joke alluding to the fact that it was necessary for Wealth to be fully washed, as mere sprinkling would be insufficient.³¹⁸ Indeed, the fact that Wealth and his party first travel to the sanctuary, then head off so that he can bathe, and then return to the sanctuary

if sprinkling with water was a common purificatory practice for those entering a sanctuary, it may also have been repeated among the rituals performed immediately before incubation: such a possibility is raised by Ovid's description of Numa engaging in divinatory incubation at Faunus's sacred grove, which included having his head sprinkled with water from a spring, but such evidence is quite unreliable (Ov., *Fast.* 4.655; see p. 617n.17).

317 Ar., *Plut.* 653–659. On this passage and the issue of whether seawater was involved, as well as where the bathing took place, see n. 167.

318 Ritual bathing cannot be considered a regular part of incubation based on the fragmentary Pergamon sacred law (*I.Pergamon* 2, 264; quoted pp. 196–197), as suggested by Dillon (Dillon 1994, 245), nor is the evidence cited by Robert Parker or René Ginouvès sufficient (see Parker 1983, 213n.31, pointing to this passage in Aristophanes as well as Xen., *Mem.* 3.13.3 on bathing at the *Amphiareion* (see pp. 288–290), and Ginouvès 1962, 352–357 drawing upon the architectural remains and Aristophanes scene). As both this sacred law and others suggest, it was not bathing but *purity* that was required before incubation, and it follows, therefore, that if Wealth had to bathe he was somehow impure. This reading of Aristophanes may also be supported by a comment in Pausanias, who says that at Pergamon those who eat sacrificial meat that was intended for the local hero Telephos could not enter the adjacent temple of Zeus, and then adds, “Nor is it possible for these to go up to Asklepios before a bath” (ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀναβῆναι πρὸ λουτροῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν), which shows the need to be free of guilt as well as ritually pure *before* entering the Pergamon *Asklepieion* (Paus. 5.13.3).

may hint at arriving at the entrance and being informed of a rule requiring purity of all those entering.

These and other inscribed regulations provide invaluable information regarding not just the need to wash away impurities, but also other aspects of the preliminary offerings and rituals required for incubation, as well as the requirements for ritual purity achieved through different types of abstinence. At some *Asklepieia*, at least, the rituals for initiating incubation had to be preceded by a period of abstaining from sex and certain types of food (and possibly drink), as well as avoiding exposure to corpses and abortion or miscarriage, and no doubt other impurities.³¹⁹ The best source for this is the lengthy *lex sacra* from Pergamon, which states that “Whoever enters the incubation dormitory shall be pure from all the aforementioned [*i.e.* types of pollution] and from sex acts, goat meat and cheese, and . . . on the third day” (ἀγνεύετω δὲ ὁ | [εἰσπορευ]όμενος εἰς τὸ ἐγκοιμητήριον ἀπὸ τε τῶν προειρημέ[νων πάν]των καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ αἰγείου κρέως καὶ τυροῦ κα[ὶ] | [.]ΙΑΜΙΔΟΣ τριταῖος).³²⁰ The surviving portion of the other *lex sacra* from the sanctuary is part of a lengthy section containing rules for purity and purification (twice employing *περικαθαίρετω* in addition to providing several specifics).³²¹ While some proposed restorations of this text are questionable, including a possible reference to childbirth, it is at least clear that the third line should be restored with the phrase [ἀπὸ ἀφροδ]εισίων λουσάμενος, on the strength of a recently discovered parallel.³²² This parallel, an incomplete *lex sacra* from the Yaylakale garrison, mandates that:

319 These, of course, were not limited to *Asklepieia* or maintaining purity before incubation, as can be seen in one of Hesychios’s lexicographical entries: ἀγνεύειν· καθαρεύειν, ἀπὸ τε ἀφροδισίων καὶ ἀπὸ νεκροῦ (“to keep oneself pure”: to be clean of both sexual activities and the dead”) (Hesychios, s.v. “ἀγνεύειν”).

320 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 11–14; see Wörrle 1969, 179–181. Regulating sexual purity before entering a sanctuary was fairly commonplace, and by no means limited to *Asklepieia*: see Parker 1983, 74–103 (with epigraphical parallels at pp. 74–75n.4) and *NGSL*², pp. 212–213; for dietary restrictions in Greek religion, see p. 625. It is uncertain whether these restrictions reflect the influence of Pythagoreanism, signs of which can be seen in an inscription from a North African *Asklepieion* (*ILAfr* 225) as well as sources from the cult of Amphiaraos (see pp. 625–627), but there were clearly Pythagorean beliefs evident at Pergamon in the second century CE: for an example one need look no further than the oracle of Asklepios demonstrating a belief in reincarnation by announcing that a prominent figure had been a great hero in a past life (*I.Pergamon* 3, 34 (see n. 2); on the Pythagorean elements of this oracle, see Jones 2003, 130).

321 *I.Pergamon* 2, 264 (= *LSAM* 14); quoted pp. 196–197.

322 See n. 189.

[---] | [--- ἄγ]ν[εύεσ]|θαι τὸ[ν εἰ]σπορευ|όμενον ὑγίας ἔν[ε]χ[ε]ν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν·
 |⁵ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀφρο|δισιακῶν κατὰ χει|φαλῆς λουσάμε|νον, ἀπὸ νεκροῦ δὲ |
 καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκφορᾶς (?) |¹⁰ δευτεράϊον καὶ | ἀπὸ διαφθορᾶς τὸ | αὐτό· ἐὰν δέ τις |
 ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ πα|ρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγκοιμῇ|¹⁵τήριον . . . A.QY | [---].³²³

[---] the one entering the sanctuary on account of health must be pure from sex acts, having washed himself from top down, but from (being near) a corpse and a funerary procession(?) (must be pure) for a two-day period, and from an abortion/miscarriage³²⁴ for the same (period). If one wishes to enter the incubation chamber beside the temple [---].

This regulation was posted in a sanctuary roughly thirty kilometers away from Pergamon and thus almost certainly was directly influenced by practices at the more prominent *Asklepieion*, instead of representing a separate tradition.³²⁵ While the documents from these two sanctuaries are unambiguous regarding the importance of maintaining ritual purity before one could engage in incubation, the fact that there is no other source from the cult of Asklepios attesting to such specific purity requirements raises the question of whether these detailed restrictions were the norm elsewhere.³²⁶ Thus while we can be certain

323 SEG 60, 1333 (= BE 2011, 499); see Müller 2010, 440–447 (with commentary). The term ἱερὸν in line 14 must refer to the temple rather than the entire sanctuary (as is likely for line 4), despite Müller’s translation of “Heiligtum,” since the ἐγκοιμῆτήριον would not have stood outside the sanctuary. While the surviving portion does not name Asklepios, an inscription from the same area recording the establishment of a temple by an association of Asklepios worshipers based at the garrison makes this the strongest possibility (SEG 60, 1332).

324 From the limited context it is impossible to tell whether διαφθορά in line 11 means “abortion” or “miscarriage,” or was intended to apply to either situation. (For the difficulty of the terminology associated with miscarriage as opposed to procured abortion, see Parker 1983, 355–356; see *NGSL*², pp. 209–210 for examples of other *leges sacrae* referring to abortion or miscarriage; cf. Müller 2010, 446n.61.)

325 The Yaylakale *lex sacra*, inscribed c. 200–150 BCE, does predate the Roman-era Pergamon *leges sacrae* by a few centuries, but these were undoubtedly copied from earlier ones. The Yaylakale inscription thus may well represent evidence for an earlier version of the regulations at the Pergamon sanctuary than the ones surviving there. An important difference worth noting, though, is that the Pergamon *lex sacra* prescribes purity rules for entering the incubation dormitory, whereas the Yaylakale text concerns entrance to the sanctuary itself (though some of the missing text may have pertained to entering the dormitory).

326 The closest parallel for such restrictions preceding incubation is to be found in the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, according to Roman-era literary sources, but see also the lines of the damaged *lex sacra* from the Balagrae *Asklepieion* that may refer to

that basic ritual purity was a requirement of entering an *Asklepieion* and thus of incubation, we do not know the extent to which an elevated state of purity was required—and only the discovery of more cult regulations will shed further light on this issue.

As such inscriptions show, some forms of impurity could be washed away, while others were eliminated only by the passage of time. Since an impure person was not even supposed to enter a sanctuary, it is quite improbable that the large basins found within several *Asklepieia*—and sometimes adjacent to or even built into the incubation dormitory—were intended to wash away the stain of sex or other specifically proscribed activities.³²⁷ Instead, such basins could have been used for ritual bathing before incubation, as some have suspected based on their interpretation of the scene described in Aristophanes (as well as ambiguous archaeological evidence), but this was not necessarily so, since they need not be associated only with rituals leading up to an overnight stay when it is no less plausible that the basins served those subsequently engaging in prescribed therapeutic activities.³²⁸ After all, in *Asklepieia* there

a three-day period of purity before incubation (*LSCG Suppl.* 118, ll. 2–3; quoted p. 562). Mandatory periods of purity and prohibitions of certain foods and activities were not necessarily linked to incubation, however: see in particular *NGSL*² 7 (= *SEG* 28, 421 = *RICIS* 102/1701, cf. *RICIS Suppl.* 1, p. 78), a sacred law from a Hellenistic Egyptian sanctuary at Megalopolis that was addressed “to those entering the sanctuary who wish to sacrifice” (εἰσπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν βουλόμενον | θύειν) and not only lists forms of impurity with parallels in the Asklepios texts (e.g., abortion, sex, consuming goat meat or mutton), but also specifies how many days had to have passed, with the consumption of “the remaining foods” (τῶν | λοιπῶν βρωμάτων) and sex being among the impurities that could be washed away on the same day (ἐκ κεφαλᾶς λουσάμενον αὐθημερί, or just λουσάμενον αὐθημερί). Presumably, in the cult of Asklepios it also could have been required that specific forms of impurity had to be washed away or given time to dissipate before one entered a sanctuary and engaged in more basic rituals than incubation.

327 In addition to the Bath of Asklepios at Epidauros, which was adjacent to the incubation stoa (see p. 150), the one example of a water basin intended for immersion having been built into or abutting an incubation dormitory would be the “Lustral Room” at the Corinthian “*abaton*,” if that structure has been correctly identified with incubation (see pp. 154–155). This may also have been the case for one of the wells at Pergamon that, unlike the drawing well identified as the Sacred Well, was large enough for bodily immersion and located close to the “Inkubations-Altbau” (see p. 142). (I have been informed by Jesper Tae Jensen and Michaelis Lefantzis of the discovery of two basins at the Athenian *Asklepieion*, but these remain unpublished.)

328 It is difficult to establish a pattern from the archaeological evidence because not all of the *Asklepieia* at which basins large enough for bodily immersion have been found can be linked to incubation (with Epidauros and Kos being notable exceptions), while other sites

were often fountains and other types of water installations in addition to the basins and baths, and their presence may well be due to the importance of hydrotherapy in the cult of Asklepios.³²⁹ As Aristides's *Sacred Tales* illustrate, bathing was one type of regimen prescribed to the ailing worshiper by Asklepios in dreams, but it may also have been recommended by priests or others serving the god.³³⁰ Similarly, drinking water thought to have curative properties appears to have played an important part at *Asklepieia*, as it did at certain other healing sanctuaries. And while dreams of Asklepios may often have informed ailing worshipers of the need to drink or bathe in water, it also must have regularly been used in such manner by those who had not consulted the god.³³¹

The importance of water at *Asklepieia* for bathing and drinking can be inferred from its abundance at several major sanctuaries, but is explicitly attested multiple times by Aristides—not only in his *Sacred Tales*, but also in his less prominent *To the Well in the Sanctuary of Asklepios*, in which he repeatedly refers to the benefits from washing with or drinking the waters of the Sacred Well.³³² This oration includes a brief mention of these benefits

at which incubation is known to have been practiced do not have such features. This can be seen in the case of Lebena, where the evidence for incubation is unambiguous, and the presence of seawater perhaps eliminated the need for bathing within the sanctuary precinct itself.

329 This may or may not have been the case for the cisterns and spring in the lower-level Lerna complex of the Corinthian *Asklepieion*: while Cole associates them with “curative baths” (Cole 1988, 163), Wickkiser takes a more cautious approach, emphasizing that the “copious provisions for water” at Corinth greatly exceed those at other major *Asklepieia* and thus are unlikely to have been put in place solely for ritual purposes (Wickkiser 2010a, 50–52).

330 In contrast to one reference to Asklepios over time ordering Aristides to bathe with water from multiple wells (Aristid., *Or.* 47.59; quoted n. 340), this same passage as well as several others recording or alluding to divine commands that he bathe specify that this was to take place using water from rivers, springs, the sea, or a gymnasium (Aristid., *Or.* 47.59, 48.18–23, 48.48–49, 48.50, 48.51–55, 48.78–79, 48.81–82, 51.49–53), or even melted snow (*Or.* 50.11). On Aristides and bathing, see Downie 2008 and Downie 2013, 109–113; cf. Behr 1968, 43–44.

331 For hydrotherapy in the cults of Asklepios and other healing gods, see pp. 161–163.

332 Aristid., *Or.* 39. Behr tentatively dated the work to January 167 CE (Behr 1968, 105 and Behr 1981–86, 11:412n.1). For an interesting contrast, see Paus. 1.34.4 (quoted n. 314) on the sacred spring of Amphiaraios at Oropos, which was not to be used for certain rituals, and which is not linked by the author to curative drinking or bathing. (Though it has at times been linked to the *Asklepieion* as well, another oration by Aristides of which only

in the opening,³³³ and later features passages explaining that since the well's water "flows out from the very foundations upon which the temple stands . . . it is held that it comes from a place that is wholesome and an enabler of health, as it starts from the temple and the Deliverer's feet" (ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βάρθρων ἐκρεῖ, ἐφ' ὧν ὁ νεὼς ἔστηκεν . . . ὅτι ἀπὸ ὑγιεινοῦ καὶ ὑγείας χορηγοῦ χωρίου φέρεται, ἀπὸ γε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὀρμώμενον),³³⁴ while also referring to it as being both for drinking and for washing (οὐ γὰρ μόνον πόμα, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ λουτρόν ἐστιν ἡδιστον καὶ ἀβλαβέστατον),³³⁵ and even making the outright claim that "for many it takes the place of medicine" (γίγνεται πολλοῖς ἀντὶ φαρμάκου).³³⁶ This is soon followed by a more detailed comment regarding the well's water:

πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ λουσάμενοι ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκομίσαντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πιόντες στέρνον ἰάθησαν καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον πνεῦμα ἀπέλαβον, τῶν δὲ πόδας ἐξώρθωσεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι· ἤδη δέ τις πιὼν ἐξ ἀφώνου φωνὴν ἀφήκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὑδάτων πιόντες μαντικοὶ γιγνόμενοι· τοῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρύτεσθαι ἀντ' ἄλλης σωτηρίας καθέστηκεν. καὶ τοῖς τε δὴ νοσοῦσιν οὕτως ἀλεξιφάρμακον καὶ σωτήριόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ἐνδαιτωμένοις παντὸς ἄλλου χρῆσιν ὕδατος οὐκ ἄμεμπτον ποιεῖ.³³⁷

For many by bathing with it have recovered their eyesight, while many others by drinking it have cured a chest ailment and regained life-giving breath, and it has corrected the foot problems of some and some other problem for others. Already it has happened that someone by drinking went from being mute to producing a voice, just as those drinking of forbidden waters gain mantic powers. For some even the act itself of drawing it up has taken the place of another form of deliverance. And so it is for the sick in this manner a remedy and a rescue, and for those leading healthy lives the use of any other water is worthy of blame.

a fragment survives, the *Panegyric on the Water in Pergamon*, has been shown instead to pertain to an aqueduct feeding the city (Aristid., *Or.* 53; see Jones 1991.)

333 Aristid., *Or.* 39.1.

334 Aristid., *Or.* 39.6. According to Aristides, the well was at the center of the sanctuary, beside a plane tree.

335 Aristid., *Or.* 39.12.

336 Aristid., *Or.* 39.14. Aristides makes other references to drinking the Sacred Well's waters elsewhere in the oration (39.4, 39.7), even noting at one point that this was done from a cup (κύλιξ) (39.4), and elsewhere that people could drink from the well simply because they were "seeking to arrest (the effects of) the stifling heat" (ζητούντας τὸ πνίγος προκαταλαβεῖν) (39.13).

337 Aristid., *Or.* 39.15.

Approaching the end of his oration, Aristides concludes his remarks on the well itself by noting that,

τὸ δὲ τῷ σώζειν τοὺς χρωμένους, οὐ τῷ μηδένα αὐτοῦ ψάδυν, ἱερὸν ἐστὶ· καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καθαρισίοις τε ἐξαρκεῖ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πίνειν καὶ λούεσθαι καὶ προσορῶσιν εὐφραίνεσθαι.³³⁸

For the reason that it saves those using it, and not because no one touches it, it is holy. And the same water is sufficient both for purifications around the temple and for men to drink, bathe with, and rejoice at seeing.

Thus Aristides spells out that sacred water at this *Asklepieion*, and undoubtedly others, had more than one use—and significantly different uses, at that.

While it is clear from Aristides that the Sacred Well's waters were thought to have curative properties for those who would drink from it,³³⁹ his evidence regarding other uses for the water is sometimes misunderstood. This is because it has been assumed or implied, including by the translator of the *Sacred Tales* and other *Orations*, that Aristides referred to bathing *in* the Sacred Well, when his use of the verb λούειν is always ambiguous in that he never refers to bathing in the well, and at best his use of it can be shown to have referred to washing with the well's water,³⁴⁰ or near the well.³⁴¹ Uncertainty regarding how the

338 Aristid., *Or.* 39.17.

339 This quality of the water may also have been implicit in Aristides's description of a dream in which he was discussing with a poet the meaning of those dreams in which one would see oneself or someone else drinking from the Sacred Well (Aristid., *Or.* 47.42).

340 The main objector to the traditional interpretation has been Christopher P. Jones, who has noted that "Aristides never talks of bathing from the well, only with its water, and he insists on its purity" (Jones 1998, 72). This can be seen in Aristides's use of λούεσθαι (Aristid., *Or.* 39.1, translated in Behr 1981–86 as "bathe in it"), and the phrases τούτῳ λουσάμενοι (Aristid., *Or.* 39.15, translated by Behr as "bathing in it") and ἐλούμην τῷ φρέατι τῷ ἱερῷ (Aristid., *Or.* 48.71, translated by Behr as "bathed in the Sacred Well"). See also *Or.* 47.59, referring to the god commanding him to make use of "the sea or rivers or wells" (θαλάττῃ ἢ ποταμοῖς ἢ φρέασιν ἐκέλευσε χρῆσασθαι) for bathing, which must reveal either that multiple wells at Pergamon served this purpose or Aristides was alluding to wells at multiple sanctuaries—a possibility, since he had been traveling within Asia Minor in the preceding years.

341 Aristid., *Or.* 48.74 describes an occasion when Aristides received from Asklepios the command that he engage in ritual smearing of mud on himself, and that he do this *near* the Sacred Well and then that he bathe in the same place (προσέταξεν χρίσασθαι τῷ πηλῷ πρὸς τῷ φρέατι τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λούσασθαι αὐτόθεν)—and it seems highly unlikely that an individual covered in mud would have washed it off in the Sacred Well, fouling the water that

water was used arises in large part from the writings of Aristides as well as archaeological evidence that has been linked to them: Aristides wrote that he and others had been cured by bathing in the sea and rivers,³⁴² and therefore this practice appears to have been assumed for the Pergamon well, while his reference to “divine baths” (τὰ λουτρὰ τὰ θεῖα) just before a discussion of one of the times when he had cleansed himself with water from the Sacred Well likewise would seem to associate this well with bathing.³⁴³ But the belief in bathing in the Sacred Well also developed in part because the Sacred Well has traditionally but apparently incorrectly been identified as the “Felsbrunnen,” which unlike the “Schöpfbrunnen” was built for bodily immersion, making it seem logical that when Aristides wrote of cleansing oneself with the Sacred Well’s waters he meant that one would do so in this other structure.³⁴⁴ Instead, however, water from the Sacred Well, if this indeed was the “Schöpfbrunnen,” would have been used for washing in some other way, either by means of being poured into a separate basin that a worshiper would enter or by being poured over a worshiper—perhaps the explanation for the phrase “having washed himself from the top down” (κατὰ κεφαλῆς λουσάμενον) in the Yaylakale sacred law, since such language does not seem pertinent to bathing.³⁴⁵ Indeed, since Aristides had referred to purifications (καθάρσεις) obtained from the Sacred Well this must have occurred in close proximity to it. Thus it is possible to conclude that the water from the Sacred Well was used for bathing and perhaps pouring over one’s body for purificatory purposes, but not that one would ever bathe in the well itself. Overall, therefore, few reliable conclusions can be drawn about the link between incubation and the various types of structures and installations for water found at *Asklepieia*, though thanks in no small part

Aristides had said people would “rejoice at seeing.” It is, however, certainly possible that both the water used for forming the mud and for washing it away was drawn from this well.

342 Aristid., *Or.* 42.8.

343 Aristid., *Or.* 48.71.

344 See p. 142. Both the “Felsbrunnen” (Building 29) and “Badebrunnen” (Building 23) were designed for immersion. The Sacred Well (Building 22), however, was a drawing well, as Aristides makes clear (Aristid., *Or.* 39.9–10).

345 *SEG* 60, 1333 (quoted p. 243). For an epigraphical parallel from the cult of the Egyptian gods at Megalopolis, see *NGSL*² 7 (= *RICIS* 102/1701) (quoted n. 326). See also the two related inscriptions from a shrine of Men Tyrannos at Athens that combine the same participle with the rare adverb κατακέφαλα (*IG* 11² 1365, ll. 23–24 and 1366, ll. 4–6 (= *LSCG* 55); on these inscriptions, see *NGSL*², pp. 11–12). The phrase κατὰ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι is also to be found in the context of personal purification in Theophr., *Char.* 16.13.

to the evidence concerning Pergamon there is little reason to doubt the importance of water in the cult of Asklepios, especially for healing.

3.4.4.2 Animal Sacrifices and Other Preliminary Offerings

Whereas the evidence for what constituted proper ritual purity before one could engage in incubation at an *Asklepieion* is quite limited, there is more abundant evidence for the rituals performed by those who had satisfied the purity requirements and were permitted to consult the god, beginning with the bloodless offerings and sacrifices that were made as the hour for sleep approached—the nature of which was essentially the same as those made in other cults—as well as the monetary payments that were made in advance.³⁴⁶ Just as the god Wealth in Aristophanes's play dedicated small cakes (πόπανα) and made other, presumably bloodless, preliminary offerings (προθύματα) before engaging in incubation, several *leges sacrae* indicate that real-life worshipers were expected to do so,³⁴⁷ possibly following a specific path among the altars.³⁴⁸ Certain Attic reliefs, the majority of which are known to come

346 On the subject of preliminary sacrifice (πρόθυσις) at Epidauros and other incubation sanctuaries, see Petropoulou 1991 and Dillon 1994, 246–247. To these discussions should be added an inscription that was first published in 1994 and thus available to neither scholar: *SEG* 44, 505 (= *NGSL*² 13), the broken Amphipolis *lex sacra*, which at l. 6 states that before engaging in incubation one was to “sacrifice to the gods” ([θ]ύειν τοῖς θε[οῖς]), possibly a reference to animal sacrifices rather than bloodless offerings.

347 Ar., *Plut.* 660–661. In describing his experience accompanying Wealth to the *Asklepieion* and bedding down there for the night Karion reports that the priest had pilfered both cakes and figs that had been left for Asklepios on altars and the cult table (τράπεζα ἱερὰ) (*ibid.*, 676–681), which either means that figs were among the other types of acceptable bloodless offerings preceding incubation or that they were left by other worshipers as regular offerings. It is uncertain just where the cult table and altars were located, but if Karion and the others were in a secluded area then these objects would have had to be within the same structure for the priest's activities to be visible—and, moreover, Karion's reference to seeing the priest after “having looked up” (ἀναβλέψας) almost certainly confirms this.

348 The main *lex sacra* from Pergamon twice uses the verb περιθύεσθαι in reference to offerings of cakes, and since the verb can mean “to sacrifice in a circle” or “to sacrifice around” in addition to “to sacrifice repeatedly” it was first suggested by Wörrle that a procession around the sanctuary's altars was intended, though Sokolowski thought it indicated rites performed on a regular basis (*I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 23, 27; see Wörrle 1969, 182–183 and Sokolowski 1973, 409–411; cf. Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 227). Wörrle's interpretation is perhaps supported by Aristophanes, who refers to the priest *going around in a circle* when stealing food from the god's altars, which may have been intended as a parodic reversal of the manner in which such offerings were given: “After this he went around all the altars

from the Athenian *Asklepieion*, might represent further evidence of this, since they feature the god's worshipers accompanied by a maidservant carrying a *kanoun* (a small, ritual basket, presumably for cakes): in the case of a broken relief it is two men shown placing fruits and cakes on a cult table but without a sacrificial animal present (at least, in the surviving portion), but there are also reliefs showing worshipers in procession or making offerings who are accompanied by both a *kanoun*-bearing maid and an animal, which perhaps indicates a need for both blood and bloodless sacrifices before incubation.³⁴⁹ (Or, it at least reflects that those who could afford to dedicate a finely crafted relief could afford a blood sacrifice, though it is highly doubtful that all such reliefs showing both a *kanoun* and an animal would have been linked to incubation.) The crucial document for recognizing the widespread nature of the practice of giving bloodless offerings is the Pergamon *lex sacra*, which specifies that before engaging in incubation worshipers were to provide *popana* not to Asklepios, but to various other gods, first offering them to five gods and goddesses (Zeus Apotropaios, Zeus Melichios, Artemis [---], Artemis Prothyraia, Gē) as a preliminary offering and then in the evening offering another to Themis in the incubation dormitory while apparently burning two more to Tyche and Mnemosyne on a θυμέλη-type altar (*i.e.*, for burning).³⁵⁰ In light of this inscription, *leges sacrae* from Attica that likewise

in a circle, to see if any cake might be left behind" (μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ / περιήλθε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ, / εἴ που πόπανον εἶη τι καταλελειμμένον) (Ar., *Plut.* 678–680). It also finds support in Rigsby's restoration of a *lex sacra* pertaining to Asklepios's cult at Lampsakos, which appears to have dictated that the priest would perform a fumigation by walking away from the main altar, either into the temple or along some sort of circuit that perhaps took him past other altars (see Rigsby 2009, 78–79 on *ILampsakos* 9, ll. 19–20 (= *LSAM* 8), with comment of Chaniotis in *EBGR* 2009, 138(4); cf. Paoletti 2004, 29–30).

349 Athens, N.M. 1335 (= van Straten 1995, 277, No. R10 + fig. 70 = *LIMC* 11, "Asklepios," No. 96 + photo = Leventi 2003, 149, No. R56 + Pl. 36). The Attic Asklepios reliefs featuring both a *kanoun* and sacrificial animal can be found in the list compiled by Hamilton (Hamilton (R.) 2009, 40–43). For these and other reliefs and the use of a *kanoun* when making sacrifices or bloodless offerings, see van Straten, *ibid.*, 10–12, 162–164. (For Asklepios reliefs with animals, see n. 362.)

350 *LPergamon* 3, 161, ll. 2–6, 9–11, 19–22 (quoted pp. 194–195); see Wörrle 1969, 172–174 (on ll. 2–6), 176–178 (on ll. 9–11), 182–184 (ll. 19–22). The type of cake to be given was specifically described as a "nine-knobbed, ribbed *popanon*" (πόπανον ῥαβδωτὸν ἐννεόμφαλον) or just "nine-knobbed *popanon*." For sacrificial cakes in Greek religion, see Kearns 1994 and *NGSL*², pp. 334–335. For the role of the goddess Mnemosyne (*i.e.*, Memory) in incubation, which has reasonably been thought to have been ensuring that the worshiper would remember his or her dream, see Eitrem 1948, 173–174, drawing parallels to praying for memory as part of certain rituals in the Greek magical papyri and noting Mnemosyne's

call for the offering of cakes to Asklepios's associates can be linked to incubation with increased confidence, though not certainty. Most notably, a marble block from the area of the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* that dates to the fourth century BCE indicates that three *popana* were to be given as preliminary offerings (προθύεσθαι) to six divinities (in order: Maleata, Apollo, Hermes, Iaso, Akeso, Panakeia) as well as unidentified dogs and dog-keepers/hunters (κυσὶν πόπανα τρία, κυνηγέταις πόπανα τρι(α)), and a single honeycake given to two other divinities (Helios, Mnemosyne), presumably on small altars placed beside this inscription.³⁵¹ In addition, six small altars linked to the Peiraeus and Athenian *Asklepieia* call for different types of cakes to be dedicated to the Moirai, Artemis, Herakles, Apollo Pythios, Mnemosyne, and a divinity whose name is lost, and these presumably were used in a manner similar to the altars

presence at Peiraeus (see below) and Epidauros (see n. 94), as well as at the *Trophonion* (see p. 572); see also Ahearne-Kroll 2013, 45–51 and Ahearne-Kroll 2014.

- 351 *IG* II² 4962 (= *LSCG* 21). See Guarducci, *EG* IV:15–18; Kearns 1994, 68; Parker 1996, 182; Stafford 2008, 214–215; and Lamont 2015, 43–44; cf. *NGSL*², pp. 63–64. Sokolowski in *LSCG* stated that the *popana* were given before sacrificial rites rather than incubation, though his volume came out the same year that the Pergamon *lex sacra* was published and thus he may have been unaware of the parallel. Other sources argue both for and against this inscription being linked to incubation. In favor of such a link is not only the Pergamon inscription, but also the reference to *popana* being given by the god Wealth in the *Plutus*, as noted in Sineux 2007a, 137n.59. However, it appears that a single priest of Asklepios, Euthydemos of Eleusis (*PAA* 7, No. 432295; see Clinton 1994, 30–31), was behind both this *lex sacra* and *IG* II² 47 (= *LSCG* Suppl. 11), which concerned a public festival of Asklepios and refers to preliminary sacrifices (*prothymata*) that were intended for Asklepios—and, presumably, the god's associates—and therefore *IG* II² 4962 arguably is less likely to have pertained to incubation, especially since the two texts appear related. Moreover, the reference to giving Asklepios two types of cakes (*phthois* and *hermētes*) that appears in a section of the Erythrai *lex sacra* devoted to sacrificial regulations in general rather than to incubation shows, not surprisingly, that cakes could be given to the god on other occasions as well: [ἦν δὲ] | θυστὰ θύῃ, φθοῖγ καὶ ἐρμητὴν π[αρατι]|θέτω τῶι θεῶι ἑκατέρωι (*IErythr* II 205, ll. 21–23 (= *LSAM* 24A); for the passage on incubation, see pp. 264–265).

The nature and identity of the dogs and their keepers in lines 9–10 have been the subject of different interpretations: it has been suggested that both the dogs and *kynēgetai* were associated, respectively, with the dog that in myth either guarded or suckled the infant Asklepios after he was exposed by his mother, and the hunters who found him in one version of the myth (see Parker 1996, 182–183 and Stafford 2000, 154; for the myth's different versions, see Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:227), but more recently it has been argued that the *kynēgetai* would be Asklepios's sons Machaon and Podalirios, who were known and represented as hunters (see Lamont, *ibid.*, 44, following von Eickstedt 2001, 11–13 and Ehrenheim's dissertation).

for bloodless offerings mentioned by Aristophanes.³⁵² Further evidence for *prothymata*, from Epidauros, appears to be found in a series of altars set up for members of Asklepios's family (Machaon, Podalirios), other healing divinities (Herakles, possibly Iatros), and an apparent heroine (Danaa), and these have been compared to the altars from Attica and the list of gods who were to receive such offerings at Pergamon.³⁵³ Moreover, a fourth-century BCE *lex sacra* from Epidauros that provides prices for the items that visitors might need to purchase from the priest of Asklepios or Apollo Maleatas for their preliminary sacrifices refers to unspecified offerings that cost three *obols*, and it is a reasonable inference that these would have been cakes, if not other bloodless offerings.³⁵⁴ Thus, as these varied texts show, bloodless offerings played an important role in the cult of Asklepios, most notably preceding incubation, but since cakes and other such offerings were typical of Greek religion in general this does not appear to be especially significant.

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- 352 Moirai: *IG* 11² 4971 (= *LSCG* 22; from Peiraeus). Artemis: *IG* 11² 4970 (= *LSCG* 23; from Peiraeus). Herakles: *IG* 11² 4986 (= *LSCG* 24; from Athenian *Asklepieion*). Apollo Pythios: *IG* 11² 4987, 4989 (= *LSCG* 25A–B; from Athenian *Asklepieion*; heavily restored). Mnemosyne: *I.Agora* V603 (= *SEG* 21, 786 = *LSCG* 26; found reused in a modern house at the Agora). Unidentified divinity: *IG* 11² 4988 (= *LSCG* 27; from Athenian *Asklepieion*). On these dedications, see Petropoulou 1991, 27–29, Kearns 1994, 68, and *NGSL*², p. 64. Aristophanes: see p. 249.
- 353 Machaon: *IG* 1V² 1, 152. Podalirios: *I.Epidauros* 28. Herakles: *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 221. Iatros: *IG* 1V² 1, 533, cf. *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 220. (If Hiller von Gättringen is correct that it is a base then it must be excluded from the list.) Danaa: *I.Epidauros* 29. See Petropoulou 1991, 25–31; see also Melfi 2007a, 28–29.
- 354 *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 336 (ll. 1–9 edited earlier as *LSCG Suppl.* 22, and ll. 10–15 in Oikonomides 1960, 2512 (= *SEG* 22, 276), of which Peek, whose text appears to be superior, was unaware). For the likelihood that the unspecified offerings referred to as τούτων (l. 5) would have been *popana*, see Petropoulou 1991, 26. Although the inscription does not specifically refer to incubation, the fact that it pertains to “those who are making preliminary sacrifices” (τοῖς προθυμομένοις) in l. 2 and refers to *prothesis* in the next line strongly suggests that this was its implied purpose, as Petropoulou has argued due to the term's close association with incubation (*ibid.*, 26–27). This link is strengthened by the lines that follow (quoted below), in which are provided the prices for firewood needed to offer a piglet or grown pig—the same animal elsewhere linked to incubation (see p. 254), though of course linked to many other rituals as well. Reference to the cost of a wreath may also be significant (ll. 6–7), due to the use of olive wreaths at Pergamon (see pp. 258–259). The inscription was found reused in a Late Antique wall northwest of the temple of Apollo Maleatas and thus may not have originated at the *Asklepieion* itself, though from its contents this seems most likely. (For its findspot, see Papadimitriou 1949, 366.)

Cakes and sacrificial animals were not the only sort of offering given in advance, as two of the sacred laws from *Asklepieia* indicate what Aristophanes and others do not: that, at least at some sanctuaries, those about to engage in incubation were required to pay a small fee. The best source for this is the Pergamon *lex sacra*, which specifies that after one intending to engage in incubation had made the preliminary offerings of cakes and sacrificed a pig he was to put three *obols* in the *thesauros* (ἐμβάλλετω δὲ εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς[ς]), and later repeats this requirement for those wishing to sleep in the “small” incubation dormitory.³⁵⁵ This also appears to be indicated by the Amphipolis *lex sacra*, which makes mention of a drachma (δραχμὴν τε[λεῖν(?) ---]) and subsequently uses language associated with payments and “the money” (τὸ ἀργύριον ΕΠΙΤ[---] | ὅς δ’ ἄμ μὴ ΠΑΡ[---] | τῶι θεῶι διπλάς [---] | θύῃ θεῶι ΕΝΤΕΜ[---] | τελείτω τὰ νομ[ιζόμενα ---]), though the overall sense of the passage or passages cannot be reconstructed, and it is not altogether clear whether these two passages refer to payments before or after incubation, or both.³⁵⁶

Even though Aristophanes and these other sources indicate that it was possible to initiate incubation without an animal sacrifice that was intended as an offering, other evidence suggests that worshipers did routinely engage in sacrifice—though perhaps sometimes as a purification ritual rather than an offering. This type of distinction is illustrated by Pausanias’s description of engaging in incubation at the Oropos *Amphiareion*, where sacrifice would be made to Amphiaraos and those sharing his altar because “it is cleansing to sacrifice to the god” (ἔστι δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν), following which a ram would

355 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 8, 23 (quoting l. 8); see Wörrle 1969, 176. For the epigraphical evidence for *thesauroi* at Epidauros, Kos, Lebena, Pergamon, and possibly Rhodes (and also the Oropos *Amphiareion*) as well as archaeological evidence for them at several other *Asklepieia*, see Melfi 1998–2000, a detailed study of *thesauros* structures at Lebena and elsewhere, and Gorrini/Melfi 2002, 256–265, which concludes that monetary payments were made into large, secure *thesauros* containers as part of seeking a cure, whereas both gifts or payments made after being cured were put in pit-like or well-like constructions embedded in the ground (see Sect. 3.4.4.4 for payments made following a cure). For a detailed study of the structure at the Lebena *Asklepieion* identified as the *thesauros*, see Melfi 1998–2000, followed by a briefer treatment in Melfi 2007b, 50–53; see also Riethmüller 2005, 11:58 and Melfi 2007a, 300. For *thesauroi* of all types, see the catalog and discussion of Gabriele Kaminski (Kaminski 1991).

356 *SEG* 44, 505, ll. 4, 11–15 (= *NGSL*² 13, with discussion at p. 247). For the Amphipolis *Asklepieion*, see n. 230.

be sacrificed.³⁵⁷ While Pausanias does not specify the nature of the purificatory sacrifice, it is likely to have been a piglet—an animal that often played a role in purification rituals among the Greeks, and is to be found mentioned in the cult regulation from Epidauros as well as shown in several reliefs from Attica.³⁵⁸ The purpose of the Epidaurian *lex sacra* is unclear, however, since it sets the price of firewood for offering a suckling pig at a half *obol* and for a grown pig at a full *obol* (σχίζαν δὲ ἐπὶ [τοῖς] | ἀπαλλοίσις ἡμιοδέλιον, [ἐπὶ δὲ] | τοῖς τελέοις ὀδελόν), but does not specify the purpose of such sacrifices or link them to incubation—but if pig or piglet sacrifices were a crucial step in the process then such an inscription might be expected.³⁵⁹ Arguing against this, though, is the later *lex sacra* from Pergamon, which demonstrates the use of pigs as offerings rather than purificatory sacrifices, since after instructions regarding the dedication of *popana* to various gods it dictates that the worshiper “shall sacrifice a suckling pig to Asklepios on the altar and place on the cult table the right leg and entrails” (θυέτω χοῖρον γαλαθηνόν | [τῷ Ἀσκλη]ηπιῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τραπεζούσθω σκέλος δεξι[ι] | [ὄν καὶ σπ]λάγχχνα), and the fact that an offering is made on the cult table indicates a non-purificatory sacrifice.³⁶⁰ The other sacred law from the Pergamon *Asklepieion* may reveal the use of a different animal for purifications—a white rooster—but the inscription’s damaged state prevents a reliable reading (περικαθαίρε[τω ---] | [ἀλεκτρού?]νι λευκῶι καὶ θείῳι καὶ δα[δῖ?]).³⁶¹ Perhaps significantly, the lost relief believed to come from the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* showed not only a typical incubation scene with Asklepios supervising a patient’s treatment, but also four worshipers with a servant leading a pig—the same animal found in other, more generic reliefs featuring processions of Asklepios’s worshipers, and thus one likely to have been offered for different occasions.³⁶² These and other documents, along with

357 Paus. 1.34.5 (quoted p. 281). See in the accompanying discussion the reference to a relief from Oropos showing both a ram and a pig being brought in procession to the sanctuary (Athens, N.M. 1395 (= Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 210, No. 427)).

358 For the purificatory aspects of these burned sacrifices, see Petropoulou 1991, 29–30; for pigs in purification rituals, see Clinton 2005, 168–178; cf. Hermay 2004, 103–104 and Paoletti 2004, 23–24.

359 *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 336, ll. 7–9 (see n. 354).

360 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 6–8; cf. ll. 1–2, 15–18; see Wörrle 1969, 175–176 (on ll. 6–8).

361 *I.Pergamon* 2, 264, ll. 4–5 (see n. 189).

362 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2. Other reliefs representing a sacrificial pig include one from Epidauros that is now believed lost (van Straten 1995, 282–283, No. R33 + fig. 58; see n. 113) and some from the Athenian *Asklepieion* (e.g., Athens, N.M. 1330 (= Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* 1:245–246, No. 27 + Pl. 35, 2 = van Straten, *ibid.*, 276, No. R6 + fig. 62 = LIMC 11, “Asklepios” No. 63 + photo = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 223, No. 466 + photo = Leventi 2003, 152–153, No. R69 + Pl. 45),

a small group of other sources, can only provide a general sense of the nature of the preliminary offerings made at *Asklepieia* by those intending to engage in incubation, but since the evidence for both blood and bloodless offerings is so limited both geographically and chronologically it is not possible to obtain a complete picture.

While there is no doubt that pigs were appropriate sacrificial animals for those about to engage in incubation at an *Asklepieion*, regardless of how frequently this was done, the conclusion that rams were occasionally sacrificed and their skins slept upon is far more problematic.³⁶³ Support for this has been found in three questionable sources: Pausanias's comment regarding the use of sacrificial ram skins for incubation at the Oropos *Amphiareion*, the carved representation of worshipers sleeping on animal skins in some of the incubation reliefs from the Athens and Peiraeus *Asklepieia*, and a comment by Jerome that refers to the practice occurring in his day. Despite the many similarities between Asklepios and Amphiaraos, including the fact that there are reliefs showing worshipers of the latter likewise employing ram skins, the

N.M. 1334 (= Svoronos, *ibid.* 1:254, No. 31 + Pl. 38, 2 = van Straten, *ibid.*, 277, No. R9 + fig. 64 = LIMC II, "Asklepios" No. 338 + photo = Leventi, *ibid.*, 141, No. R33 + Pl. 25), and N.M. 1377 (= Svoronos, *ibid.* 11:294–296, No. 74 + Pl. 48 = van Straten, *ibid.*, 279, No. R18 + fig. 67 = LIMC II, "Asklepios" No. 201 + photo = Droste 2001, 64 + Pl. 12a = Leventi, *ibid.*, 143, No. R37 + Pl. 27); cf. Athens, N.M. 1402 (= Svoronos, *ibid.* 11:351–352, No. 100 + Pl. 35, 4 = van Straten, *ibid.*, 279, No. R19 + fig. 66 = LIMC II, "Asklepios" No. 248 + photo = Leventi, *ibid.*, 138–139, No. R24 + Pl. 21)). Pigs were not the only sacrificial animal appearing in such reliefs: in addition, another Peiraeus relief shows a family that has brought Asklepios a sheep (Athens, N.M. 1407 (= Svoronos, *ibid.*, 11:356–357, No. 105 + Pl. 65 = van Straten, *ibid.*, 281, No. R27 + fig. 61, cf. pp. 64–65 = LIMC II, "Asklepios" No. 202 + photo = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 210, No. 426 + photo)), while a bovine victim is known from an Athenian relief (Louvre 755 (= van Straten, *ibid.*, 280, No. R23 + fig. 63 = LIMC II, "Asklepios" No. 64 + photo)) and another believed to have been from the Peiraeus site (Athens, N.M. 1429 (= Svoronos, *ibid.*, 11:434–435, No. 128 + Pl. 37 = van Straten, *ibid.*, 281–282, No. R28 + fig. 65 = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 214, No. 437 + photo)). On these reliefs, see van Straten, *ibid.*, 63–68. It is unclear whether these other animals would have been brought for the same reason or reasons as pigs, or if the pigs represented purifications whereas the other animals were post-recovery offerings brought for the god out of gratitude. It is also possible that all types of animals shown on the reliefs were meant as such thank-offerings, and reliefs did not normally feature animals brought for purificatory purposes. Since Herodas indicates that pigs could be given as thank-offerings by those who could afford it the latter may well have been the case (Herod. 4.11–16; see n. 386).

363 This was the conclusion, echoed elsewhere, of Angeliki Petropoulou, in an influential study arguing that while not a requirement, some worshipers at *Asklepieia* would sacrifice rams, which were relatively expensive, and sleep upon their skins (Petropoulou 1985).

literary and iconographical evidence for this practice at Oropos is not strong proof that ram skins were similarly employed at *Asklepieia*, especially since it is far from certain that this was a standard element of therapeutic incubation at the *Amphiareion*.³⁶⁴ While it is possible that these reliefs reveal ram sacrifices by those who were wealthy enough to afford such a relief, instead the appearance of these skins in some of the *Amphiaraos* reliefs might be an iconographical motif meant to signal to the viewer that incubation, albeit therapeutic incubation, was being represented, and this may well be true of the Attic reliefs as well: after all, it appears that divinatory incubation, which at certain sites did make use of sacrificial rams and their skins, preceded the development of therapeutic incubation, so this visual element could have been retained out of convention even if the practice itself was not, quickly signaling to the viewer the reason for a sculpted figure reclining on a couch or bed.³⁶⁵ Thus the Peiraeus relief and two fragmentary ones from the Athenian *Asklepieion* that likewise appear to represent a patient lying atop a *klinē* and an animal skin while engaging in therapeutic incubation, along with other reliefs onto which a skin may have been painted,³⁶⁶ need not indicate that practices employed for soliciting oracular dreams at certain shrines affected the cult of *Asklepios*, as has been claimed.³⁶⁷ Nor should Jerome's comment be viewed as evidence that animal skins were being employed at *Asklepieia* in Late Antiquity, since the belief that this was his intended meaning is based on a questionable reading of the Latin. In a commentary on a passage in *Isaiah*

364 On the issue of rams and their skins being employed for incubation at Oropos, see pp. 282–287 and 314–315.

365 Sineux has argued that animal skins would be included in incubation reliefs to document an animal sacrifice and its skin's subsequent use by the individual commissioning the dedication (Sineux 2007b, 17), but there is no way to demonstrate that this was indeed the case, and assumes that reliefs were intended as detailed, accurate representations of a worshiper's experience.

366 According to Tae Jensen, who has conducted a study of the reliefs (see p. 635n.2), there is reason to believe that reliefs that do not feature a carved animal skin instead had a painted one, as he will argue in the work he is preparing (personal communication).

367 Cat. Nos. Ask.-Peir. 1 and Ask.-Ath. 5, 6. Both fragmentary reliefs from Athens only preserve the head and upper torso of a man resting on a *klinē* with a cushion under his head and part of an animal skin hanging down, but *Asklepios* and other figures are lost. For the possibility that the practice, having originated at a dream-oracle rather than a healing site, spread from *Amphiaraos*'s cult at Oropos to *Asklepios*'s in Attica in the late fifth century BCE, see Petropoulou 1985, 177; cf. Sineux 2007a, 167–168. (That one cult would have influenced the other is perhaps to be expected, given the strong similarities between the two (see p. 272).)

criticizing people “who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places,”³⁶⁸ Jerome focuses on those pagans who would engage in such sacrilege:

*Nihil fuit sacrilegii quod Israel populus praetermitteret, non solum in hortis immolans, et super lateres thura succendens, sedens quoque, vel habitans in sepulcris, et in delubris idolorum dormiens, ubi stratis pellibus hostiarum incubare soliti erant, ut somniis futura cognoscerent. Quod in fano Aesculapii usque hodie error celebrat ethnicorum multorumque aliorum, quae non sunt aliud, nisi tumuli mortuorum.*³⁶⁹

There was no sacrilege that the people of Israel failed to commit, not only making sacrifices in their gardens, and burning incense on bricks, but also sitting or even living among tombs and sleeping in the sanctuaries of idols, where people were accustomed to incubate upon the outspread skins of sacrificial victims in order to learn the future through dreams—a practice which even to this day in the shrine of Aesculapius and in those of many others [*i.e.*, gods], which are nothing more than the tombs of the dead, the pagans celebrate in their misguided way.

The Latin, however, is ambiguous, since the comment in the clause introduced by *quod* appears to be a general reference to the practice of incubation at one or more *Asklepieia* and cult sites of other gods, and neither states nor implies that animal skins were used in the process there—at best, it is clear that he believes that some among the Jews had used them in earlier times. Overall, therefore, there is no evidence that rams were ever regularly sacrificed at *Asklepieia* by those wishing to engage in incubation, and even the possibility that this was done for a short time in the decades after the cult’s introduction to Attica—the period to which the reliefs date—cannot be shown based on

368 *Isaiah* 65:4 (see p. 32).

369 Jerome, *Comm. in Esaiam* 18.65.4/5, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 73, p. 747 (= *PL* 24, 632C–633A). Among those citing Jerome as evidence for the use of skins at *Asklepieia* are Sineux 2007a, 172n.41 and Petropoulou 1985, 170. This passage is problematic in part because *fano Aesculapii* presumably refers to sanctuaries of Asklepios in general rather than a specific one that Jerome had in mind (as noted by Petropoulou at n.8, though mistakenly naming Eusebius), and *quae* must pertain both to the *fanum/fana* of Asklepios and, expanding the author’s apparent ellipsis, the (*fana*) *multorum aliorum* (*deorum*). Eusebius also commented on this passage of *Isaiah*, but did not refer to current practices (Euseb., *Comm. in Esaiam* 2.55, p. 393, ed. Ziegler). (I am grateful to Francis Newton for his views on this passage.)

the limited evidence. At most, it appears that rams could be sacrificed by those rich enough to afford such an offering, but this was hardly a requirement.

3.4.4.3 Bedding Down for the Night

In contrast to the uncertainty regarding whether those sleeping in an incubation dormitory at Athens or another *Asklepieion* would be resting upon an animal skin, there is no doubt that they typically employed a straw mat (or a mattress), pillows, and other bedding materials—with the latter two employed strictly for comfort rather than ritual requirements, while a straw mat in certain times and places perhaps served a ritual purpose. Evidence for the use of these two items—which is hardly surprising—is to be found in the Attic incubation reliefs from both the cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos, some of which show patients employing pillows and sheets, or just pillows in the case of a few broken ones;³⁷⁰ furthermore, in a fragment of Aristophanes's lost *Amphiaraos* a character is seen calling for a mattress and pillow while engaging in incubation at Oropos, or else before heading to the sanctuary for that purpose.³⁷¹ As is suggested by Aristophanes in the *Plutus*, at least some of those intending to spend the night at an *Asklepieion* would bring bedding materials with them, which may even be indicated in some reliefs showing servants carrying large hampers with undisclosed contents.³⁷² Since these were not required for incubation, the Pergamon *lex sacra* makes no reference to them, but only mandated the use of a στῖβας (*i.e.*, a bed of reeds or straw associated with rituals); and, from the context of instructing the worshiper to leave on it the olive wreath that he had been wearing when making offerings (τὸν δὲ

370 Pillows: Cat. Nos. Ask.-Peir. 1, 2, Ask.-Ath. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and Amph.-Orop. 1 (and possible incubation reliefs Ask.-Ath. 10, 14 and 15). Sheets: Cat. Nos. Ask.-Ath. 2, 5, Amph.-Orop. 1, 2, and Amph.-Rhamn. 1 (and possible incubation reliefs Ask.-Ath. 7, 10). In the case of Cat. Nos. Ask.-Ath. 3, 6, and 15 the relief is broken below the head, so any bedding that may have been present is now missing; conversely, Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1 is broken on the left side where a pillow would have been; and, in the case of Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 1 the break makes it impossible to tell whether either element was present. In addition, the lost Peiraeus relief represented one or two pillows (Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2), though it is unclear if there was also a sheet, while Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1, a fully intact relief, shows the patient using a pillow but not a sheet, as is also true of the inscribed relief for Amphiaraos found at modern Kalamos (Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 3), but in contrast the Archinos relief from this sanctuary clearly represents both sheets and a pillow (Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1).

371 Ar., *Amphiaraos*, frag. 18 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2 (quoted p. 284n.30).

372 Ar., *Plut.* 624–626. For the reliefs, see n. 267. This issue of references to, and representations of, bedding has previously been addressed by Petropoulou 1985, 175.

στέφανον ὁ ἐγκοιμώμενος | [ἀποτιθέμ]εγος καταλειπέτω ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος) it can be inferred that the portion missing from the beginning of the inscription probably included a reference to the preparation of this temporary bed (and perhaps the wreath as well).³⁷³ This missing section may also have made reference to what one was to wear—presumably the wreath that is mentioned in the surviving portion, and the white robe apparently mentioned in the other *lex sacra* just before what appears to be a reference to an olive wreath—as well as what *not* to wear, since in addition to one or two other prohibitions now lost this other inscription appears to indicate that neither rings nor belts were acceptable and that one was to go barefoot ([--- ? ἐν ἱμα]τίοις λευκοῖς, ἀγνοῖς ἐλάας ἔ[ρνεσιν ἐστεμμένους], | [ἔχων (*vel sim.*) μήτε δακ]τύλιον, μήτε ζώνην, μ[ήτε? ---] | [---]ς, [ἀν]υπόδητο[ς]).³⁷⁴ While the use of mats, pillows and other bedding is not in doubt—though the absence of *stibades* from any of the incubation reliefs raises the question of whether for the Asklepios cult they were a Hellenistic- or Roman-era innovation—it is unclear to what extent those engaging in incubation would, like the figures shown in the incubation reliefs, use a couch or bench rather than sleep on the floor.³⁷⁵ After having bedded down, as shown in the *Plutus*, those who were eagerly awaiting Asklepios would witness the sacred lamps being extinguished and receive final instructions from a temple servant—and, if fortunate, receive a therapeutic dream sometime before sunrise.³⁷⁶

373 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 2, 14–15 (quoted). As noted above, the same term is to be found in Aristophanes's account of incubation in the *Plutus* (see p. 238). For the use of *stibades* in religion and other areas of Greek life (though with minimal attention to the Asklepios cult, as this *lex sacra* had not yet been published), see Verpoorten 1962 and now Jaccottet 2011; cf. Paradiso 1987, proposing an explanation for the ritual that is not convincing, and Poulsen (B.) 2005.

374 *I.Pergamon* 2, 264, ll. 9–11 (quoted pp. 196–197). See Petropoulou 1985, 175, who notes that those engaging in incubation would be dressed, as is revealed both by reliefs and Aristophanes's reference to Karion covering himself with his *tribonion* (*Ar., Plut.* 713–715); see also n. 311, on the possibility that the character Chremylos had his slaves bring bed-clothes. For the regulation of clothing worn by those honoring Asklepios, see Dillon 1994, 246. A parallel for the apparent prohibition on the wearing of rings can be found in Ovid's account of Numa incubating at Faunus's grove, since it is said that he was to wear no ring (*Ov., Fast.* 4.658). Riethmüller has suggested that since olive wreaths were employed in this manner it would have been olive trees growing in Asklepios's sacred groves (Riethmüller 2005, 1:380), but even if it is known that olive trees grew at certain *Asklepieia* there were enough around without there being a need to denude sacred groves.

375 For the issue of whether the stone benches found at Oropos and a small number of *Asklepieia* have been correctly treated as evidence for incubation, see n. 30.

376 *Ar., Plut.* 668–670.

3.4.4.4 Payments for Successful Cures

The following morning, those who had been visited by the god and felt themselves to have been cured undoubtedly would have announced this to their companions: Karion's description of the celebrations in the *Plutus* following Wealth's recovery of his eyesight no doubt reflects a scene that was not uncommon at the major *Asklepieia*, as is likewise indicated by the testimonial inscription from Rome preserving accounts of four healing miracles that were each celebrated in public.³⁷⁷ Such a phenomenon is also alluded to in an unexpected place, a passage by the second-century Christian writer Tatian criticizing incubation in which he refers to the "demons" who would heal the sick in their dreams so as to bask in praise:

οὐ θεραπεύουσιν οἱ δαίμονες, τέχνη δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἰχμαλωτεύουσι· καὶ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστίνος ὀρθῶς ἐξεφώνησεν εἰκέναι τοὺς προειρημένους λησταίς. [3] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἔθος ἐστὶ ζωγρεῖν τινας, εἴτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισθοῦ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀποκαθιστάν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ νομιζόμενοι θεοὶ τοῖς τινων ἐπιφοιτῶντες μέλεσιν, ἔπειτα δι' ὀνείρων τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς πραγματευόμενοι δόξαν δημοσίᾳ τε τοὺς τοιούτους προῖέναι κελεύσαντες πάντων ὁρώντων, ἐπειδὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἀποπτάμενοι τῶν καμνόντων, ἦν ἐπραγματεύσαντο νόσον περιγράφοντες, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκαθιστῶσιν.³⁷⁸

The *daimones* do not heal, but rather capture people by craft. And the most marvelous Justin (Martyr) properly declared the aforementioned to resemble bandits, for just as it is customary for bandits to take some people captive and then restore them to their families upon payment, so too these so-called gods, invading some people's bodies, subsequently through dreams create the belief that is in them and order them in such a state to go forward in public for all to see. When they have enjoyed their praises, they fly forth from the sick, terminating the disease that they had created, and restore these people to their original condition.

Others would awaken after having received a dream that informed them of the course they needed to pursue, and after following this prescription or regimen—first, perhaps, consulting a priest or temple official regarding the dream, though any role they might have had remains unclear³⁷⁹—might find

377 Ar., *Plut.* 742–747; *IGUR* I 148 (quoted pp. 231–232).

378 Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 18.2–3.

379 See pp. 226–228.

themselves cured after some period of time.³⁸⁰ And still others, no doubt a significant number, would end up neither healed nor enlightened regarding how to obtain a cure, and would need to go through the process again. The evidence for this third and least optimal outcome may be implied by literary sources and inscriptions recording long stays at *Asklepieia*, during which the sufferer perhaps engaged in incubation repeatedly, but it is clearly indicated in the lines in the Pergamon *lex sacra* stating that someone who wishes to consult the god about the same ailment again must sacrifice another piglet (ἐάν δέ τις βού[λ]ηται ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπερωτᾶν πλεονάκις, προθυέσθω χοῖρον[ν]).³⁸¹ Those whose needs had been satisfied had one more step to follow: the giving of “medical fees” (ἱατρὰ) as a thank-offering (as would also be done by those who regained their health without incubation).³⁸² The most basic form of payment

380 It has been suggested by Melfi that a fragmentary inscription from the Lebena *Asklepieion* which is likely to preserve one or more healing testimonies may have recorded that the god instead of a prescription indicated a ritual to be undertaken in the sanctuary (*I. Cret* 1, xvii, 15 (= Melfi 2007b, 170–171, No. 14)): [---] | [---] ΩΣ εἰ ΚΑΘΑΡΕ | [---] ΟΡΟΣ ὁ Λεβηναι[ί]ος --- τὰν δευ[τέρ]αν ἐπιτα[λ]α[γὴν] --- | ΝΟΡΟΝ ΑΝ[---] ἄν[---] φιλῶς ἀνφί τὰν | [---] ΣΕΙ καὶ περὶ ΠΙΤ | [---] τὸ ἄδυτον | [---] τ[ρι]άκις κ[α]τὰς | [---] ΟΝ Ερμασον |¹⁰ [---] ΘΑΙ τὰν ΤΡΙΑΚ | [---] ΩΣΑΙ τῷ Σ. . . | [---] ΤΩ ΔΕΚΑ . . . | [---] ΑΙΟΝΙΟΝ . . . | [---] Ν . . . This, however, is far from certain, and such testimonial inscriptions typically only refer to prescriptions and regimens. Moreover, some of the language noted by Melfi, as well as other words and word fragments (e.g., [---] ΤΩ ΔΕΚΑ in l. 12, which could be an imperative verb followed by the number ten, possibly in reference to a payment), might instead suggest a sacred law.

381 *I. Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 15–16; see Wörle 1969, 181–182. The same cost—i.e., a piglet—was to be paid if the person wished to engage in incubation regarding a different matter. See also Philostratus's account of Apollonius of Tyana visiting Pergamon and advising the suppliants (ἰκέται) on how to “ensure auspicious dreams” (εὐξυμβόλων ὀνειράτων τεύξονται), which reflects that incubation did not automatically bring success (Philostr., *VA* 4.11.1; see Dillon 1994, 248). For long stays at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 236–237.

382 The term most frequently used for offerings given as payment for a cure was ἱατρὰ, which in reference to Asklepios appears in several epigraphical and literary sources, including the Epidaurian “Miracle Inscriptions” (*IG* IV² 1, 121, l. 45 (= Test. No. 5) (quoted n. 388), 122, l. 7 (= Test. No. 22), and l. 35 (= Test. No. 25)), dedicatory inscriptions from Epidauros (*IG* IV² 1, 126 (l. 20, quoted pp. 169–171), 258, 560, 571), the Pergamon *lex sacra* concerning incubation (see next note), an epigram of Posidippus (Posidipp. 97, eds. Austin/Bastianini), a dedication to Asklepios from the area of Gyrtone in Thessaly (*SEG* 47, 729), and Herodas's mime about two women visiting an *Asklepieion* to make a thank-offering (Herod. 4.16; see n. 386). This term was not limited to the cult of Asklepios, as a fourth-century BCE epigram for Herakles from near Geronthrai in Lakonia on a dedication given “in place of *iatria*” (ἱάτρων ἀντὶ) shows (*IG* V.1, 1119; see Robert, *Hell.* IV, 84), as do inscriptions from the cult of Sarapis at Delos (see pp. 354–357). On this term see van Brock 1961, 69–72; cf. Samama, *Médecins*, p. 83 and Sineux 2007a, 179–180n.70. As an alternative, worshippers

was coinage, and the discovery of *thesauroi* at several major *Asklepieia* demonstrates that money was commonly given to the god, as does the reference in the main Pergamon *lex sacra* to those who had become healthy giving a Phokaian *hektē* to Asklepios and another to Apollo as “medical fees” by placing these in Asklepios’s *thesauros* (ἐμβαλέτωσαν δὲ | [εἰς τὸν θησ]αυρὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἱατρὰ, Φωκαῖδα τῶι Ἀπό[λ.] | [λῶνι καὶ Φ]ωκαῖδα τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι, ὕγειεῖς γενόμενοι).³⁸³ Such payments were evidently always required, but as the preceding lines of the Pergamon inscription show, in some cases worshipers were expected to make an extra offering, not necessarily in coinage, if the god had demanded it.³⁸⁴ The Pergamon *lex sacra* in fact indicates that it was typical for there to be two phases of payment associated with incubation, and possibly a third: one before spending the night seeking dreams from Asklepios and the other in the successful aftermath, and one more if it was believed that the god had sought an additional gratuity.³⁸⁵

sometimes instead employed the term σῶστρον (“gift for deliverance”), which instead of money appears to have been used for objects, as can be seen in a dedication of a statue to Asklepios made in Rome by the physician Nikomedes of Smyrna (*IGUR* 1 102A, l. 1 and 102B, l. 1 (= Renberg 2006–07, 140–141, Cat. No. 8)) and another from Epidauros (*IG* IV² 1, 483), as well as a base from Thasos recording that “I bear a gift for the deliverance of my innards, (given) according to a dream” (σπλάγι|χνων σῶ|στρον φέρω | κατ’ ὄναρ) (*SEG* 18, 354). The term also appears to have been used for gifts seeking ongoing protection, since the Rome inscription’s first text refers to Nikomedes having been cured, while the other also praises Asklepios for having helped him avoid illness. As Nadia van Brock details, the -τρον ending indicates compensation for work (van Brock, *ibid.*, 69–70): thus ἱατρὰ and σῶστρον indicate compensation for healing and recovery without indicating how this was achieved, and therefore their use would not have been limited to cures obtained through incubation. In addition, μισθός, the generic word for a wage and also one that could be employed for a physician’s fee (*LSJ*, p. 1137, s.v. “μισθός” 1.2; cf. Ar., *Plut.* 408), appears in one Epidaurian testimony, in reference to a silver pig dedicated to Asklepios (*IG* IV² 1, 121, l. 38 (= Test. No. 4); quoted p. 177).

383 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 31–33; see Wörrle 1969, 184–187. The badly damaged Amphipolis *lex sacra* may also refer to payments made following incubation (*SEG* 44, 505 (= *NGSL*² 13); see n. 230). Pausanias’s statement that those successfully healed by Amphiaraos at Oropos would put gold and silver coins in the sacred spring represents an important parallel for this practice (Paus. 1.34.4; quoted p. 288). At least one of two Epidaurian testimonies also indicates a payment following a cure: *IG* IV² 1, 124, ll. 5–9 (= Test. No. 68), in which *thesauros* is restored, and possibly *IG* IV² 1, 124, ll. 9–13 (= Test. No. 69), in which the context is less clear (see Melfi 1998–2000, 306 with table at p. 301, including only Test. No. 68; for these testimonies, see n. 385).

384 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 29–31 (quoted below).

385 See Gorrini/Melfi 2002, 260 on this point, though only noting two phases. An Epidaurian testimony appears to record the giving of a *mina* of silver following a recovery, but since

Though not necessarily a “cock for Asklepios,” the offering made famous by Socrates’s cryptic last words “Crito, I owe a cock to Asklepios” (ἦν Κρίτων, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρούνα),³⁸⁶ non-monetary thank-offerings for

it is damaged it is impossible to tell whether it was the sum that had been vowed or an additional gift (*IG* IV² 1, 124, ll. 5–9 (= Test. No. 68)); similarly, the damaged testimony that follows it refers to sacrifice as well as a *thesauros*, raising the possibility of a monetary gift in addition to a sacrifice (*IG* IV² 1, 124, ll. 9–13 (= Test. No. 69); for *thesauroi* and incubation, see n. 355).

- 386 Pl., *Phd.* 118A; see Dillon 1994, 254–255 and Stafford 2008, 210–212 for the giving of cocks to Asklepios, and Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:296–299, Nos. 523–531 for a collection of the ancient sources, to which might be added the reference in the testimonial inscription from Rome to using a white rooster’s blood in making an eye salve (*IGUR* 1 148, ll. 15–18; quoted pp. 231–232). The most prominent example is the one briefly mentioned in Herodas’s fourth *Mime*, when the worshiper Kynno apologizes for not sacrificing to Asklepios a more expensive animal such as a bull or pig as a thank-offering for her recovery, and thus demonstrating that a cock was by no means required (Herod. 4.11–16; on this poem, see Sineux 2004b). Some worshipers chose an even cheaper alternative, as shown by the discovery of terracottas at Athens and Corinth which might have been given in lieu of sacrifices (see van Straten 1995, 54, citing Roebuck 1951, 143, No. 50 + Pl. 56, a small terracotta rooster); however, it is worth considering the suggestion of van Straten, *ibid.*, 54–55 that animal terracottas might have been intended not to represent a sacrifice, but rather a prayer for protection of livestock, for which Aelian’s story of a single rooster being healed by Asklepios and then given to the god as a living dedication (ἀνάθημα) for his sanctuary may provide some support, especially since Aelian even ends the story by mentioning the god’s consideration for animals (Ael., frag. 101, ed. Domingo-Forasté (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:265–266, No. 466)). In addition to these, there is also another potential source for cocks being sacrificed to Asklepios (and as an alternative to a quadruped), but the inscribed *lex sacra* in question, from Rhodes, cannot be conclusively linked to the cult of Asklepios, and due to damage the context of the sacrifices it refers to is also unknown (*BE* 1946/47, 157, ll. 8–12 (= *LSCG Suppl.* 108); quoted n. 229). Although cocks are generally thought to have been a traditional sacrifice for those whom Asklepios had healed, an anecdote in Artemidorus shows that they could also be sacrificed to fulfill vows regarding the protection of one’s health:

εὐξατό τις τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, εἰ διὰ τοῦ ἔτους ἄνσος ἔλθοι, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἀλεκτρούνα· ἔπειτα διαλιπὼν ἡμέραν ἠϋξατο πάλιν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, εἰ μὴ ὀφθαλμιάσειεν, ἕτερον ἀλεκτρούνα θύσειν. καὶ δὴ εἰς νύκτα ἔδοξε λέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ‘εἰς μοι ἀλεκτροῦν ἄρκει’ ἄνσος μὲν οὖν ἔμεινεν, ὠφθαλμίασε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς· καὶ γὰρ μιᾷ εὐχῇ ὁ θεὸς ἀρκούμενος τὸ ἕτερον ἡρνεῖτο (Artem. 5.9).

A certain man vowed to Asklepios that if he should come through the year free of illness he would sacrifice a rooster to him, and then having waited a day he vowed a second time to Asklepios that if he did not become ophthalmic he would sacrifice another rooster. During the night Asklepios seemed to say to him, “A single rooster

Asklepios typically appear to have been sacrifices, since the Pergamon inscription makes clear that in addition to the giving of money another animal was to be sacrificed within a specific time frame.³⁸⁷ In the passage preceding the requirement that Phokaian coinage be given the god it is stated,

καθιστάτωσαν δὲ ἐγγύους τῶν ἰατρῶν τῶ[ι] | [θεῶι, ἃ ἂν α]ὐτοῦς πράσσηται,
ἀποδώσειν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ. | [c. 8] ἰατρὰ μὴ νεώτερα ἐνιαυσίων.³⁸⁸

They are to establish sureties of their medical fees [for the god, whatever] he exacts of them, that they will pay within a year. [---] medical fees not younger than a yearling.

The term ἐνιαύσιος, generally applied to quadrupeds, is unlikely to have referred to a rooster, and thus would indicate that an adult pig, sheep or bull was to be sacrificed.³⁸⁹ At Erythrai it is evident that an animal sacrifice for both Asklepios and Apollo was required following incubation (and, more generally, after one's votive prayers had been been successful), but the c. 380–360 BCE *lex sacra* from the sanctuary also preserves the unparalleled requirement that this was to be preceded by circling Apollo's altar three times and singing a *paean*:

suffices for me." And therefore the man remained healthy, but became badly ophthalmic. For the god, being satisfied with the one vow, rejected the other.

Nonetheless, despite this evidence for their being given to Asklepios under different circumstances, as noted by Stafford cocks are noticeably absent from the surviving dedicatory reliefs for Asklepios, which only show pigs, sheep and bovines (Stafford, *ibid.*, 212).

387 See also the testimony from Epidauros noting that a woman who had received from Asklepios a dream cryptically revealing the location of a coin hoard hidden by her deceased husband had "sacrificed to the god what is customary" (ἔθυσσε τῶι θεῶι τὰ νομιζόμενα) only after she had discovered it (IG IV² 1, 123, l. 21 (= Test. No. 46)). As this episode shows, a dream leading to the discovery of money could be rewarded by sacrifice rather than a share of the coins.

388 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 29–31. One of the earliest Epidaurian testimonies features a parallel for this passage, requiring that an offering be made within a year, though leaving open whether the term ἰατρὰ applied to money or animal sacrifices: according to the narrative, the father of a mute boy is bid "to promise that, if the matters for which he was present should happen, he would offer the medical fees within one year" (ὕποδέχεσθ[ῃ] ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ, τυχόντα ἐφ' ἃ πάρεστι, ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἰατρὰ) (IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 44–45 (= Test. No. 5)). While ἀποθυσεῖν due to its root θυσεῖν would seem more likely to pertain to animal sacrifice, it is too rare a verb for this to be certain, and the fact that it could be used for incense (Heliod., *Aeth.* 4.18.6) suggests that monetary offerings might also have been possible.

389 For animal sacrifice in the cult of Asklepios, see now Stafford 2008.

ὅσοι δὲ ἐγκατακοιμη|θέντες θυσίην ἀποδιδῶσιν τῷ Ἀσκλη|πιῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλ-
λωνι ἢ ἐξάμενοι θυ|σίην ἀποδιδῶσιν, ὅταν τὴν ἱρὴν μοῖ|ραν ἐπιθήι, παιωνίζειν
πρῶτον περὶ | τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τόνδε τὸν | παιῶνα ἐς τρίς·

Ἰὼ Παίων· ὦ, ἰὼ Παίων· |

ἰὼ Παίων· ὦ, ἰὼ Παίων·

ἰὼ Παίων· ὦ, ἰὼ Παίων· |

[ὦ] ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, φείδεο κούρων, φείδ[εο] |

[---].³⁹⁰

All who have been engaging in incubation are to make an offering to Asklepios and Apollo, or those who have made a vow (and are fulfilling it) are to make an offering, (and) whenever one places the sacred portion (on the altar) one is to first sing a *paean* about the altar of Apollo three times. This *paean*:

Iē Paiōn, ō, Iē Paiōn,

Iē Paiōn, ō, Iē Paiōn,

Iē Paiōn, ō, Iē Paiōn.

Ō Lord Apollo, spare the young men, spare [---].

Presumably, such ritual singing and movement was practiced at other sites, even if documents referring to it have not yet been discovered.

“Medical fees,” as with thank-offerings in any cult, could also take the form of a more permanent gift than money or charred animal flesh.³⁹¹ Such gifts were typically carved from stone (most commonly statues and statuettes, reliefs,

390 *I.Erythr* II 205, ll. 30–38 (= *LSAM* 24A); see Graf 1985, 250–255 and *NGSL*², pp. 64–65. On the back of this stele are a badly damaged *paean* for Apollo (ll. 41–55) and a complete one for Asklepios (ll. 56–73), both inscribed in 281 BCE. The three texts are reprinted as Käppel 1992, 370–373, Nos. 36a–b and 37, with discussion at pp. 189–206; for the Asklepios *paean* alone, see also *Steinepigramme* I, 375–377, No. 03/07/01, Bremmer/Furley 2001, 1:210–214, 11:161–167 (with translation), Cerbo 2010, and Piguet 2012, 56–57, 76–78 *et pass.*, works mostly focusing on its poetic qualities. (The Asklepios *paean* has also been found in fragmentary inscriptions at Athens, Dion and Ptolemais: see Piguet 2012, 82–86 for texts and references.) For *paean*-singing after a sacrificial meal, see Bremmer 1981, 206–207, followed by discussion of the Erythrai *paean* to Asklepios at pp. 207–210.

391 Three of the dedicatory inscriptions from Epidauros employing the term ἱάτρα record the gift of a statue, demonstrating that the term did indeed apply to objects as well as coinage and sacrifice, while one of the testimonies used the more generic μισθός for a silver pig (see n. 382). (See p. 350n.38 for the gift of a small bowl as ἱατρεία to the Egyptian gods on Delos having been recorded among the temple inventories (*I.Delos* 1417, A, col. ii, l. 119, *etc.*), further demonstrating the broad use of the term.)

altars, and steles or plaques), molded from metal as a representation of a divinity (*e.g.*, statues and statuettes, repoussé reliefs) or formed into a particular object (*e.g.*, bowls, cups, rings, serpents), or else carved or painted on wood.³⁹² Many of these dedications bore inscriptions that at the very least would name the healed worshiper, and sometimes also gave details regarding his or her ailment. On occasion inscriptions even gave a detailed account of the worshiper's experiences on the road to recovery—and when incubation was involved, such testimonies might be prompted by sanctuary officials or even the god himself.³⁹³ Quite often, instead of giving such generic gifts as altars or statues, those healed by Asklepios gave the god a gift that was unique to situations involving the restoration of health, and thus found primarily at *Asklepieia* and other healing sanctuaries in the ancient world: an anatomical dedication, *i.e.* a model of a body part or a relief of one, made from terracotta or a precious metal.³⁹⁴ While

392 The range of such gifts can be appreciated from the nine surviving inventories from the Athenian *Asklepieion*, collected in Aleshire 1989 (with analysis at pp. 37–51); see also van Straten 1981, Appendix A 1.1–1.32. A memorably humble offering is recorded in one of the Epidaurian testimonies, according to which a boy dreamed that he had elicited the god's laughter by offering him ten dice for a cure (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 68–71 (= Test. No. 8)).

393 See in particular Apellas's lengthy account of his stay at Epidauros, which states that the god had ordered the stele on which it was inscribed (*IG* IV² 1, 126, ll. 31–32; quoted pp. 169–171). In addition, an inscription from Lebena, though poorly preserved, almost certainly records that Asklepios had ordered his "miracles" to be inscribed (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 19, ll. 9–12; see n. 294). A parallel can be found outside of the cult of Asklepios, in the Polyaratos *ostrakon* from Deir el-Bahari, in which this worshiper of Amenhotep records that after being healed "I wished to record the miraculous feat of this god, along with the other gods who share his altars and temple, for those arriving at the sanctuary of Amenhotep, those in the grip of some sort of illness by which they are paralyzed . . . so that they will know that cures(?) [---]" (*I.Deir el-Bahari* No. A1, ll. 28–36; quoted pp. 461–462), though Polyaratos does not indicate that this had been required of him. Another parallel is to be found in the "confession" inscriptions of Roman Asia Minor, several of which state that a god had demanded his miraculous act be recorded.

394 For anatomical dedications at *Asklepieia* and other Greek healing sanctuaries, see van Straten 1981, 100–101, 105–151 and Forsén 1996 (focusing on stone, rather than terracotta), with new finds often being noted in *EBGR*; cf. Jaeger 1988 (eyes only), Forsén 2004, Riethmüller 2005, 1:74, Geroulanos 2014, and Morris/Peatfield 2014 (with Minoan anatomicals). Anatomicals were a popular gift not only at the sanctuaries of Greek healing gods, but also in Italian and Romano-Celtic sanctuaries in the Latin West: see Turfa 2004; Glinister 2006a and Glinister 2006b; Schultz 2006, 95–120; and de Cazanove 2009. (Another article by the latter author, de Cazanove 2015, should be consulted with caution because at pp. 55–58 there is an unsustainable link between the expanded use of anatomical dedications in Republican Italy and the installment of Aesculapius in Rome

around 291 BCE: de Cazanove overlooks the fact that there is no evidence for their use at Epidauros at the time, and in the cult's early years in Rome the manner of the god's worship, private as well as public, presumably would have followed closely that of the mother sanctuary, as is suggested for the latter by Festus's comment about "*peregrina sacra*" being employed for this and two other cults officially introduced at Rome (Festus, *Gloss. Lat.*, p. 342 ed. Lindsay). Therefore, the use of anatomicals at the Tiber Island *Asklepieion* is more likely to have been influenced by an already existing tradition in the cult of Apollo Medicus or other gods potentially linked to the nearly 500 terracotta anatomical dedications found in or beside the Tiber River (see Pensabene 1980, 19–20 for these cults; cf. Renberg 2006–07, 95n.20.) See also Schörner 2015, a short but valuable survey of the phenomenon from throughout the Greek East and Latin West. To these studies has now been added a collection of articles (Jane Draycott & Emma-Jayne Graham (eds.), *Bodies of Evidence: Ancient Anatomical Votives Past, Present and Future* (New York, 2016); not consulted), and a monograph on the subject (Jessica Hughes, *Votive Body Parts in Greek and Roman Religion* (Cambridge, 2017); not consulted); see also Michaelides 2014 for preliminary work on the finds from Cyprus leading to an eventual catalog. Few anatomical votives have been found in Egypt (see, e.g., pp. 443–444 for some possible examples from Saqqâra), but a papyrus from Hermoupolis with the otherwise unattested term *καλοπλάστης* ("limb-maker") raises the possibility that at some sites there may have been enough demand for such dedications as to make it possible for a craftsman to specialize in their manufacture (*P.Giss* 20, l. 20 (= *P.GissApoll* 131); on this papyrus, see Draycott 2014).

Though generally considered a gift given after a successful recovery, anatomical dedications could also be offered in the hope of obtaining a cure, as suggested by van Straten (van Straten 1981, 103). Although the two sources he cited were not directly applicable (Aristid., *Or.* 42.7 and *IGBulg* 111.1, 984 + Pl. 44, a relief from Philippopolis representing Hera and nymphs rather than a body part that was "given for his own deliverance, as an entreaty" ([---] καὶ σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ ἀ[νέθηκεν εἰς δέησιν]), unambiguous evidence has since been found, in a dedicatory relief for Zeus Philios of unknown provenience in Thrace that represents a right leg and is accompanied by an epigram in which an individual prays to the god for his leg to be healed so that he can run again:

θάττον ἔγωγε δράμοιμ' ἄ(ν) | ἢ αὐτίκα κεινηθείην, |
 ἦ Καμπανός, ὅτου τοῦτ' ἀνάθημ' ἔσορᾷς |
 εἰκὼ πηρωθέντος ἔπι σκ[έ]λους· ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ γε |
 [ἀν]τιάσας Φιλίου καὶ ΚΑ[.]ΟΙΣΙ θεοῖ (SEG 49, 2367).

Quickly might I run or move on my own,
 even I, Campanus, whose dedication you see:
 a representation of a maimed leg. But indeed,

having supplicated the God of Friendship and(?) [---] may he run.

Similarly, see Laios/Tsoucalas/Karamanou/Androustos 2015, 452–453 (with fig. 1), on an anatomical votive hand from the Corinthian *Asklepieion* that unlike the others there shows clear evidence of a chronic disease and thus was most likely given in the hope of a cure (Corinth Mus. Inv. No. V41 (= Roebuck 1951, 124, No. 63 + Pl. 40)). See also van Straten, *ibid.*, 112, speculating that based on records in the inventories from the Athenian

evidence for this practice is found at several *Asklepieia*, the greatest troves were found at Corinth and Rome.³⁹⁵ The Athenian sanctuary has yielded not only some two dozen anatomical dedications, but also extensive documentation of such dedications in the surviving temple inventories that listed the god's gifts.³⁹⁶ However, since anatomical dedications were such a common thank-offering for a wide range of healing gods, the fact that Asklepios often received them at a sanctuary cannot alone be taken as evidence that worshipers had engaged in incubation there: even if, as was undoubtedly the case, a good number were given by those who had benefited from a therapeutic dream, anatomical gifts symbolized healing, not a particular ritual method of being healed.³⁹⁷ It is this range of dedicatory objects that might be alluded to by the final sentence of the Pergamon *lex sacra*, which—after having established that as a minimum payment for regaining one's health a worshiper was to sacrifice an adult animal within a year and pay money right away—states that “If the god should ask anything else of them (they are to give it)” (ἐάν τι | [ἄλλο αὐτ]οῦς αἰτή{ι}-σῃ ὁ θεός).³⁹⁸ By including this rule, those overseeing the cult officially recognized that Asklepios would sometimes inform his sleeping patients that they must give more than just the traditional and required payments, and while τι ἄλλο could refer to additional coinage or further sacrifice, in this context it seems more likely to have applied to one of these more permanent types of

Asklepieion that in two particular cases silver votives were given at the time of a vow and gold given as its fulfillment (IG 11² 1534, A, ll. 83, 91, re-edited as Aleshire 1989, Inventory IV, ll. 106, 114). The majority of anatomical dedications, however, are uninscribed and therefore the reason they were given cannot be established with certainty: but even some of these might have been linked to prayers by those who were suffering and seeking a cure, since as Aline Rousselle has observed regarding anatomicals from Gallic provinces some appear to be for incurable ailments and therefore could only have been given in advance, and not as thank-offerings for a recovery (Rousselle (A.) 1992, 89). See also Glinister 2006a, 93–94, with other cautionary observations on Italic anatomical dedications that can apply to those from the Greek sanctuaries.

395 See pp. 154–155 (Corinth) and 206 (Rome).

396 See van Straten 1981, Appendix A 1.1–1.32, Aleshire 1989, 40–42, and Forsén 1996, 31–54, Nos. 1.1–1.49.

397 Though not directly pertinent to *Asklepieia*, see the important study of Jean M. Turfa demonstrating that at a number of Etruscan sanctuaries at which anatomical dedications have been found the overall dimensions of these sites preclude the possibility that they hosted ailing worshipers overnight or for extended stays, and thus they could not have functioned as healing sanctuaries (Turfa 2006).

398 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 33–34.

thank-offering.³⁹⁹ Whereas some gifts, such as terracotta anatomical votives, might have been readily available for purchase from merchants at the sanctuary and could be dedicated before one left, others would have been given at a later date, in particular lengthy inscriptions like those of Publius Granius Rufus and Marcus Julius Apellas that had to be commissioned for the occasion (evidently at Asklepios's command in their particular cases).⁴⁰⁰

3.5 Conclusion

As this survey of the evidence for incubation in the cult of Asklepios has shown, we are fortunate to have extraordinarily rich and varied sources that illuminate numerous aspects of the phenomenon—even so, however, there are significant problems associated with them. The most important of these problems, since it affects our ability to identify sites at which incubation was practiced, is the ambiguous nature of our evidence concerning both the types and internal layouts of structures that were employed for this purpose, and secondarily the role of water in the associated rituals and recoveries and thus the potential significance of the remains of wells, baths, basins, and fountains. Other questions concern the types of offerings and sacrifices that were made and the extent to which these varied, the possibility that certain forms of ritual purity were required before one could engage in incubation, the role of cult

399 See Wörrle 1969, 184–185. Just as αἰτή(ι)σι ὁ θεός most likely alludes to requests issued in worshipers' dreams, the use of πρᾶσσεται four lines above suggests that the god was believed to communicate in dreams regarding what type of sacrifice was expected of those who had succeeded in securing his aid by means of incubation.

400 In the case of Rufus, who lived nearby in Gortyn, it would have been a small matter to return to the Lebena *Asklepieion* and dedicate the two steles recording the god's prescriptions (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 17–18; see p. 192), but those visiting a sanctuary from afar might have had to wait a short period of time before departing; thus Apellas, the Carian who was summoned to Epidauros for treatment by Asklepios and whose meter-high stele preserves the longest first-person epigraphical attestation for treatment at an *Asklepieion* (see pp. 169–171), presumably had to wait for the completion of his 33-line dedication, which ends with a reference to Asklepios's demanding such an inscription and the statement that the healthy and grateful Apellas had departed (ἐκέλευσεν δὲ καὶ ἀναγράψαι ταῦτα. χάριν εἰδὼς καὶ ὑγιῆς γεινόμενος ἀπηλλάγην) (*IG* IV² 1, 126, ll. 31–33), and which would have taken several days for the stone-cutter to prepare. (It is also possible that Apellas sailed away before the stele's completion and its ending is fully accurate: after all, proxy dedications were commonly made, so Apellas could have arranged for it to be given in his absence.)

officials in aiding those seeking to engage in incubation or follow the god's dictates afterwards, and so forth. Thus even the voluminous and unparalleled amount of literary, epigraphical, archaeological, and iconographic evidence we have for incubation at *Asklepieia* leaves us with many unanswered questions. And, since these sources dwarf the combined sources for all of the other incubation sanctuaries of the ancient world, not surprisingly there are far more questions and problems concerning those other cults. But at the same time, by serving as supplements and parallels, these sources for incubation in the cult of Asklepios often help inform us regarding the practice in other cults, most notably Amphiaraos.

[*Addendum*: A new volume important for the study of both Asklepios and Aelius Aristides appeared too late for inclusion in this chapter: D.A. Russell, M. Trapp & H.-G. Nesselrath (eds.), *In Praise of Asclepius: Aelius Aristides, Selected Prose Hymns* (Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia 29; Tübingen, 2016). Produced by a team of experts in multiple areas, the work provides both texts and annotated translations of four of Aristides's prose hymns on Asklepios (*Or.* 38, 39, 42, 53) and pertinent studies on the religious aspects of his prose hymns, the Pergamon *Asklepeion's* history and archaeological remains, and relations between Asklepios and both Galen and Aristides. (The work also became available too late for inclusion in Renberg 2017 (see p. 181n.153), but complements that work rather than contradicting it.)]

Therapeutic Incubation in the Greek World: Other Greek Cults

4.1 Introduction

Asklepios was the only god of Greek origin whose sanctuaries commonly provided facilities for therapeutic incubation, but Greece and other lands in the Greek East were blessed with other gods and heroes whose sanctuaries were likewise devoted to the practice. These, however, were few and widely scattered: in addition to Amphiaraos, whose worship was centered at his famous sanctuary in Oropian territory, the other Greek gods whose treatment was sought in this manner were Molpadia/Hemithea (Caria), Dionysos (Phokis), Pluto and Kore (Caria), and possibly Iatros (Cyrene), Podalirios (Daunia), and other descendants of Asklepios.¹ While the evidence for therapeutic incubation in most of these cults is unambiguous, it is not nearly as well documented as incubation at *Asklepieia*, since neither parallels for the testimonial inscriptions from Epidauros and Lebena nor literary sources comparable to Aristides's *Sacred Tales* exist among them. Moreover, in contrast to Asklepios these gods are only known to have been associated with incubation at a single site,² which shows that Asklepios truly was the preeminent god of healing through incubation—especially since in the case of the Panhellenic gods Dionysos, Pluto and Kore the two sanctuaries at which incubation was practiced were each exceptional in some way. Besides Amphiaraos, for whom a broad range of evidence provides important insights into incubation in his cult, and Iatros, the few divinities known or suspected to have cured through incubation are each linked to the practice solely through a single literary source—raising the question of how many other gods and cult sites offering treatment in this manner existed but were overlooked by surviving literary sources.

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- 1 Therapeutic incubation can be assumed to have been linked to at least one sanctuary of Sarapis outside of Egypt, and may also have been practiced at one or more sanctuaries of Isis, but as the two were Greco-Egyptian divinities they are discussed separately (see Chapter 6).
 - 2 If the cult of Amphiaraos did originate at Thebes and spread to Oropos then incubation would have been practiced at both sites, but since the Theban site appears to have declined by then this might not have been happening at the same time at both Thebes and Oropos for very long, and also there is no sign that the Theban site was therapeutic. (See Appendix x.)

4.2 Amphiaraos

As is instantly clear from his portrayal in reliefs and statues from these sites, the Amphiaraos worshiped at Oropos and his minor sanctuary at Rhamnous³—and presumably the small number of other sites at which some aspect of his cult is attested⁴—was a virtual clone of Asklepios: bearded, dressed in a *himation*, often wielding a staff, occasionally accompanied by a serpent, and even appearing to have the same relationship with Hygieia, Iaso and Panakeia as Asklepios himself.⁵ This god's resemblance to Asklepios is most strikingly demonstrated by a well-known relief portraying Amphiaraos as he heals a

3 The sanctuary of Amphiaraos was more than six kilometers outside of Oropos, situated within its territory. The toponym of the *Amphiareion*'s locale is unknown, though Strabo places it in the vicinity of Psaphis, a settlement whose location is unknown, and which from Strabo's syntax may be unrelated (Strabo 9.1.22). The myth and cult are now the subject of two monographs: an exhaustive study by Sineux (Sineux 2007a, with incubation discussed at pp. 159–186) and a newer one by Terranova (Terranova 2013, with incubation at pp. 246–309, and two appendices providing the literary, epigraphical and papyrological sources for Amphiaraos at pp. 400–553). In addition to these, see: Schachter 1981–94, 1:19–26; Roesch 1984; Parker 1996, 146–149; Verbanck-Piérard 2000, 318–323; Gorrini 2002–03, 182–184 *et pass.*; Lupu 2003; Petsalis-Diomidis 2006a; Terranova 2008; Ehrenheim 2009, 248–249; Doyen 2013; cf. Friese 2010, 367–368, Cat. No. 1.1.1.4. See also Travlos, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 301–318 for detailed photographs of the Oropos site.

4 See p. 672. For the potential evidence that Amphiaraos was also worshiped at a second Athenian sanctuary of Asklepios, see p. 183n.161. (Riethmüller's claim that Amphiaraos may have been worshiped alongside Hygieia at Thorikos finds no support in the evidence from the site (Riethmüller 2005, 11:41–43, Cat. No. 15).)

5 See Krauskopf 1981, especially p. 710; cf. Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, pp. 73, 131–133. Representations of Amphiaraos in mythological scenes that are found in a wide range of artistic media do not show the same uniformity in the god's appearance as the sculptural works from his two healing sanctuaries—undoubtedly because of the iconographical influence of the cult of Asklepios in Attica and its environs. Parallels between Asklepios and Amphiaraos in terms of both iconography and cult practices at *Asklepieia* and Amphiaraos's sanctuaries are explored in detail by Sineux, along with links between the two cults (Sineux 2007a, 208–214 *et pass.*) For Amphiaraos's association with Hygieia, Iaso and Panakeia, who were traditionally viewed as part of *Asklepios*'s family, see Sineux, *ibid.*, 146–147, 209 and Stafford 2005, 132; see also Sineux, *ibid.*, 201, on a fragment of Aristophanes's *Amphiaraos* in which the god addresses Iaso, presumably in an incubation scene reminiscent of the one in the *Plutus* discussed in the previous chapter (Ar., *Amphiaraos*, frag. 21 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* 111.2), and Terranova 2013, 122–126. (To Sineux's list of Oropos inscriptions pertaining to Hygieia should be added *I.Oropos* 750α–γ, three identical lead *lamellae* naming both her and the god that have been speculatively identified as a type of ticket given to those who had made the required offering to the god (R. Proskinitopoulou in Verbanck-Piérard 1998, 266) or merely entered the

patient: on the left, Amphiaraos (as would have been envisioned in his patient's dream) either performs surgery on or applies medicine to the right shoulder or upper-arm of the dedicant Archinos, who at the middle of the panel is seen sleeping on his side as a serpent licks the afflicted area (as may have been observed by others), while at the right there stands a figure who appears to be the dedicant, represented in good health and making a gesture of prayer.⁶

sanctuary (Petrakos), but that are perhaps simply to be identified as weights (as per Chaniotis in *EBGR* 1997, 296, at p. 206).)

A single source, from Athens, may even point to a fusion of Amphiaraos and Asklepios, though this is quite uncertain: a dedicatory inscription found in the area of the "Tower of the Winds" (or *Horologion* of Andronikos) was addressed on one side to "Asklepios Amphiaraos" (Ἀσκληπιῶ Ἀμφιαράῳ) (*IG* 11² 4441, ll. 10–11), which Giannes Meliades and subsequently Arthur D. Nock thought, in the latter's words, meant that "Asklepios has, so to speak, subsumed Amphiaraus" (Meliades 1923, 57–58 (with photos); Nock 1950, 47–48n.19). While possible, the lack of parallels argues against this, and it more likely to be another example of a dedicatory inscription employing asyndeton when naming multiple gods. Making the matter more complicated, though, is that the other side of the small *bomos* was dedicated on another occasion to "Amphiaraos and Hygieia," which would be unexpected if Meliades were correct about "Amphiaraos" merely being an epithet for Asklepios. (According to *IG* editor Johannes Kirchner, a first line naming Asklepios might be missing, in which case, due to the linebreak, the better reading would be "To [Asklepios], Amphiaraos and Hygieia," but Douglas D. Feaver subsequently examined the stone and ruled out this possibility (Feaver 1952).)

- 6 Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1. This relief has also been interpreted by Nikolaos Kaltsas, without justification, as representing Asklepios healing the dedicant while Amphiaraos stands to the right (Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, pp. 209–210); however, that figure is much more likely to be Archinos himself. The redundancy of representing Amphiaraos both in anthropomorphic form and as a serpent has been explained by drawing a parallel to one of the Epidaurian testimonies, in which a man with an ulcerous toe envisioned a youth applying a drug to it, while those around the patient had seen a sacred serpent licking the toe: similarly, then, the dedicant at Oropos may have envisioned the god treating him, while others who were present witnessed a serpent doing so (*IG* 1V² 1, 121, ll. 113–119 (= Test. No. 17); see van Straten 1976, 4, van Straten 1981, 125 and van Straten 1992, 257; cf. Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, pp. 132–133). Indeed, from a fragment of Aristophanes's *Amphiaraos* it is known that there were sacred serpents at this sanctuary and that they were linked to healing, as at *Asklepieia* (Ar., *Amphiaraos*, frag. 28 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* 111.2; for sacred serpents at *Asklepieia* and other healing sanctuaries, see pp. 215–216n.239). A comparable phenomenon can be found in Greco-Egyptian literature: the "Imouthes Aretalogy" from Oxyrhynchus describes the writer dreaming of the god visiting him while his mother, awake and watching over him nearby, had the same vision (*P.Oxy* XI 1381, ll. 91–138; quoted pp. 427–429).

Contradicting earlier claims that the pair of eyes at the top of the relief was apotropaic (persisting among some, e.g. Platt 2011, 46–47), van Straten effectively argued that they were intended to represent that Archinos had seen a dream-vision, a conclusion independently

This relief, which dates to around 400–350 BCE and is thus contemporaneous with the Epidaurian testimonial inscriptions, shows that Amphiaraos's *modus operandi* was that of Asklepios, visiting the sick as they slept in his precinct and operating on them: the similarities between the two are immediately evident when one compares this relief with the one from the Peiraeus *Asklepieion*.⁷ Moreover, just as Asklepios had many minor sanctuaries that do not appear to have offered worshipers the opportunity to engage in incubation, as mentioned above Amphiaraos was worshiped at a small sanctuary at Rhamnous, where he would have been visited by those with health concerns, but at which incubation is unlikely to have been practiced because of its size and the lack of a suitable structure.⁸ Perhaps the most significant difference between the two cults, other than their geographical ranges, is that Amphiaraos was firmly associated with divinatory incubation as well as therapeutic, though even this distinction is slightly blurred by the limited evidence for Asklepios occasionally issuing dream-oracles unrelated to health matters.⁹ Despite there being multiple and varied sources, considerably less is known about the practice of

reached by Matthias Steinhart (see van Straten 1981, 125 and Steinhart 1995, 32–38; cf. Forsén 1996, 147, Sineux 2007a, 203–204 and Sineux 2007b, 21, and Ogden 2013, 368). Recently, however, Despinis in his discussion of the small group of Attic reliefs featuring such pairs has opted against the previous explanations, preferring to see them as symbols of eyes having been healed (Despinis 2013, 149–151). While possibly true of the other reliefs he discusses, this is incongruous with the obvious purpose of the Archinos relief, which shows a shoulder ailment receiving divine treatment, though it is possible for Archinos to have been suffering from two unrelated ailments and to have represented them in different ways. It can also be argued against van Straten and Steinhart that since we know that dreams were a common reason for making dedications we would expect to see many more objects with pairs of eyes if this was indeed a recognized symbol for god-sent dreams, though perhaps the eyes represented only the experience of dreaming, and not a divine communication.

Another issue, though one that has received less attention, is the large *pinax* in the background, which Sineux has read as a likely symbol of Archinos's vow to dedicate a relief if cured (Sineux 2007a, 204–205 and Sineux 2007b, 21), rather than simply a way of identifying that the scene is set in a cult site, even though this was a fairly common phenomenon among dedicatory reliefs and plaques (see van Straten 1992, 258–265). (While it cannot be ruled out that the *pinax* was intended to represent the “temporary placard” recording the name and origin of each person engaging in incubation that is referred to in one of the sanctuary's regulations (see below), the shape and relative dimensions suggest a dedicatory relief.)

7 Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1. For the similarities in the approaches to healing associated with these two divinities, see Sineux 2007a, 208–214 *et pass.* and Wickkiser 2008, 51–52.

8 For Rhamnous, see pp. 293–295.

9 For divinatory incubation in the cult of Amphiaraos, see Chapter 5.2, and pp. 116–117n.2 for Asklepios's cult.

incubation at the Oropos *Amphiareion* than at the various *Asklepieia*—in fact, only four authors (Aristophanes, Hyperides, Pausanias, Philostratus) provide any significant details about consultations, just one tells of a specific historical consultation (Hyperides), and three others even allude to it (Celsus *apud* Origen, Philo, Tertullian), while the epigraphical sources provide limited, though valuable, information.¹⁰

As was the case with some of the sacred laws found at *Asklepieia*, *leges sacrae* from the *Amphiareion* provided details concerning the costs of undergoing incubation at the sanctuary and certain aspects of the process, only one of which is reasonably well preserved:

- ἐγκαθεύδειν δὲ τὸν δειόμενο-
 ¶ ν μ[έ]χρ[ι] [c. 23] Σ ἐπὶ το-]
 ὕ αὐ[το]ῦ [c. 23] πειθόμ-
 ενον τοῖς νόμοις· τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδον-
 40 τος, ὅταν ἐμβάλλῃ τὸ ἀργύριον, γράφεσθαι τ-
 ὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκ-
 τιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ γράφοντα ἐν πετεῦροι σ-
 κοπεῖν <τ>οῖ βολομένοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίο-
 ι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἀνδρας, χωρὶς
 45 δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡ-
 [δ]ς τοῦ βωμοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡσπέ-
 ρης Ο[c. 12 τὸ κοι]μητήριον τοὺς ἐν-
 κα<θ>[εὔδοντας c. 15 τὸν δ] ἐ θεῶν
 ἐγκ[αθεύδ-(?) c. 32]
 50 Ο ἐξ[c. 29] ΘΩ[.]
 ΟΡΟ [c. 24 ἐγκεκ]οιμ-
 ημέ[ν c. 29] ΛΕ-
 ΡΟΩ[c. 28] ΕΝ [τ]ο-
 ἰ Ἀμφ[ιαράοι c. 21] Ι ζήμ-
 55 ιου[c. 27] δὲ τὸ-
 ν βολ[όμενον c. 16 τὸν ἐ]ρέ<α>.¹¹

10 The pertinent passages in Hyperides (Hyperid. 4.14–18), Philo (Philo, *Leg.* 78), Philostratus (Philostr., *Imag.* 1.27; cf. Philostr., *VA* 2.37.2), and Tertullian (Tert., *Anim.* 46.11) are discussed in Chapter 5.2, and the one in Origen (Origen, *C. Cels.* 7.35) in Chapter 5.5. (Herodotus's account of Mys consulting Amphiaraos appears to be set at the original Theban site (see Appendix x).)

11 *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 36–56 (= Rhodes/Osborne, *GHI* 27). The inscription is too abraded after line 47 for the text to be restored, but word fragments suggest that the section devoted

Whoever needs to engage in incubation until (?) [---] in (?) the same [---] obeying the ordinances. The name of the one incubating, once he pays the money, is to be recorded by the *neokoros*—both (the name) of the individual and of his city—and he is to place what is written upon a temporary placard on display in the sanctuary, for anyone wishing to examine it. In the incubation dormitory the men are to sleep separately and the women are to sleep separately, the men in the area to the east of the altar and the women in the area to the west [--- the] incubation dormitory those who are incubating [--- the] god(?) inc[ubate(?) ---] having slept within(?) [---] in(?) the *Amphiareion* [---] anyone wishing(?) [---] the priest(?).

As is revealed by this inscription, which dates to roughly 386–373 BCE and primarily regulates sacrifices and offerings as well as the role of cult officials,¹²

to incubation continued for at least several more lines (see p. 284). See also *I.Oropos* 276 (= *LSCG Suppl.* 35), the badly damaged *lex sacra* that likewise appears to have stated the requirements for engaging in incubation—perhaps just therapeutic incubation, if [τὸς θεραπειουμ]ένους has been correctly restored in line 3. The conclusion that this inscription likewise pertains to incubation is based on lines 7–8, stating that the names and hometowns of certain individuals should be publicly displayed (τὸν ἱερέα ἀ[να]γράφ[ειν --- τό τ]ε ὄνομα καὶ τὴν πό[λιν] ...), within a passage that has been plausibly restored with τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδοντος in one of the *lacunae* (see Petropoulou 1981, 40–41). If these restorations are correct and this inscription is referring solely to therapeutic incubation then the section of *I.Oropos* 277 quoted here might likewise pertain to therapeutic rather than divinatory incubation. For further discussion of what the two inscriptions reveal about incubation at Oropos, see below. (The practice of publicly identifying those undergoing incubation has no known parallels elsewhere. It is curious that in *I.Oropos* 277 the *neokoros* was to record this information, while in *I.Oropos* 276 it appears to have been the priest, but the reason for this apparent change is not preserved.)

- 12 This inscription is believed to date to the brief period of independence experienced by Oropos as a result of the King's Peace of 387 BCE, which ended when it was taken over by Athens once again around 375–373 BCE. The date of 387–377 BCE provided by Petrakos in *I.Oropos*, based on the arguments of Petropoulou (Petropoulou 1981, 57–63), is not widely accepted. Most notably, Peter J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne in *GHI* opt for a date of 386–c. 374 BCE, while Sineux accepts the later *terminus ante quem* of 371 BCE preferred by Denis Knoepfler (Sineux 2007a, 82–83, 97–98, 148; Knoepfler 1986, 94–95; *Chiron* 22 (1992), 452; Knoepfler 1998, 105n.28). The relationship between this *lex sacra* and *I.Oropos* 276 (see previous note), particularly their relative dates, has been the subject of much discussion. Petropoulou has argued that *I.Oropos* 276 was likely superseded by *I.Oropos* 277 (Petropoulou, *ibid.*; cf. Lupu 2003, 333–334), but this conclusion has been questioned by Knoepfler (Knoepfler 1986, 96n.116; *Gnomon* 60 (1988), 233), who also notes that Petrakos was unaware of his discussions when adopting the relative dates of

incubation at the *Amphiareion* took place at a designated structure, just as at certain *Asklepieia*. From the approximate date of this *lex sacra* it is clear that it refers to the old incubation dormitory, a stoa that during the mid-fourth century BCE was replaced by one three times as large immediately to the east.¹³ The inscription also indicates the sanctuary's popularity beyond Oropos, as can be inferred from the practice of posting of temporary signs giving the name and *polis* of each person consulting Amphiaraos.

The newer structure, a two-aisled stoa measuring 110 × 11 meters, had a Doric outer colonnade and Ionic inner colonnade as well as a marble bench running along the interior wall, and at each end there was a small, screened room measuring 10 × 5.5 meters, in one of which evidence of two offering tables has been found (Plan 6) (Fig. 14).¹⁴ It is uncertain whether these rooms were devoted solely to offerings or also were used by sleepers, though this possibility raises certain questions. First, there is the problem of whether incubation was limited to the two rooms, which is possible due to the lack of privacy in the main part of the stoa, but would suggest that significantly fewer people could

Petropoulou (Knoepfler 1998, 105n.28). More recently, the arguments of Knoepfler have been accepted and expanded upon by Sineux (Sineux, *ibid.*, 149–150). Either way, it is unclear why one sacred law would have been inscribed so soon after the other, with a change in the sanctuary's operations—perhaps one precipitated by the *Amphiareion* having changed hands—being the most likely explanation. For the history of Oropos during this period, see Bearzot 1987, 95–98, Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 448–449, s.v. “Oropos” (M.H. Hansen), and Sineux, *ibid.*, 97–98.

13 On the two stoas, see Coulton 1968 and Sineux 2007a, 159–164; for the later stoa only, see Coulton 1976, 47–48, 269 *et pass.* While traces of the old stoa survive, these remains can provide no information regarding the practice of incubation, unlike the newer stoa. For an overview of scholarly opinion regarding the date of the later structure, see Sineux, *ibid.*, 162n.10. The Archinos incubation relief, dating to c. 400–350 BCE, appears to represent the older stoa by means of the two *antae* surmounted by an architrave (Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1); if so, however, this would be a generic representation, typical of many reliefs from that period that show scenes set in sanctuaries (see van Straten 1992, 265; for the issue of *antae* in reliefs from the Athenian *Asklepieion*, see p. 137n.49). Whereas the *lex sacra* pertaining to the old stoa referred to it as the κοιμητήριον, a fragmentary inscription dating to c. 150–100 BCE appears to have referred to the new one as the ἄβατον, if this has been correctly restored: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ [ἄβ]ατ[ον] | [χατας]κευάσαι (*I.Oropos* 294, ll. 7–8). This does not mean, however, that the term κοιμητήριον fell out of fashion. (For the use of both terms to refer to incubation dormitories, see p. 15.)

14 The marble bench was a later addition to the stoa (see Coulton 1968, 169, 183; partly shown in Travlos, *Bildlexikon*, fig. 393), and thus, as Sineux has noted, not essential to incubation (see Sineux 2007a, 163). For benches in incubation structures at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 125–126n.30.



FIGURE 14 *Oropos Amphiareion, showing incubation stoa on the left.*
 PHOTO: HANS RUPPRECHT GOETTE, COURTESY OF
 DEUTSCHE ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT (ATHENS)
 (NEG. D-DAI-ATH-1991/30)

engage in the practice at Oropos than in a comparably large *stoa* such as that at Epidauros.¹⁵ It seems more likely, therefore, that the main area of the stoa was indeed used for incubation, but since there are no signs of a permanent structure separating the two aisles either people would have incubated in plain sight—in contrast to the seclusion apparently available at two or more *Asklepieia*—or there would have been a temporary structure obscuring the inner aisle.¹⁶ Second, if these rooms were indeed used for incubation there would be the question of whether those sleeping in them were in some way special: it is possible that the rooms were reserved for prominent individuals, a practice that has been suggested for the Pergamon *Asklepieion*'s more illustrious clientele,¹⁷ but it has also been suggested that the rooms were used to segregate men from women, as the *lex sacra* indicates had been done in the

15 Petrakos has suggested that the rooms were devoted to incubation, indicating that this was not the case for the rest of the stoa (see Petrakos 1995, 27).

16 J.J. Coulton *apud* Ehrenheim 2009, 248 confirms the lack of a permanent separation between the aisles, prompting Ehrenheim to suggest the use of a temporary screen (*ibid.*, 249). The best example of an incubation stoa that was partly closed off is to be found at Epidauros (see pp. 130–131).

17 See p. 146.

old stoa.¹⁸ This is an appealing possibility in light of that inscription, though again there is the problem of whether incubation would have been limited to these rooms, with men in one and women in the other, or women limited to the two rooms and men able to use the rest of the stoa.¹⁹ These rooms, however, would not have been essential to keeping the sexes separate, assuming that the restriction on the sexes intermingling during incubation would have been maintained when the old stoa was replaced: it is probable that in order to

18 The suggestion that the rooms were used to separate the sexes during incubation is that of Sineux 2007a, 163, though he does not indicate what sort of arrangement seems most likely. (On the subject of the sexes being separated, see Appendix VII.)

19 The old stoa is not sufficiently well preserved to determine how the sexes were separated and whether there was a permanent or temporary barrier employed, but the *lex sacra* quoted above provides a clue in stating that men were to be east of the altar and women to the west of it. The explanation for this passage must be that men and women were to sleep on opposite sides of the invisible line running from the main altar near the stoa to its back wall, with the men occupying roughly two-thirds of the stoa and the women roughly a third, though since the stoa ran on a roughly northeast-to-southwest line the distinction between “east of the altar” and “the area to the west” is problematic. The newer stoa, in contrast, stood well beyond the altar, necessitating a different method of determining where any line of division would have gone. This makes the idea of the rooms having been used only by women plausible, though it would mean that fewer women than men engaged in incubation at the *Amphiareion*, since the two rooms represented only one tenth of the overall area of the stoa. Whether a sharp difference existed between the number of men and women engaging in incubation at Oropos is impossible to determine, but Aleshire has shown that in the inventories from the Athenian *Asklepieion* 51.39% of the anatomical votives were given by women and 45.82% by men while a greater number of coins were dedicated by men (Aleshire 1989, 45–46). This might suggest that men and women seeking medical attention from Amphiaraos would have been similarly balanced in number, though since the Athenian *Asklepieion* was an urban sanctuary and thus more accessible for women this may not be an acceptable comparison. Unfortunately, the same methodology cannot be easily applied to Oropos, since with two exceptions the temple inventories are too fragmentary for meaningful determinations of the percentages of gifts given by men and women, though men do appear to outnumber women in these documents, especially in the largest one (*I.Oropos* 309–321, 324 (lines 53–102 only), 325–328). It is also possible that the altar referred to in the *lex sacra* was standing in the old incubation dormitory itself, especially since in his *Plutus* Aristophanes makes reference to multiple altars as well as a cult table in the structure where the incubation scene is set, though since no traces of a comparable altar survive in the later stoa at Oropos it would not have been a permanent feature of the structure (Ar., *Plut.* 679; see pp. 249–250n.348). If this was the case, the line separating men from women noted in the *lex sacra* would be impossible to determine.

maintain the tradition a screen or some other barrier that did not leave architectural traces was employed, or else an invisible demarcation was observed.

Also as at some *Asklepieia*, the evidence suggests the observance of dietary restrictions during a period leading up to incubation,²⁰ while the ritual itself was preceded by an offering or sacrifice.²¹ However, conflicting and incomplete sources have made the sacrificial element of worship at the *Amphiareion* the subject of much dispute. According to Pausanias, who along with the *lex sacra* is the main source on incubation there, after purificatory sacrifices to Amphiaraos and the site's other divinities the god was offered a ram, the skin of which subsequently served as bedding for the individual seeking contact with the god:

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομίζουσιν ὅστις ἦλθεν Ἀμφιαράῳ χρησόμενος· ἔστι δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν, θύουσιν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ὀνόματα· προεξιργασμένων δὲ τούτων κριὸν θύσαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρυσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμένοντες δῆλωσιν ὄνειρατος.²²

And first they consider it customary for whoever has come for the purpose of consulting Amphiaraos to purify himself—it is cleansing to sacrifice to the god, and so they sacrifice both to him and to all those whose names are upon the altar—and when these things have first been done, having sacrificed a ram and spread the skin out under them, they sleep, awaiting the revelation of a dream.

This two-phase sacrificial process might be indicated by a broken fourth-century BCE relief from the site that shows five people, probably a family and servants, leading a pig and ram for sacrifice, with the pig presumably

20 See Appendix vi.

21 Most recently discussed in detail by Sineux 2007a, 136–148.

22 Paus. 1.34.5; see Sineux 2007a, 137–138 *et pass.* The altar itself is described earlier by Pausanias, who records that its five “parts” (μέρη) were devoted to Herakles, Zeus and Apollo Paian; heroes and their wives; Hestia, Hermes, Amphiaraos and the offspring of Amphilocho; Aphrodite, Panakeia, Iaso, Hygieia, and Athena Paionia; and, the nymphs, Pan, and rivers Acheloos and Kephisos (Paus. 1.34.3). For a discussion of these divinities that tries to show their links to healing or prophecy, see Sineux, *ibid.*, 142–147 (cf. 86–89), and see Terranova 2013, 170–238 for a more wide-ranging treatment. There is no reason to follow M.P.J. Dillon’s suggestion that Pausanias represents evidence for multiple individuals sleeping on the skin, despite the switch from singular to plural (Dillon 1994, 247n.49).

intended for the purificatory rituals.²³ Pausanias's statement about sleeping atop ram skins—evidently for divinatory incubation, as Pausanias's language suggests²⁴—likewise would appear to be supported by much older iconographical evidence, in the form of up to three broken fourth-century BCE reliefs with therapeutic incubation scenes showing worshipers lying atop a *klinē* on which a ram skin has been spread:²⁵ a relief found at Oropos shows an apparently female figure sitting up on a *klinē* while the god, whose left leg and right hand are the only parts of him that survive, treats her by applying his hand in a manner reminiscent of Asklepios;²⁶ the right side of a fourth-century BCE relief found at modern Kalamos, but linked to Oropos by an inscription restored which Amphiaraios's name, shows an elderly couple lying side by side atop a ram skin while possibly engaging in incubation;²⁷ and, most intriguingly of all,

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- 23 Athens, N.M. 1395 (= Petrakos 1968, 123, No. 20 + Pl. 41α = Edelmann, *Menschen*, 235, No. U64 = van Straten, *Hiera Kala* 283–284, No. R37 + fig. 72 = Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 216, “Oropos 4” = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 210, No. 427 + photo); see van Straten 1995, 73–74 and Sineux 2007a, 138–139. Only the left half of the relief survives, but the numerous parallels for such a scene of sacrificial procession indicate that the right half would have featured the temple and god. For pigs as a preliminary sacrifice at *Asklepieia*, see p. 254. As in several Asklepios reliefs, a maidservant carries on her head a large, hamper-like basket that served an unidentified purpose, perhaps transporting the bedding materials used when spending the night in the incubation dormitory (see p. 222).
- 24 See p. 314.
- 25 This element of incubation reliefs—from the cult of Asklepios as well as that of Amphiaraios—along with the religious significance of the practice has been studied in Petropoulou 1985 and Sineux 2007a, 165–177; cf. Ogden 2001a, 87–90 and Terranova 2013, 281–285. (For the use of ram skins in the cult of Asklepios, see pp. 255–258.)
- 26 Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 2. As noted in the catalog, there has been some disagreement regarding whether the god was touching the patient's head or abdomen, with the latter interpretation favored by Petropoulou and Sineux (Petropoulou 1985, 170, 173; Sineux 2007a, 206–207 and Sineux 2007b, 24–25). Pointing to the Epidaurian testimony in which Asklepios renders a woman fertile with the touch of his hand as a potential parallel (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 60–63 (= Test. No. 31); see p. 604), Petropoulou suggested that the woman in the relief had sought divine assistance so that she could bear children, but the more cautious Sineux does not link the relief to fertility and instead describes the god's touch as “un geste indicatif de la guérison” (p. 207).
- 27 Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 3. Although the relief has been thought to show an incubation scene, certain aspects of the iconography call this into question. The presence of *two* individuals positioned this way would be unparalleled in incubation reliefs (though see Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1), but since there is some evidence for married couples engaging in incubation simultaneously this alone is not a reason to discount the possibility that the two figures shown in this relief were doing so (see pp. 630–631). Of greater concern is that the one other surviving figure, a standing female whose stature suggests divinity, is turning

a relief from the minor *Amphiareion* at Rhamnous, though possibly linked to worship at the Oropos sanctuary due to its subject matter, features Amphiaraos and another divinity standing to the right and observing a scene in which on the left side there is a man sitting up in bed atop a ram skin and being tended to (or merely observed?) by a female figure near the foot of the bed, while near the center of the scene another figure who is likewise in bed and apparently receiving treatment appears to rest atop an ordinary mattress without a ram skin.²⁸

However, even though Pausanias clearly states that rams were sacrificed as a preliminary to incubation and their skins then used as part of the ritual itself, and all but one of the reliefs portraying worshippers of Amphiaraos engaging in incubation show a ram skin employed just as Pausanias had described, there is reason to doubt that such a practice was the norm.²⁹ Most significantly, the

her back on the sleeping figures, whereas in incubation reliefs the patient is typically the center of attention for both the mortals and immortals who are present. Between this figure and the reclining couple is another element not found in other incubation reliefs: a dog whose body faces the couple but whose head is turned away. The animal's presence may well be an indication that, as at Epidauros and perhaps other *Asklepieia*, dogs played a therapeutic role, though this particular one, unlike a dog in the Epidaurian inscriptions (see pp. 215–216n.39), is not licking the patients. While the presence of the ram skin certainly suggests incubation, the couple is shown in a pose that is rare in incubation reliefs: in addition to being fully dressed, which is unusual in the reliefs, they lie flat on their backs and with their arms at their sides. This contrasts with the figures in known incubation reliefs who are on their sides and have their arms bent in an animated manner, and are shown from the side rather than above. The unusual appearance of the couple can perhaps be explained by the fact that the artist needed to represent *two* figures, and therefore had to depart from the more typical composition for incubation reliefs, but it is also possible that this is a funerary or mythological scene. Unfortunately, since the left half of the relief is missing it is very likely that some information crucial to the interpretation of the scene has been lost (in addition to the full name of the god which was inscribed at the top), making it impossible to determine with certainty the true nature of this dedication. (I am grateful to Jean Sorabella for her insights into this relief.)

28 Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1.

29 That despite Pausanias's claim rams were not required for incubation at the *Amphiareion* has been argued by Petropoulou 1985 and van Straten 1995, 73–74. Following Petropoulou, Sineux also concludes that the sacrifice of rams and use of their skins appears to have been optional, noting their absence from some reliefs, but entertains the possibility that during the Imperial Period it became a requirement as part of an attempt to restore ancient customs at the sanctuary (Sineux 2007a, 165–177, cf. 141–142). See also Lupu 2003, 323–325, likewise concluding that sacrificing rams was not a requirement; however, Lupu does so for an unsupportable reason, since he takes the statement in *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 30–31 that any type of animal could be sacrificed to Amphiaraos to be relevant to incubation

Archinos relief, unlike the others, *does not* show the patient sleeping atop a ram skin, though one could have been painted on.³⁰ Moreover, the (admittedly damaged) *leges sacrae* from the site are silent on the matter. One of them, the lengthy document that provides instructions regarding incubation towards the end of the surviving text, becomes illegible just after mandating a separation of the sexes, but surviving traces indicate that it went on to provide further details about the procedures involved.³¹ However, assuming that these procedures were outlined in the order they were to be performed—as was the case with the Pergamon *lex sacra* concerning incubation,³² and does appear to be the case with this one from Oropos—this document might not have specified that a particular animal was to be sacrificed before incubation, let alone that its skin was to be employed during the ritual itself. Indeed, it might not even have addressed the subject of pre-incubatory animal sacrifice at all: despite

(a problem recognized in Sineux, *ibid.*, 139–141). Moreover, the main conclusion of Lupu's article, that in the fourth century BCE "the rules affecting pre-incubation sacrifice at the Amphiareion were more flexible than they appear from Pausanias's account," may be correct, but is based on the questionable belief that a fragmentary *lex sacra* from the site pertained to this aspect of the process for undergoing incubation (*ibid.*, 334, citing *NGSL*² 9; for both this *lex sacra* and the two lines from *I.Oropos* 277, see n. 33).

- 30 The lack of a ram skin in the relief was noted by Lupu 2003, 324–325 and Sineux 2007a, 167; cf. van Straten 1995, 73. However, Tae Jensen has suggested that its smooth, seemingly empty surfaces could have been painted with a representation of a ram skin, as appears to have been the case with some of the reliefs for Asklepios (see p. 256n.366). Sineux has tentatively suggested that a two-line fragment of Aristophanes's *Amphiaraos* that appears to be from a scene in which characters are preparing for incubation can be taken as an indication that employing animal skins was optional, since it features a character—presumably the man who has come with his wife (see p. 631n.13)—only calling for a mattress and linen pillow to be brought from a bed-chamber or storage chamber (καὶ νῆ Δί' ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου γε νῶν φέρε / κνέφαλλον ἄμα καὶ προσκεφάλαιον τῶν λινῶν), but not an animal skin (Sineux, *ibid.*, 169, on Ar., *Amphiaraos*, frag. 18 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* 111.2). While Sineux is right to note that these items routinely appear in incubation reliefs, this short fragment—which, as Sineux notes, is preserved without its context—probably comes not from a scene set in the incubation dormitory, but rather one at the protagonists' home before they have left for the sanctuary, a parallel for which can be found in the scene in Aristophanes's *Plutus* in which Chremylos instructs his slave Karion to prepare for their night at the *Asklepieion* by collecting bedding materials (Ar., *Plut.* 624–626; Petropoulou 1985, 175n.32 has previously made this suggestion; for the issue of bedding at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 258–259).

31 *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 47–56 (quoted pp. 275–276).

32 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161 (quoted pp. 194–195).

claims to the contrary, neither of the *leges sacrae* from the *Amphiareion* that treats the subject of animal sacrifices can be demonstrated to link these rituals to incubation.³³ Since there is evidence for worshipers at *Asklepieia* and other gods' sites initiating incubation just by giving bloodless offerings and perhaps

- 33 One of the *leges sacrae*, *I.Oropos* 276, refers to making a payment of a Boeotian drachma (... ἐμβάλλ(λ)οντα εἰς τὸ[ν] | [θησαυρὸν μὴ ἔλαττον δρα]χμῆς Βοιωτῆς ...) (ll. 4–5), but if it included regulations pertaining to sacrifices or other offerings that were to precede incubation, that portion of the document has been lost. Two other sacred laws that do include passages pertaining to animal sacrifices, however, cannot be shown to link such sacrifices to incubation, despite claims to the contrary. The more significant of these, *I.Oropos* 277, explicitly discusses incubation in the section referring to the payment of money, public identification of those incubating, and the separate sleeping areas for men and women (ll. 36–56; quoted pp. 275–276), but an earlier passage devoted to animal sacrifices appears to have been wrongly associated with incubation. Coming immediately after the statement that “Whoever is intending to be treated by the god must pay a fee of no less than nine obols in approved currency, putting it in the *thesauros* while the *neokoros* is present” (ἐπαρχὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἔλ<α>ττον ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς δοκίμου ἀργυρίου καὶ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν παρελόντος τοῦ νεωκόρου [c. 19] | [c. 9]) (ll. 20–25), it is perhaps understandable that this section—which regulates the role of the priest at sacrifices and the apportionment of skin and meat, and instructs that “It is permissible to sacrifice whatever (animal) one might wish” (θῦειν δὲ ἐξ[εῖν ἅπαν ὃ τι βόληται ἕκαστος) (ll. 30–31)—has been thought to pertain to the next section on incubation (see Petropoulou 1981, 55 and Petropoulou 1985, 176n.41 (expressing changed views on the matter), and Lupu 2003, 322, 331–332; cf. Sineux 2007a, 148–149, linking ll. 20–25 to incubation). Such a conclusion, however, ignores the fact that most of the eleven lines immediately following, particularly the details pertaining to public sacrifices and festivals, clearly are unrelated to incubation, which calls into question whether any of the sacrificial regulations were intended to be read in conjunction with those detailed elsewhere in the document concerning incubation (see the comments of J. Mylonopoulos in *EBGR* 2003, 97 and A. Chaniotis in *SEG* 53, 465). Furthermore, people routinely visited *Asklepieia*, not to mention healing sanctuaries of other gods, to make offerings and pray for cures without engaging in incubation, which means that those who came “intending to be treated by the god” and paid the god's required nine-*obol* fee need not have sought a dream in order to receive his medical assistance; indeed, if *Amphiaraos* *only* healed through incubation he would have been unique. Thus in contrast to the aforementioned Pergamon *lex sacra*, this one appears not to have consisted solely of rules pertaining to incubation, but rather to have addressed multiple activities. (Unfortunately, the *lacuna* in lines 24–25 created by deliberate erasure—one of four short passages in the surviving portion of the inscription that were either erased or edited in antiquity—makes it impossible to determine how closely connected the preceding passage about a monetary contribution and the subsequent passage about the priest's role in making offerings originally were.)

a small sum of money, it is probable that at Oropos animal sacrifices likewise were optional.³⁴ In some cases, especially when wealthier worshipers were planning to engage in incubation, rams may have been sacrificed (or perhaps other similarly valuable animals), but people of more modest means would have been able to make more modest offerings and still expect to receive the god's attention.³⁵ A chronological factor may also be considered: sacrificing

The other *lex sacra* from the *Amphiareion* that has been thought by some to pertain to pre-incubatory rituals is so fragmentary that only a dozen or so words and no complete phrases can be restored with any degree of confidence (*NGSL*² 9, cf. *SEG* 53, 466). References to a bird, a bovine, and two *obols* in lines 5–9 suggest that this part of the document was a sacrificial tariff. Since the statement that “It is permissible to sacrifice whatever (animal) one might wish” in *I.Oropos* 277 was thought by Lupu to pertain to incubation, he concluded that this tariff likewise must concern pre-incubatory sacrifices, though he allowed that this section may also have covered other occasions (Lupu, *ibid.*, 331–332, also discussed in *NGSL*², p. 221n.4; for such sacrifices, see pp. 253–255). While he is correct that this fragmentary document “shares key elements with pre-incubation documents from sanctuaries of Asklepios” (Lupu, *ibid.*, 332), those elements are by no means limited to *Asklepieia* (see *NGSL*², pp. 59–60, on sacrificial tariffs from different cults), and it is ill-advised to infer that this *lex sacra* regulated incubation rituals and monetary contributions when none of what survives appears to distinguish it in any way from other *leges sacrae*. (See Sineux 2007a, 141, noting that the inscription should not be linked to incubation.)

34 The fact that animal sacrifice was not a requirement for incubation at *Asklepieia* can be extrapolated for the *Amphiareion*. This was recognized by Petropoulou, who concluded that sacrificing a ram might not have been essential—despite Pausanias's testimony—and that bloodless offerings were probably acceptable to the god (Petropoulou 1985, 175). Money, too, was to be given before incubation, according to a passage in one of the *leges sacrae* from the sanctuary (*I.Oropos* 277, ll. 39–40); it is, however, unclear whether the other references to coins or *thesauroi* in the three cult regulations likewise refer to incubation. Nonetheless, scholars have linked these payments to the practice: see Lupu 2003, 329–330, specifying that mention of the *thesauros* in *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 23 and *I.Oropos* 276, l. 4 indicates incubation (as does the allusion to it in *I.Oropos* 277, l. 40), and Sineux 2007a, 148–158, arguing that *eparkhē* payments and offerings preceded both therapeutic and divinatory incubation; see also Melfi 1998–2000, 304 on the site's *thesauros*. For money and sacrificial cakes as pre-incubation offerings at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 249–253, and for such offerings when consulting Trophonios, see Appendix 11.2.

35 That wealthier worshipers would have been more likely to sacrifice rams was suggested by Petropoulou, who concluded from the passage in *I.Oropos* 277 permitting any type of animal to be sacrificed (ll. 30–31) that only the rich would routinely make such an expensive offering (Petropoulou 1985, 176). Petropoulou's larger point, that the existence of dedicatory reliefs showing incubating worshipers lying atop ram skins only indicates that people wealthy enough to dedicate marble reliefs might also have sacrificed a ram—and therefore that these reliefs cannot be assumed to mean that everyone who engaged in

rams and sleeping on their skins may have been a regular practice in the early days of the cult of Amphiaraos, when his oracles were sought through divinatory incubation and he was not yet a god whose miraculous cures were sought through therapeutic incubation, and the older practice may well have continued on occasion at Oropos, as is suggested by the reliefs showing the use of ram skins during incubation.³⁶ These reliefs showing therapeutic incubation might indeed reveal that this was the case, but the skins represented in them could also be artistic embellishments that commemorated past practices, or simply could have served as an easily recognizable iconographical element that immediately signaled to the viewer that sleeping figures were engaging in incubation,³⁷ even if the use of animal skins for this ritual was generally associated with divinatory incubation.³⁸ Therefore, the presence of this element in the reliefs should not be taken as an indication that rams were essential to sacrifice at the *Amphiareion*, despite the evidence of Pausanias.

incubation made such a sacrifice—is likewise convincing. (This point applies equally well to the cult of Asklepios, if and when rams were sacrificed before incubation (see pp. 255–258).) See also Sineux 2007a, 172–173, noting that if not a ritual obligation then the sacrifice of such animals by those who could afford it may have been intended both as a gesture of devotion and one intended to show generosity, and thus to have a propitiatory effect.

- 36 Cat. Nos. Amph.-Orop. 2–3; see also Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn 1. For this apparent evolution of Amphiaraos's cult, see pp. 102–104. At Trophonios's oracle a ram was sacrificed the night of the inquiry, and sometimes in the days leading up to the inquiry as well, showing a link between such sacrifices and divination (Paus. 9.39.6; see p. 572). However, since Pausanias is our one source for ram sacrifices both at the *Trophonion* and *Amphiareion* it may be that he mentioned these because of a personal preference for noting the richest sacrifice—as he even seems to indicate in his discussion of sacrifice at the *Trophonion*—and therefore should not be taken as evidence for the types of animals sacrificed by ordinary worshippers.
- 37 See Ogden 2001a, 87–90 for artistic representations of Odysseus consulting the ghost of Teiresias which show the hero seated or standing upon the ram he has sacrificed for the necromantic ritual, the earliest of which is a red-figure Apulian crater dating c. 400–375 BCE (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des médailles 422 (= LIMC VIII, “Teiresias,” No. 11 + photo); for Odysseus's consultation, see pp. 305–306). Though incubation was not involved in Homer's account, the ram's skin represents an important element of these scenes of divination.
- 38 A related suggestion was made by Vikela, who sees an allusion to the pre-incubatory offering of a ram in the representation of a *rhyton* shaped as a ram's head being held by Amphiaraos in a contemporary Oropos relief of a banquet scene (Vikela 1997, 219, discussing Athens, N.M. 3405 (= LIMC I, “Amphiaraos,” No. 66 = Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 216, “Oropos 6,” cf. p. 133 + fig. 135 = Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 229, No. 481)). This form of *rhyton*, however, was quite common in such reliefs, so its presence in the relief may be a coincidence.

Pausanias also provides useful though inconclusive information regarding the role that water played in therapeutic incubation. According to his description of the *Amphiareion*,

ἔστι δὲ Ὀρωπίοις πηγή πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν οὔτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες· νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφείναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάρων λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν.³⁹

There is among the Oropians a spring near the temple, which they call the “Spring of Amphiaraos,” and they neither sacrifice anything into it nor do they make it a custom to use it for purifications or ritual hand-cleansing. When a man has been cured of a disease by an oracle it is established that he tosses coined silver and gold into the spring, for they say that Amphiaraos returned by this already having become a god.

The passage reveals that those who had been cured by the god through incubation—the obvious means of obtaining an “oracle” at this site, though it is unclear whether the term would only have applied to a prescriptive dream, or could also include a dream in which a miraculous cure like those described in the Epidaurian testimonies had occurred—would make a monetary thank-offering as a form of ἱατρὰ (“medical fees”).⁴⁰ Whether this was a voluntary custom or a requirement inscribed in a cult ordinance is impossible to determine, since if the surviving *leges sacrae* did mandate it the relevant passage has been lost. Similarly, since Pausanias clearly states that water was not taken from the “Spring of Amphiaraos” for use in purificatory rituals, and neither Pausanias nor any of the *leges sacrae* indicates whether water from another spring or the adjacent river was used for the rituals preceding incubation, there is no way to know what role water may have played; nonetheless, presumed parallels with practices at *Asklepieia* have led to the conclusion that the uses of water at Oropos were the same, even though the evidence from the cult of Asklepios

39 Paus. 1.34.4. This passage represents a rare example of an ancient author specifying how water at a cult site was or was not to be used, presumably because most uses of water were too well known to merit particular attention. (For ritual sprinkling and other uses of water at *Asklepieia* and other sanctuaries, see Chapter 3.4.4.1.)

40 On this passage see Sineux 2007a, 179–180. For such thank-offerings in Asklepios's and other cults, which would typically be placed in a *thesauros*, see pp. 261–262.

is not well understood.⁴¹ The water flowing from the “Spring of Amphiaraos” in front of the temple appears to have been famous in antiquity, judging from a two-word fragment from Aristophanes’s *Amphiaraos* that refers to “pure water” (ἀκραίφινες ὕδωρ) in some unknown context,⁴² Xenophon’s indication that the waters at the *Amphiareion* were cold for bathing,⁴³ Athenaeus’s favorable comparison of the *Amphiareion*’s water with that found at Eretria in terms of potability,⁴⁴ and references in minor poets.⁴⁵ While there is no way to know whether any of these references pertain to the sanctuary’s fountains and baths that received their water from another source, at least some of them could reflect that the water of the sacred spring was believed to have curative powers, as was the case at numerous healing sanctuaries in the ancient world at which hydrotherapy was practiced: water did, after all, play an important role in therapies at many such sites, most of which cannot be associated with therapeutic incubation.⁴⁶ Thus, even if water drawn from the spring at its source before the temple was not to be used for purificatory or lustral rituals, this water may have been imbibed or externally applied by those seeking a cure, or else this could have been done from the adjacent fountain (as is also true of the purificatory rituals); similarly, immersing oneself in these waters within a bathtub might have been intended to achieve a healthful effect.⁴⁷ Ultimately, it is impossible

41 In his important discussion of this issue Sineux indicates awareness of some of the problems with this conclusion, but ultimately decides that water most likely did play a role in preparing for a night of incubation (see Sineux 2007a, 129–136). For the possibility of a purificatory role for water in incubation rituals at *Asklepieia* along with a discussion of the known uses of water from the Sacred Well at Pergamon, see Chapter 3.4.4.1.

42 Ar., *Amphiaraos*, frag. 34 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2.

43 Xen., *Mem.* 3.13.3.

44 Ath. 2.46CD.

45 *Anth.Pal.* 12.129 (Aratos) and *Coll. Alex.*, Euphorion, frag. 33. Both authors merely make brief references to “Baths of Amphiaraos” or “Amphiareian Baths,” but have been cited as evidence for curative waters by Schachter (Schachter 1981–94, 1:23n.7), as he also does with Eust., *Il.* 2.499 even though this Byzantine commentator mentions baths of Amphiaraos at Harma rather than Oropos (see p. 673n.29). See also Ginouvès 1962, 346n.1 on these brief passages.

46 See pp. 161–163.

47 On the spring and fountain at the sanctuary, as well as the baths that are known to have been used for men and women separately (*I.Oropos* 292, ll. 2–3, 8), see Sineux 2007a, 133–136 (with references). See also Argoud 1985 for the water installations at the sanctuary, and Sineux, *ibid.*, 131–132, noting that the identification of the structure on the opposite banks of the river as a water clock disproves the suggestion of Ginouvès that it was used for purification before incubation (Ginouvès 1962, 346). (A broad reassessment of the sanctuary’s hydraulic and bathing infrastructure has been undertaken by

to dismiss the potential parallels represented by the *Asklepieia* at which water might have been employed for purification before incubation, but this is more conjecture than fact, and it is only possible to speculate precisely how water was used at the Oropos *Amphiareion*.⁴⁸ Moreover, since therapeutic incubation was not originally an element of the cult of Amphiaraos it is likely that this use for water in his cult only would have developed following the establishment of his sanctuary at Oropos.

No other details about incubation at the *Amphiareion* survive, but this corresponds to the general silence of the sources regarding the site's function as a healing sanctuary. While the *lex sacra* refers to those engaging in therapeutic incubation, none of the roughly two hundred dedicatory inscriptions from the *Amphiareion* does so. In fact, just one of these even mentions the dedicant's health,⁴⁹ while neither of the dedications citing divine communications refers to the god's powers of healing or can even be linked to incubation.⁵⁰ This silence among all of the other dedicatory inscriptions from the site does not mean that they were given for reasons other than the need or desire to reward the god for his medical assistance: indeed, the fact that two broken anatomical reliefs representing a knee and leg, respectively, both bear inscriptions that

Anna Androvitsanea and will be detailed in her dissertation at Technische Universität Berlin, *Water and Healing in Antiquity: The Sanctuary of Amphiaraos*. See the preliminary treatment of the subject recently published in Androvitsanea 2014. I am grateful to both Androvitsanea and Monika Trümper for their views on this subject.)

48 For the distant possibility that the water of the sacred spring would be imbibed for mantic rituals, see Ginouvès 1962, 346–347, echoed by Sineux 2007a, 133; but see Cole 1988, 162–163 on the role of water at oracular sanctuaries, none of which were associated with incubation.

49 This lone exception referring to a recovery is *I.Oropos* 467 (quoted below), while a damaged statue base dating to the fourth century BCE employs the term *παυσίπονος* ("ending hardship or pain") and thus appears to allude to a medical matter (*I.Oropos* 380). For the suggestion that this inscription might refer to the healing powers of the statue apparently mentioned in the damaged first line, see *EBGR* 1997, 296 (at p. 207); see Sineux 2007a, 182n.79 for comparable language applied to Asklepios in the "Isyllos Hymn" (*IG* 1V² 1, 128; see pp. 202–203n.204). See also *I.Oropos* 469 (discussed below). The dedications linked to healing have been discussed by Sineux, *ibid.*, 181–182.

50 *I.Oropos* 349 is an inscribed base given by a *neokoros* *προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ*, and while this formula can be reasonably but inconclusively interpreted as a reference to a dream (see pp. 34–35n.95), the dedication itself appears to be a routine one made by a cult official rather than one given by a worshiper following a return to health. The other inscription recording a dream, *I.Oropos* 329, is a manumission record and thus unrelated to healing. On these two inscriptions as well as literary sources for divinatory incubation at the *Amphiareion*, see Chapter 5.2.

only refer to fulfillment of a vow without making any mention of that vow having been health-related suggests that any number of other dedications only featuring generic votive language likewise might have been given after the god had healed a worshiper.⁵¹ That this must have been the case can be seen in three of the temple inventories, which record gifts of anatomical votives such as eyes, ears, phalluses, breasts, and so forth, revealing that dedications given as compensation for cures—some no doubt obtained through incubation—were abundant at the *Amphiareion*.⁵² Moreover, Amphiaraos's importance as a healer to the nearby inhabitants of Attica is demonstrated by a public decree of 332/1 BCE recording the gift of a gold crown to him "because the god takes good care of those coming—Athenians and all of the others—to the sanctuary for health and for the safety of all of those in the land" (ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεὸς | καλῶς ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ἀφικνουμένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαι πᾶντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ).⁵³ This near-silence in the epigraphical sources, like the silence in the sources from certain *Asklepieia* discussed above, must be a function of chronology and local epigraphical habit. The dedications to Amphiaraos from Oropos generally date before the second century BCE and thus predate almost every dedicatory inscription from *Asklepieia* and the sanctuaries of other gods in which references to health and healing are found.⁵⁴ Moreover, these Oropos inscriptions were almost all written in prose, and prose dedications are generally more formulaic and less detailed than metrical ones. Thus, it is perhaps no coincidence that the only dedication from the

51 *I.Oropos* 409 and 469 (quoted below).

52 *I.Oropos* 311, l. 3 (ears and eyes); 321, ll. 4, 8, 9, 12–15, 17 (5–8 pairs of eyes, depending on restoration); 324, ll. 68–71 (two faces, two breasts, two phalluses, one hand). For anatomical votives at Oropos, see: van Straten 1981, 100–101; Forsén 1996, 147; and Sineux 2007a, 182–185. Only a single example survives from the site: a small bronze arm and hand (Petrakos 1968, 134 + Pl. 51a; cf. van Straten, *ibid.*, Appendix A 16.2 and Forsén, *ibid.*, 113, 147). Moreover, it is unclear just how common such gifts were, since two other inventories (*I.Oropos* 325, 326), including the longest and most well preserved, include no anatomical votives, raising the question of whether they were rarely given or just rarely recorded. In addition, medical tools were found at the sanctuary (e.g., *I.Oropos* 754), though these alone are not evidence for healing on the premises (see pp. 226–227n.280).

53 IG 11^{3.1}, 2, 349, ll. 11–15 (= *I.Oropos* 296). On this inscription, see Scafuro 2009; cf. Sineux 2007a, 101–102. Parker 1989, 155 states that this "golden crown for services rendered" implies dream-oracles, but the language used is too general for such an inference to be made.

54 The Epidauros healing testimonies date to the fourth century BCE, but reflect a different genre from dedicatory inscriptions. Since at least some of the testimonies may have been copied from dedicatory texts rather than taken from oral tradition, however, this is something of a gray area (see p. 173n.121).

Amphiareion that refers to a medical recovery is a statue base inscribed with an epigram:

Φλυεύς με Μηνόδωρος, Ἀμφιάραε, σοὶ
τίθησιν εἰκῶ Μουσικοῦ παιδὸς φίλου
ὃν ἐκ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἤγειρας νόσου.⁵⁵

Amphiaraos, Menodoros of Phlya erects me for you,
an image of Mousikos's dear child,
whom you relieved of a powerful illness.

In contrast, three dedicatory reliefs that undoubtedly were given in gratitude for medical cures feature concise prose dedications and make no reference to what had occurred: the aforementioned relief dating to 400–350 BCE that shows Amphiaraos operating on Archinos only names this dedicant and the god for whom it was intended (Ἀρχίνος Ἀμφιαράωι ἀνέθηκεν);⁵⁶ the roughly contemporary relief of a knee apparently dedicated to Amphiaraos and Hygieia by a woman simply refers to her having fulfilled a vow ([---]ια Ἀμφιεράωι | [χαὶ Ὑγίεια]ι εὐξαμένη);⁵⁷ and, the third-century CE stele bearing a relief of a leg is inscribed solely with the name of the dedicant Leonteus and a record of his acquitting his vow to Amphiaraos (Λεοντεὺς | Λεοντέος | Λεβαδεὺς | εὐχὴν Ἀμφιαράω).⁵⁸ Whereas Leonteus's dedication gives no indication of whether the god's assistance was solicited through incubation or simple prayer, Archinos's relief makes clear that he had engaged in incubation successfully. The scarcity of dedicatory inscriptions from Oropos that explicitly recognize the god for his medical prowess, therefore, should be attributed to epigraphic practices, and for this reason it is safe to conclude that any number of the surviving dedicatory inscriptions from the site were given for health-related reasons but do not provide specifics, simply because at the time this was not commonly done.⁵⁹

55 *I.Oropos* 467 + Pl., treated by Peek as a dedication made following successful incubation (Peek 1941, 67). On the side of the base there is a relief of a serpent winding around a staff—another example of Asklepios's iconography having been adapted to Amphiaraos.

56 Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1.

57 *I.Oropos* 409 + Pl.

58 *I.Oropos* 469 + Pl. See Petsalis-Diomidis 2006a, 210–211.

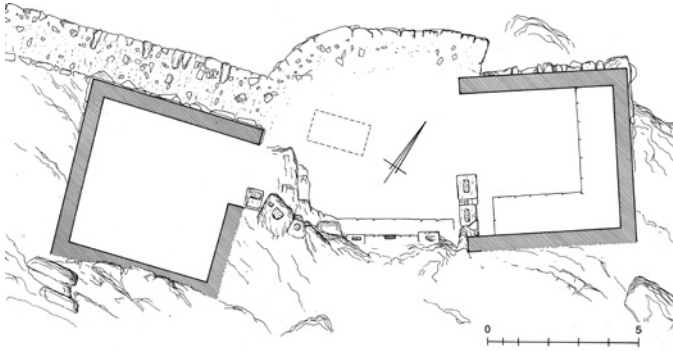
59 Damage to two inscriptions may be hiding further exceptions: it has been suggested by Angelos Chaniotis that the fragmentary epigrams on them “possibly refer to miracles of Amphiaraos,” with one, which mentions “night,” perhaps to be linked to incubation (EBGR 1997, 296 (at p. 207), on *I.Oropos* 377–378).

With far fewer sources surviving from the much smaller Rhamnous *Amphiareion*, which Amphiaraos shared with the hero-physician Aristomachos, much less is known about the practices at this site. This sanctuary consisted of a small shrine (οἶκος) and portico-like structure (προστώον) that both measured roughly 4.70 × 4.70 meters, an altar, and a cult-table, as is revealed by archaeological remains and a late-third century BCE decree by an association of the god's worshipers whose members had restored the site (Plan 7) (Fig. 15).⁶⁰ Since the sanctuary's physical remains indicate that incubation is unlikely to have been practiced there,⁶¹ the best evidence is the uninscribed, broken relief, most likely dating to the early fourth century BCE, that appears to show an incubation scene with *two* patients each sitting up on a *klinē* and accompanied by a seated figure while Amphiaraos and an unidentified male figure look on.⁶² If this relief was indeed dedicated by a worshiper (or worshipers) who had engaged in therapeutic incubation at an *Amphiareion*, with Oropos relatively close by it should not be assumed automatically that this relief represents evidence for the practice at Rhamnous itself: after all, worshipers living in Attica who had visited Oropos to engage in incubation could have thanked

60 On the sanctuary, see: Pouilloux 1954, 93–102; Petrakos, Δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος 1:307–319 and 11:133–139, Nos. 167–178 (with decree at No. 167); Verbanck-Piéard 2000, 324; Gorrini/Melfi 2002, 251–254; Sineux 2007a, 109–113 *et pass.*; and Terranova 2013, 152–156. For the interesting possibility that Amphiaraos's introduction to Rhamnous, a fortified site, may have been linked to his military background in Greek myth, see Sineux, *ibid.*, 112–113; for a proposed association with the hostilities between Athens and Thebes, see Gorrini/Melfi, *ibid.*, 253–254.

61 Whether incubation was practiced at the Rhamnous *Amphiareion*, as claimed by some (*e.g.*, van Straten 1995, 73 and Gorrini 2001, 310), has been rightly questioned by Vikela (Vikela 2006, 43–44, 55). In contrast, Sineux—who would not have had access to Vikela's article—has pointed to the incubation relief (see next note) from the site as evidence (Sineux 2007a, 110–112). Furthermore, Sineux associated the *prostoon* as well as an unidentified cistern (λάκκος) recorded in the association's decree with incubation, not taking into account that this cistern may have been located away from the sanctuary in a cultivated area (see *EBGR* 2001, 142 (at p. 237)). Despite Petrakos's earlier statements that this *prostoon* might have served overnight visitors but need not be associated with incubatory activities (*ibid.*, 1:307–309), Gorrini and Melfi point to it as the likely place for incubation because it included a bench, as did the Oropos stoa; however, since there is reason to think that the bench at Oropos was unrelated to incubation, not to mention that benches were a common feature of sanctuaries, this is insufficient evidence (see n. 14; on benches and incubation, see pp. 125–126n.30). A more likely explanation of the bench's presence is that this structure served as a resting and waiting place for those who had just ascended to the shrine (as suggested by Evgenia Vikela, personal communication.).

62 Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1.



PLAN 7 *Rhamnous Amphiareion.*

SOURCE: PETRAKOS, ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ, FIG. 216
(REPRODUCED COURTESY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY AT ATHENS)



FIGURE 15 *Rhamnous Amphiareion, showing prostoon and dedications.*

SOURCE: PETRAKOS, ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ, FIG. 217
(REPRODUCED COURTESY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
AT ATHENS)

the god for their subsequent cure at this sanctuary instead of returning to the more distant one. Therefore, while dedications that address the hero-physician Aristomachos in addition to or instead of Amphiaraos make clear that the Rhamnous site was linked to healing, and a lone anatomical votive—a broken

relief showing a woman's pelvic area⁶³—represents further evidence of this, there is no other evidence for incubation there, and the site's physical limitations undermine this possibility. Although it is impossible to rule out, as has been suggested, that either the *prostoon* or the small temple itself served those engaging in incubation, nothing about these structures distinguishes them as incubation chambers, and they are certainly too small to have hosted numerous recumbent worshipers at the same time. Amphiaraios's cult, therefore, is comparable to that of Asklepios not only because of the physical resemblance of the two gods, but also because it appears likely that Amphiaraios's larger sanctuary at Oropos—like Epidauros or Pergamon—was visited by many who wished to engage in incubation, whereas his smaller Rhamnous sanctuary, like so many similar hero shrines and minor *Asklepieia*, was not suited to the practice and therefore was most likely intended for those simply praying for health or thanking the god and his colleague Aristomachos for a recent recovery.⁶⁴

4.3 The *Ploutonion-Charonion* Complex at Akaraka (Caria)

Other than Amphiaraios, whose penchant for healing through incubation is attested by a range of sources, few Greek divinities cured their worshipers in this manner, and the evidence is rather problematic.⁶⁵ Most notably, near a Carian town named Akaraka, roughly three kilometers to the west of Nysa and connected to it by a sacred way, there was a *Ploutonion* featuring a temple of Pluto and Kore as well as a sacred grove, above which was an associated cave “wondrous in nature” (ἄντρον . . . θαυμαστὸν τῇ φύσει), known as the *Charonion*, that served a therapeutic purpose according to Strabo, and near them was an unnamed village associated with the twin holy sites.⁶⁶

63 Oropos Mus. Inv. No. 526; see V. Petrakos, *ΠΑΑΗ* 1982, 158 + Pl. 99γ and Petrakos, *Δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος*, p. 1:319.

64 For the issue of whether incubation was practiced at minor *Asklepieia*, see p. 213.

65 In addition to the cult sites discussed in Sects. 4.3–4.5, see the discussion of *IG XII.4, 2, 519*, an inscribed relief of the Graces from Kos that has been rather speculatively linked to therapeutic or divinatory incubation, in Appendix IX.

66 Strabo 14.1.44, pp. 649–650; cf. Strabo 12.8.17 and 14.1.48, in the latter indicating that he himself had spent time at Nysa in his youth. The toponym for the town near the *Ploutonion* appears in Strabo as *Ἀχάρακα*, but an inscription indicates that *Ἀχάρακα* is correct (see Rigsby, *Asyilia*, 399n.1). For the fullest discussion of the site in terms of both ancient written sources and its remains, see Nissen 2009, 111–124, 313–314. See also: Laumonier 1958, 507; Rigsby, *ibid.*, 399–406; and Bonnechere 2003a, 225–226 and Bonnechere 2007, 39–40; cf. Friese 2010, 386–387, Cat. No. I.11.1.1 and Friese 2013, 229–230, Ustinova 2002, 283–284 and

The *Ploutonion-Charonion* complex was different from other sites primarily devoted to therapeutic incubation in that the standard practice was for priests to consult one or both gods on behalf of sufferers, although sometimes the sick would seek their own dreams, preceding this by a period of fasting.⁶⁷ According to Strabo, the one source for the site,

λέγουσι γάρ δὴ καὶ τοὺς νοσώδεις καὶ προσέχοντας ταῖς τῶν θεῶν τούτων θεραπαίαις φοιτᾶν ἐκεῖσε καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πλησίον τοῦ ἄντρου παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῶν ἱερέων, οἳ ἐγκοιμῶνται τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ διατάττουσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀνείρων τὰς θεραπαίας. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἰατρειάν· ἄγουσι δὲ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ἄντρον καὶ ἰδρύουσι μένοντας καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐκεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν φωλεῷ σιτίων χωρὶς ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἰδίῳ ἐνυπνίοις οἱ νοσηλευόμενοι προσέχουσι, μυσταγωγοῖς δ' ὅμως καὶ συμβούλοις ἐκείνοις χρώνται, ὥς ἂν ἱερεῦσι· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἄδυτός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὀλέθριος.

They say that those who are sick and intent on cures from these gods regularly arrive there and lead their lives in the village near the cave, in the presence of the experts among the priests, who both incubate on their behalf and prescribe treatments based on dreams. These (priests) are also the ones invoking the medical treatment of the gods. And they often lead (the sick) into the cave and have them sit there waiting, at rest, just as though in an animal den, without food, for several days. Sometimes

Ustinova 2009, 86–87. A general, well-illustrated overview of the history and remains of both the town and the nearby sanctuary are provided in İdil 1999 and, more briefly, Bean 1980, 179–187. The *Ploutonion*, Nysa's main sanctuary, was discovered over a century ago, and is located near the modern village of Salavathi, four kilometers west of Sultanhisar, in a valley with sulphurous waters (see Radet 1890, 227–231; cf. Buresch 1898, 188, H. Pringsheim in von Diest 1913, 57–61, and Radt (S.) 2002–11, VIII:60). Whereas a number of architectural elements from its temple survive, despite earlier reports the entrance to the *Charonion* has not been found (see Nissen, *ibid.*, 118–123; see also İdil, *ibid.*, 124, indicating its likely location on the slope of a ravine); the temple was previously identified as Doric, but is now redated to the Hadrianic Period (see İdil/Kadioğlu 2004, 393; cf. Nissen, *ibid.*, 120). The date of the establishment of the two associated cult sites is unknown, though for one of them a *terminus ante quem* of 281 BCE is provided by an inscribed royal letter of Seleukos I and his co-regent Antiochos I pertaining to a sanctuary that must have been the *Ploutonion* (RC 9). This is preferable to Nissen's proposed *terminus ante quem* of c. 250 BCE, which depends on an incorrectly dated Delian dedication to Pluto, Kore, Demeter and Hermes in which is found an ethnic originally in use before Nysa's establishment (Nissen, *ibid.*, 115, citing IG XI.4, 1235 (= *RICIS* 202/0164 + Pl. 45)).

67 For priestly incubation, see Appendix IV, and for fasting and incubation see Appendix VI.

those seeking treatment even devote themselves to (obtaining) their own dreams, but nonetheless use those men as guides in the mysteries and advisers, since they are priests. For others the place is not to be trodden and is deadly.

Just as Asklepios both healed directly and provided instructions that would lead to a recovery, it can be inferred that the gods at Akaraka helped in a similar manner: visitors whose maladies could be cured with a prescription relied on the priests to engage in incubation and convey the gods' remedy, but some had to be brought to the cave for treatment, which suggests that at the *Charonion* these individuals were thought to be directly ministered to by the gods.⁶⁸ While Strabo does not indicate whether the priests would seek dreams in the *Charonion* or *Ploutonion*, it appears that those among the sick who would seek their own dreams would have done so in the cave, since Strabo notes this option in the midst of his discussion of it; however, it can be inferred that some when brought to the cave for a cure relied simply on prayer for a recovery, rather than prayer for a dream leading to one.⁶⁹

68 Other caves with deadly vapors were likewise associated with Charon (Plin., *H.N.* 2.95.208; Iambl., *Myst.* 4.1, p. 182; cf. Cic., *Div.* 1.79). See Nissen 2009, 105–133, 313–315, the most extensive study of *Charoneia*, with a focus on those in the Maeander River valley (and at p. 111 speculating that perhaps these other sites likewise served a therapeutic function, and specifically suggesting it for the Leimon *Charonion* at pp. 124–125). For the distinction between *Ploutonia* and *Charon(e)ia*, see Nissen, *ibid.*, 107–111, using Strabo to conclude that the former best applies to sanctuaries of Hades/Pluto and Kore which were typically associated with a *nekyomanteion* (a feature not noted by Strabo), while the latter should be reserved for grottos and subterranean passages with noxious exhalations, which were understandably associated with entrance to the Underworld. (For a *Ploutonion* at Hierapolis that has been unconvincingly associated with incubation, see Appendix 1.3.3.)

69 Strabo is regrettably vague regarding the site's topography. His use of the phrase ἄγρουσι . . . εἰς τὸ ἄντρον can mean either that the sick were brought *into* the cave or *up to* it (i.e. into a sacred precinct at the cave's entrance), but the comparison to animals in their dens indicates that they would be left inside. The presence of the fumes raises the question of how far into the cave the sick would be brought, especially if Strabo is correct that these were powerful enough to kill a bull that during an annual festival would be taken up to the cave and released into it. Regardless of this issue, it does appear to have been the case that, as Nissen has most recently concluded (and Bouché-Leclercq appears to have done first), people engaged in incubation at the *Charonion*, and she may well be correct in associating with this site Pausanias's statement that at sites of the Underworld gods located in the area of the Maeander River only those whom they invited through dreams would enter the inner sanctum (τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ Μαϊάνδρου πόλεσι θεοὶ ποιοῦσιν οἱ

4.4 Hemithea at Kastabos (Carian Chersonese)

A more conventional approach to therapeutic incubation appears to have been in evidence at the Carian Chersonese sanctuary of Hemithea, also known as Molpadia, in Kastabos, which was constructed just after 300 BCE but flourished under the Rhodian hegemony in the second century BCE, with the goddess being honored far and wide as a healer and for her role in easing childbirth (Plans 8 and 9) (Fig. 16).⁷⁰ According to Diodorus:

αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεόν αὐξήσεως φέρουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίαν· τοῖς τε γὰρ κάμνουσι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφισταμένην φανερώς διδόναι τὴν θεραπείαν, καὶ πολλοὺς τοῖς ἀπεγνωσμένοις πάθεσι συνεχομένους περιτυχόντας ὑγιασθῆναι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ περὶ τὰς δυστοκούσας τῶν γυναικῶν τῆς ἐν ταῖς ὥδῃσι ταλαιπωρίας καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττειν τὴν θεόν. [3] διὸ καὶ πολλῶν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων σεσωσμένων πεπλήρωται τὸ τέμενος ἀναθημάτων, καὶ ταῦτα οὐθ' ὑπὸ φυλάκων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τείχους ὄχυροῦ φυλαττόμενα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους δεισιδαιμονίας.⁷¹

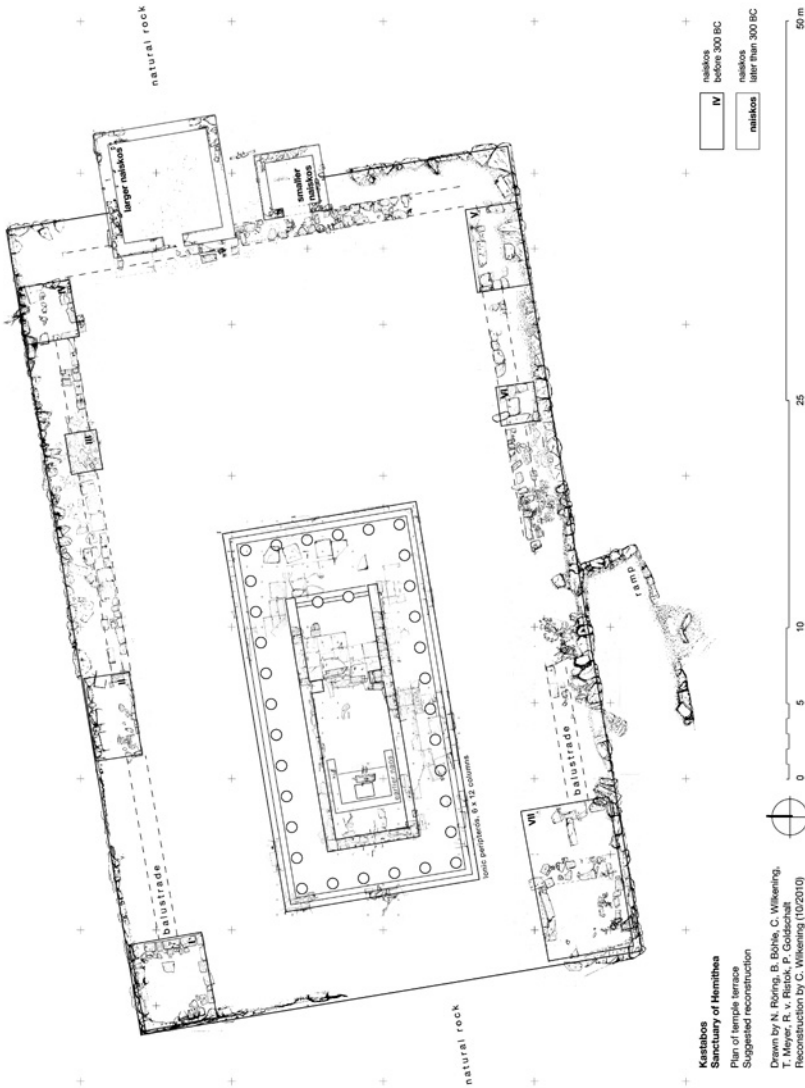
They say that the cause of the (sanctuary's) further growth is her general beneficence towards all people. For she provides a cure to those who are sick, visibly appearing in their sleep, and many who are afflicted with misfortunes thought hopeless are healed. Moreover, as regards women suffering in childbirth, the goddess provides deliverance from the distress of birth pangs and its dangers. As a result, the sanctuary has been filled with the dedications of many who have been saved since earlier eras, and these are protected by neither guards nor a secure wall, but rather by customary awe of the divine.

This passage implies that visitors would come to the site seeking miraculous cures, which is preferable to the alternative interpretation that the goddess only cured through dreams obtained in a private setting, but the sanctuary's remains do not reveal an obvious location for them to have awaited the

καταχθόνιοι· οὓς γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὰ ἄδυστα ἐσιέναι θελήσωσιν, ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ὄνειράτων ὄψεις), (Paus. 10.32.13; see Nissen 2009, 114 and Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, 11:373–374).

70 On the sanctuary and its remains, see Cook/Plommer 1966, Wilkenig 2008, and Held 2015; cf. Friese 2010, 437–438, Cat. No. III.L1.16, Held 2013, 94–96, and Wilkenig-Aumann 2015.

71 Diod. Sic. 5.62–63 (5.63.2–3 quoted). For the likelihood that Diodorus's source was more than a century old, see Cook/Plommer 1966, 164–165. As the sanctuary was declining in this author's time it is impossible to know for how long it served as a healing shrine.



PLAN 8
Kastabos sanctuary of Hemithea (temple terrace).
SOURCE: ARCHITECTURAL DOCUMENTATION: C. WILKENING-AUMANN, N. RÖRING, B. BÖHLE,
T. MEYER, R.V. RISTOK, P. GOLDSCHALT. RECONSTRUCTION: C. WILKENING-AUMANN (2010).
(COURTESY OF PROJECT BYBASSOS AND KASTABOS, PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG)



PLAN 9 *Kastabos sanctuary of Hemithea.*

SOURCE: S. STEININGER, A. WISMETH, J. GEIPEL, T. SCHUDT, T. BLUM
(FH WÜRZBURG-SCHWEINFURT), C. WILKENING-AUMANN, N. RÖDING, T. MEYER
(BTU COTTBUS-SENFTENBERG) (2010). (COURTESY OF PROJECT BYBASSOS AND KASTABOS,
PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG)

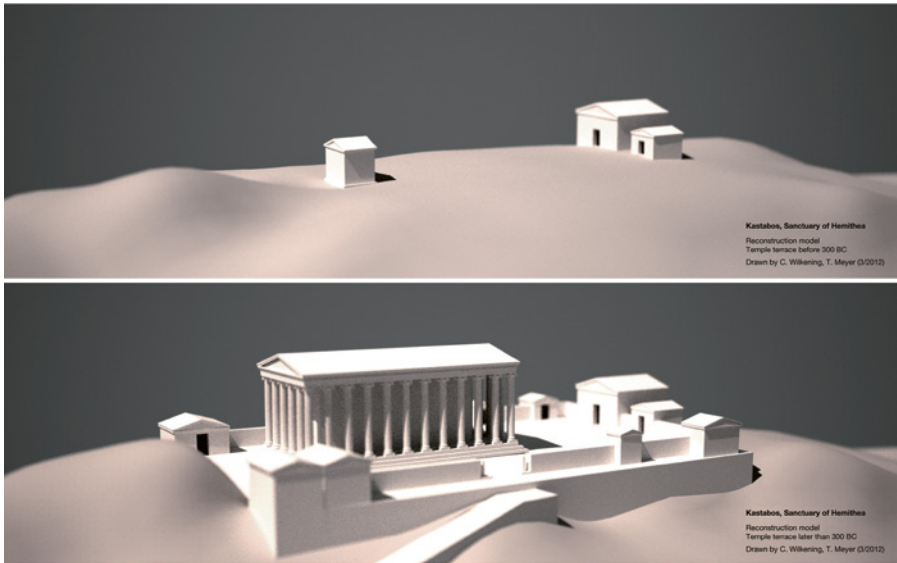


FIGURE 16 *Kastabos sanctuary of Hemithea, digital reconstruction showing temple terrace pre-300 BCE (top) and post-300 BCE (bottom).*

SOURCE: C. WILKENING-AUMANN, T. MEYER (2012).

(COURTESY OF PROJECT BYBASSOS AND KASTABOS,
PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG)

goddess's dream-visitations. In addition to the temple itself, the sanctuary featured two small buildings at the eastern perimeter, neither of which corresponds to known incubation dormitories.⁷² The temple itself, therefore, is the only structure within the *temenos* that might have hosted sleeping suppliants, and indeed its large *pronaos* and porch could have proved suitable for this, though only for a few visitors at a time; otherwise, it would have been necessary to sleep on the temple terrace or another one of the terraces.⁷³

72 In their discussion of the site Cook and Plommer tentatively suggested that the smaller of the two buildings could have been used for incubation, but preferred the alternative of the structure's having served temple personnel in some manner (Cook/Plommer 1966, 32).

73 The suggestion that the *pronaos* and porch served as the place for incubation is that of Cook/Plommer 1966, 171 (a possibility supported, albeit not strongly, by the very limited evidence from the cult of Asklepios for incubation in the outer area of a temple (see pp. 136–137n.48)). The authors, supporting their contention that “The miraculous cures were probably effected more by faith-healing than by systematic therapy,” suggest that since Diodorus notes a lack of guardians (φυλάκται) at the sanctuary it might not have been staffed year-round—unlike *Asklepieia*, where cult personnel would always be present to assist those seeking cures—and instead the cures may have been limited to festival times.

No other evidence for incubation at the sanctuary survives, despite the belief that a badly damaged second-century BCE stele from the area preserving part of a lengthy civic decree features language pertaining to incubation facilities. Following a formulaic opening, the decree begins with the statement that “Since the place for accommodation of the [suppliants? demesmen?] at the sanctuary found in Kastabos is inadequate for the celebration because they are arriving in great numbers, and because among the Bybassians there is not another border area possible for accommodation” ([ἐ]π[ε]ῖθ[η] τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος ἐν Καστάβωι ποτὶ τὰν κλίσιν τῶν | [ἰκ-? δαμ?]ετᾶν οὐ[χ] ἰκ[ανοῦ] ὄντος πο[τὶ] τὰν ὑποδοχὴν διὰ τὸ πλείονας | παραγι[ν]εσθῆαι, [ἄ]λλου δὲ τρόπου συνορίζοντος τᾷ κλίσει οὐχ ὑπάρχοντος Βυβασ[σί]||[οις]), apparently continuing with a discussion of solutions and a related benefaction.⁷⁴ While κλίσις has been interpreted as a reference to a structure in which incubation would occur,⁷⁵ if one recognizes that ὑποδοχή in this context refers to a religious festival then the passage can only refer to the increased need for housing those in attendance, and the term κλίσις to their lodging.⁷⁶ This decree,

This, however, is unconvincing reasoning, since Diodorus notes the presence of “neither guards nor a secure wall” in order to emphasize the reverence in which the sanctuary was held, and thus his statement is not relevant to the issue of whether the place was constantly staffed (*e.g.*, by *neokoroi*). Moreover, the possibility of therapeutic incubation only having been practiced during festivals, and not whenever an ailing person had need, has no known parallels among the Greeks—and, given the crowds involved, limiting incubation to these periods would have been logistically problematic. (I am grateful to Winfried Held for the suggestion of the terraces as the potential locus for incubation (personal communication).)

74 *I.PérRhod* 44, ll. 3–6 (= *I.RhodPer* 401), found at Bakıcak near Gölenye.

75 See the discussion of G.E. Bean in Cook/Plommer 1966, 61–65 (especially p. 62), attributing the association of κλίσις with incubation to Cook (followed in Graf 1998). The restoration of [ἰκ]ετᾶν, which would be particularly appealing if κλίσις pertained to incubation due to the common use of ἰκέτης for suppliants at *Asklepieia* (see p. 218n.250), was proposed by Bean, whereas the Roberts had suggested [δαμ]ετᾶν (*BE* 1955, 215), preferring it to Günther Klaffenbach's [φυλ]ετᾶν (as noted in *BE* and *I.PérRhod*). Cook's interpretation, however, was never convincing, since there is no parallel for κλίσις being used for an incubation dormitory, a type of facility with an established terminology (see p. 12). (The related term *κατακλίσις*, however, was later used by Aristides to refer to the *act* of lying down and sleeping (Aristid., *Or.* 42.8, 48.57, 48.80 (see p. 145n.61), 49.7, the latter two in the context of incubation).)

76 That the term κλίσις in this context pertains to such overnight lodgings is strengthened by the use of κλισία in one of the Epidaurian testimonies in clear reference to lodging rather than an incubation structure (*IG* IV² 1, 123, ll. 129–134 (= Test. No. 65)). Though not a standard definition of ὑποδοχή, epigraphical evidence from Caria as well as Kos and Rhodes, among other places, shows that in the general area of Caria and the Dorian

therefore, represents excellent evidence for Hemithea's popularity, as is clear from the first few lines indicating that this had rendered its existing accommodations insufficient, but not for the importance of incubation to her cult, for which we only have Diodorus as a source—and an ambiguous one, at that.

4.5 Other Cults

A similarly ambiguous situation is presented by Pausanias's report concerning the role of Dionysos as a healing god at Amphikleia in Phokis and its environs:

θεάς δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια Διονύσω δρῶσιν ὄργια, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον οὐκ ἔστι, οὐδὲ ἐν φανερώ σφισιν ἀγαλμα. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικλειέων μάντιν τέ σφισι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καὶ βοηθὸν νόσων καθεστηκέναι· τὰ μὲν δὴ νοσήματα αὐτοῖς Ἀμφικλειεύσι καὶ τοῖς προσοικουσιν ἰᾶται δι' ὀνειράτων, πρόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔστι, χρᾶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος.⁷⁷

They perform secret rites for Dionysos that are especially worth seeing. There is no entrance into the inner sanctum possible, nor is a statue

Hexapolis it could be used for a festival (see, e.g., *I.Mylasa* I 421, ll. 4–5 (undated) and II 861, l. 7 (c. 150–100 BCE) from Mylasa, *I.Stratonikeia* I 242, l. 8 from Panamara (undated), *IG XII.4.1*, 100, ll. 21–22, 24 (2nd cent. BCE), 102, l. 12 (c. 190 BCE), and 121, l. 12 (c. 200 BCE) from Kos, *I.Lindos* II 419, l. 78 (22 CE) from Lindos, and *IG XII.1*, 155, ll. 49–50 (2nd BCE), from Rhodes; cf. *IG XII.4.1*, 103, ll. 14–15, τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις, from Kos; see also *BE* 1951, 55 (at p. 140) and Laumonier 1958, 138n.2, recognizing the term's use for festival banquets). Thus it is preferable to read this term as a reference to a major celebration of Hemithea, the *Kastabeia*, rather than to the receiving of visitors, as done by Alain Bresson in *I.PérRhod*. (I am grateful to Angelos Chaniotis for this point.)

As discussed by G.E. Bean in Cook/Plommer 1966, 62–64, expanding the sanctuary itself would have been a difficult proposition, since it would have required a major engineering project involving the construction of large earthworks to extend the temple platform, and thus the inscription's reference to the lack of suitable land might refer to the area in the immediate vicinity of the *temenos*, but could also refer to a wider area, perhaps where the stele was discovered. In light of this, Bean suggested that the goddess's healing operation may have continued at her temple, while the festival in her honor may have been relocated to a more spacious area. See also the discussion by Bresson in his commentary, emphasizing that an interpretation of κλίσις involving incubation is uncertain, and echoing Bean by suggesting that if the term does pertain to accommodations these could have been in the plain where the stele originated instead of at the sanctuary (*I.PérRhod*, pp. 71–72).

77 Paus. 10.33.11. See Friese 2010, 372, Cat. No. I.1.II.3.

visible to them. It is said by the Amphikleians that this god has been established for them as both a seer and an aide against disease—and indeed on the one hand he cures diseases for the Amphikleians and their neighbors through dreams, and on the other hand his priest is a prophet, and proclaims (oracles) under the god's inspiration.

The author expressly draws a distinction between the god's twin roles of seer and healer, and while there are known parallels for sanctuaries at which one could either undergo incubation or receive an oracle through another medium,⁷⁸ Pausanias fails to note whether the therapeutic dreams attributed to Dionysos were received by those undergoing incubation.⁷⁹ It is thus possible that the sick could expect Dionysos to minister to them as they slept in their own beds.

An even less convincing case can be made for therapeutic incubation at sites associated with Asklepios's descendants, though there are some sanctuaries at which this may have occurred.⁸⁰ The *heroon* of Podalirios at Monte Gargano (Mt. Drion) in Daunia, located somewhere in the narrow valley carved by the Althainos River as it descends from the mountain, has been linked to incubation because of a passage in Lykophron's *Alexandra*, though its ambiguous nature—it does not explicitly refer to therapeutic incubation, instead possibly alluding to divinatory incubation and hydrotherapy—as well as the lack of any reference to dream-oracles in Strabo's brief mention of the site, makes this conclusion an uncertain one. As described by Lykophron in the early second century BCE,

ὁ δ' Αὔσονείων ἄγχι Κάλχαντος τάφων
 δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἄτερος, ψευδηρίων,
 ξένην ἐπ' ὀστέοισιν ὀγχήσει κόνιν.
 δοραῖς δὲ μήλων τύμβον ἐγκοιμωμένοις
 χρήσει καθ' ὕπνον πᾶσι νημερτὴ φάτιν,

78 See p. 28n.77.

79 Wacht concludes that these dreams were received through priestly incubation, conflating the priests' oracular function with a role in healing not found in Pausanias (Wacht 1997, 195–196, influenced by Thrämer 1913, 548 rather than Nilsson 1955–61, 1:569). The μέν . . . δέ construction, however, suggests that the author had in mind two different activities.

80 For Podalirios and Machaon, especially their artistic representation, see Droste 2001; for a collection of the literary sources for the two going back to Homer, see Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:65–104, Nos. 135–216. Among these, Aristides's oration *On the Sons of Asklepios* (*Or.* 38) stands out.

νόσων δ' ἄκεστής Δαυνίοις κληθήσεται,
 ὅταν κατιχμαίνοντες Ἀλθαίνου ῥοαῖς
 ἄρωγὸν αὐδήσωσιν Ἡπίου γόνον
 ἀστοίοις καὶ ποίμναισι πρευμανή μολεῖν.⁸¹

Near the Ausonian tomb of Calchas,
 his cenotaph, one of two brothers [*i.e.*, Podalirios]
 shall bear alien soil upon his bones.
 To all those incubating at his tomb upon the hides of sheep
 he shall pronounce his infallible utterance in their sleep.
 And among the Daunians he shall be invoked as healer of diseases:
 whenever they wash with the waters of Althainos
 they will call upon this offspring of the Kindly One [*i.e.*, Asklepios]
 to come as a gracious helper to the citizens and their flocks.

According to Strabo, the practice of sleeping in the skin of a black ram sacrificed for the occasion was undertaken at Calchas's cenotaph higher up the mountain (ἐναγίζουσι δ' αὐτῷ μέλανα κριὸν οἱ μαντευόμενοι, ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι), but regarding Podalirios's *heroon* at its base he only states that "From this site flows a brook, a panacea for the diseases of domestic animals" (ῥεῖ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποτάμιον πάνακες πρὸς τὰς τῶν θρεμμάτων νόσους).⁸² There seems no reason to doubt that Podalirios's shrine was devoted to healing, but Strabo's description of black rams being sacrificed to Calchas's shade by those wishing to engage in divinatory incubation raises the question of whether Lykophron confused certain aspects of the two cults when claiming that those sleeping at or atop *Podalirios's* tomb would receive prophetic dreams, since as can be seen in Odysseus's use of a sacrificial black ram to summon the shade of Teiresias—another prominent seer—this was a type of offering suitable for

81 Lycoph., *Alex.* 1047–1055; see Hornblower 2015, 380–384 on this passage, with discussion of the work's date at p. 114. For Asklepios personified as Epios, see p. 220n.259. On this site, see Ginouvès 1962, 348–349; cf. Graf von Keyserlingk 1987, 162–163 and Vinci 2007, 373–375. For the shrines of Calchas and Podalirios, see: Russi 1966; Palmer 1974, 124–125; Sirago 1995; Rossignoli 2004, 125–139; and Renberg 2006, 110.

82 Strabo 6.3.9, p. 284. Calchas's tomb was at Colophon, and the relationship between the two *heroa*, if any, is unknown. For Calchas at Monte Gargano, see p. 322. The importance of the Althainos River for hydrotherapy, to which Lykophron alludes, is echoed by the Hellenistic historian Timaios of Tauromenion, who noted that its name, which was derived from the verb ἀλθαίνειν, came from the belief that those who bathed in its waters would be made healthy (*FGrH* 566 F 56a).

divination (especially divination with an Underworld connection).⁸³ After all, Lykophron's use of the phrase "infallible oracular utterance" is not language typical of health-related dream-oracles, which suggests that if incubation was indeed practiced at this shrine as well as Calchas's it might likewise have been divinatory incubation, a possibility supported by the purported use of animal skins.⁸⁴ Therefore, while it is possible that incubation was practiced at Podalirios's shrine, there is a chance that the practice to which Lykophron refers took place at Calchas's nearby shrine, so it is only certain that healing at the site was done through hydrotherapy, with the water of a nearby stream playing a crucial role in healing not only men, but domestic animals as well.⁸⁵

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- 83 Hom., *Od.* 10.522–525, 11.30–33. Lykophron's scholiast states that the Daunians and Calabrians slept at the site on sheepskins to receive dream-oracles (χρησμοί) from Podalirios and also that they and their domestic animals would bathe in the Althainos and become healthy after he had been invoked (Tzetzes, *schol. Lycoph.*, *Alex.* 1050 (= Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:99–100, No. 206)). Thus the scholiast echoes Lykophron in attributing to the site both incubation at the tomb and hydrotherapy at the river, adding that the river got its name from its curative powers. This same scholiast uses the phrase ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ("in/at the tomb") to explain where the worshipers would sleep, but it is unclear whether he had reliable knowledge of the practices there or was making an assumption based on incubation rituals and *heroon* architecture elsewhere. It is perhaps more likely that they would sleep within the sacred precinct in close proximity to the structure said to be Podalirios's tomb.
- 84 For the issue of whether sleeping atop animal skins was typical for therapeutic incubation, see pp. 255–258, 282–287.
- 85 Some sacred healing springs appear to have been valued for their powers to cure domestic animals in addition to humans. For example, at the Gallic sanctuary near modern Chamalières, where 2600 human figurines and anatomical votives fashioned from wood were found at the bottom of a sacred spring, fifteen comparable votives representing horses or cows or the legs or feet of such animals were also discovered, indicating appeals to divine aid on behalf of domestic animals (see Romeuf/Dumontet 2000, 87–88; on these finds, see also p. 379n.113). Chamalières is not the only Gallic site from which we have evidence of therapies being sought for animals: for example, similar dedications have been found at the sanctuary of an unidentified divinity in the forest of Halatte (Oise) in Gallia Lugdunensis (see Durand/Finon 2000, 84–89; cf. Landes 1992, 231–232, Nos. 114–117). There is also abundant evidence from several sanctuaries in Italy, though mainly at hot mineral springs (see Santillo Frizell 2004, with brief discussion of the Podalirios site at p. 86). For a partial survey of the evidence from both Gaul and Italy, see de Cazanove 2013. For evidence associating Podalirios's father Asklepios with veterinary medicine, see Tsaknakis 1983 (including Ael., frag. 101, ed. Domingo-Forasté, the story of Asklepios curing a rooster discussed in the previous chapter (see p. 263n.386)). There is also an anecdote in Aelian about Sarapis curing a horse, showing that the care of animals was associated with an even wider range of healing gods (Ael., *NA* 11.31; see p. 341).

Overall, either Strabo was correct in associating Podalirios with no more than healing through hydrotherapy and Lykophron provides misleading information regarding divination in his cult, or Strabo omitted important information regarding this shrine's function.

Like Podalirios, other descendants of Asklepios also were believed to have established their own medical practices, and in these cases as well it is impossible to determine whether they healed through dreams at their sanctuaries: at Pharae in Messenia, Machaon's sons Nikomachos and Gorgasos, both divinized like their father and grandfather, were able "to heal both the diseased and the incapacitated" (νοσήματά τε καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰᾶσθαι),⁸⁶ while at the village of Eua in the Argolid near Mt. Parnon another of Machaon's sons, Polemokrates, healed the locals.⁸⁷ Since Asklepios's sons were occasionally associated with incubation at *Asklepieia*, it is certainly possible that the practice was introduced to their own sanctuaries, but the sources are regrettably silent on the matter and therefore it should not be assumed that this was the case.⁸⁸

While it would not be unreasonable to expect that therapeutic incubation was practiced at some sanctuaries of physician-heroes and other healing heroes who were not of Asklepios's lineage, the evidence for this is likewise

86 Paus. 4.30.3.

87 Paus. 2.38.6.

88 The most notable association between Asklepios's male offspring and incubation is the Epidauros testimony that tells of the "sons" of Asklepios failing at an operation that they had performed on a woman at Troizen, who had to visit Epidauros in order to receive proper treatment (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 10–19 (= Test. No. 23); see pp. 227–228n.280). Although LiDonnici has made the tempting suggestion that the "sons" were actually mortal physicians rather than Machaon and Podalirios (LiDonnici 1995, 103n.9), since it is unexpected to find a case of divinities committing medical malpractice, the somewhat whimsical nature of several of the other testimonies makes the identification of the "sons" as Asklepios's offspring perfectly plausible. Of possible significance is another inscription from Epidauros, the epigram of Hermodikos of Lampsakos that parallels one of the testimonies (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 107–110 (= Test. No. 15); partly quoted p. 176) and credits both Asklepios and his unnamed children for curing him, and thus might have been alluding to Machaon and Podalirios rather than the god's daughters (*IG* IV² 1, 125 (= Gironé, *Iamata*, 53–57, No. 11.3 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 115–119); on this inscription, see Prêtre/Charlier 2013). Similarly, at least one of the incubation reliefs from Athens and Peiraeus may be pertinent, if correctly interpreted as representing one of Asklepios's sons operating on or treating a sleeper while the god looks on (Cat. No. Ask-Ath. 3). In addition, the questionable passage in Marinus's *Life of Proclus* that might allude to incubation at a Lydian shrine of Asklepios indicates that Machaon and Podalirios shared the site with their father (Marin., *Procl.* 32; see p. 210).

negligible. Numerous divinities and cult sites of this sort are known throughout Greece and the Greek East—Attica itself boasts many of them, including sites devoted to Amynos and the unnamed *heros iatros*, as well as the Rhamnous site of Aristomachos and Amphiaraios discussed above—but these can only be shown to have been worshiped as maintainers and restorers of good health, not as divinities who directly healed visitors by means of dreams.⁸⁹ In fact, only one other known healing divinity has been plausibly, though by no means certainly, linked to therapeutic incubation: according to the latest editor of an inscription from Cyrene, incubation might have been practiced at the sanctuary of Iatros, if a link between the reference to “lighting of the lamps for Iatros at the approach of evening” (λυ|χνοκαΐα Ἰατρῶι ποθ’ ἐσπέραν) and the lamps being extinguished just prior to worshipers falling asleep in Aristophanes’s *Plutus* has been correctly drawn,⁹⁰ but the lighting of lamps was too common

89 See the important studies of the healing cults of Attica by Vikela and Maria E. Gorrini (Vikela 2006; Gorrini 2001 and Gorrini 2005), and Gorrini’s much broader survey of healing heroes throughout Greece that includes 119 sites devoted to Asklepios and sixty-eight to Asklepios’s sons and other heroes (Gorrini 2002–03). Of the Attic cults, Amynos has attracted the most attention: in addition to Gorrini 2001, 304–305, see Riethmüller 2005, 1:275–278, 11:12–17, Cat. No. 4 (though the association of Sophocles and Amynos that is endorsed there has been effectively disputed in Connolly 1998 and subsequently Wickkiser 2008, 66–67); cf. Greco, *Topografia di Atene* 1:265–267, No. 3.8, s.v. “L’Amyneion.” For both Amynos and the *heros iatros* see also van Straten 1981, Appendix A 2–3 and Wickkiser, *ibid.*, 52.

90 *SEG* 43, 1186, ll. 16–17; Ar., *Plut.* 668–671 (see p. 259). The inscription, dating to 335 BCE, was used to maintain the financial records of the *demiourgoi* associated with the administration of Apollo’s temple. For this suggested interpretation of the reference to lamps, see Dobias-Lalou 1993, 32–33. Asklepios was worshiped at Cyrene as a local variant under the name Iatros and associated with Asklepios’s daughter Iaso in dedications (see Marengo 2003), whereas at nearby Balagrae “Iatros” served as an epithet and the god was worshiped as Asklepios Iatros at a sanctuary where incubation may have been practiced (see Appendix 1.9.1).

Marengo’s tentative suggestion that the dedication from Cyrene for Methysis (“Drunkenness”), Minerva, Iatros and Iaso (*SEG* 53, 2052; cf. *BE* 2004, 453) that she edits can be taken as evidence for incubation in Iatros’s cult should be dismissed, because the association she makes between drinking wine and incubatory sleep finds no support in the sources (and, indeed, one source even specifies avoidance of wine (Philostr., *VA* 2.37.2; see pp. 625–626)); moreover, the idea is further undermined by the fact that in Epidaurus’s *Tholos* there were matching paintings of Methe and Eros by a famous painter, with the latter certainly not linked to healing or incubation, which suggests that neither painting had significance to the cult and their presence was merely decorative (Paus. 2.27.3; see Marengo, *ibid.*, 209, not noting the presence of Eros).

an element of Greek religion (as well as Egyptian) for this to have any demonstrable significance.⁹¹

Even though the surviving evidence shows that therapeutic incubation can only be known to have been practiced at a minority of healing sanctuaries, and a significant percentage of these were devoted to a hero cult, an inscription from Baitokaike in northern Syria serves as a reminder that nothing can be taken for granted. Dating to c. 150–300 CE, this inscription from a prominent sanctuary shows an unidentified god giving a prescription to someone who had failed to be cured by a group of doctors: [---]ἱεροῦ πη|ρωθεὶς ἐμπεσὼν | εἰς λς' ἱατροὺς καὶ | μὴ θεραπευθεὶς ἐ|πεκαλεσάμην τὸν | θε|ον καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπέ|ταξ|έν μοι βοτάνη | [---] (“[---] having been maimed, I fell in with thirty-six physicians, and not having been healed I called upon the god and he then commanded me by means of a plant [---]”).⁹² If, as has been suggested, the god was Baal-Shamim, this would be an example of a divinity not ordinarily associated with healing—a Syrian Baal, albeit a Hellenized one—not only having been credited with healing someone, but also with having given some sort of prescription, presumably through incubation.⁹³ This, in turn, would raise the question of how many other gods that today would not normally be suspected of having healed in this manner were being “called upon” for cures in a similar manner, either regularly or occasionally. Moreover, since many of the sites at which therapeutic incubation was practiced are known only through a chance reference by an ancient author it seems all but certain that there were quite a few more that we do not know about—but even so, the existing evidence suggests that such sites with incubation would have been among the minority of healing sanctuaries.

91 For the use of lamps in ancient cults see p. 411n.41. Among the sources for this is a damaged sacred law from Epidauros dating to the second or third century CE that refers to the lighting of sacred lamps there (*IG* IV² 1, 742, frag. 1, ll. 6–9 (= *LSCG Suppl.* 25A)).

92 *SEG* 47, 1932A. See Samama, *Médecins*, p. 565n.30, suggesting that the number thirty-six was based on Pythagorean symbolism. For the sanctuary's remains and reconstruction, see Ertel/Freyberger 2008 and Freyberger 2009.

93 That the god was Baal-Shamim is the view of Petzl 2006, 55–56; see, however, Rey-Coquais 1997, 933 and Niehr 2003, 50, leaving open the possibility of another divinity, while Klaus S. Freyberger, unaware of Petzl's recent study, merely concludes that it was a local Syrian celestial god (K.S. Freyberger in Ertel/Freyberger 2008, 767–770, 772; Freyberger 2009, 282).

Divinatory Incubation in the Greek World

5.1 Introduction

While incubation has been most famously associated with Asklepios—both then and now—and scholars primarily tend to focus on its use in healing cults, the majority of Greek gods whom the inhabitants of the Mediterranean world sought to contact in this manner were not valued for their healing powers, but rather for their prophetic abilities. As is true of cult sites associated with therapeutic incubation, most of those at least partly devoted to divinatory incubation have been identified mainly from literary sources; however, inscriptions and reliefs not only supplement our knowledge regarding sites discussed by ancient authors, but also help us to identify other sites at which dream-oracles were sought. Overall, these sources reveal that divinatory incubation, the first type of incubation that can be detected in the Greek world, was practiced from the Classical Period (if not the Archaic Period) well into Roman times, and was a more widespread form of temple divination than is generally recognized. In contrast to therapeutic incubation, however, there was no Panhellenic god associated with the practice, and typically the divinity issuing dream-oracles was doing so at a single location.¹ Significantly, each of these, whether god or hero, is known or assumed to have been a divinized mortal from myth, and since the worship of such figures tended to be more localized than that of the Olympian gods—Asklepios and Herakles were exceptional in terms of having been worshiped far and wide—it is perhaps to be expected that while the practice of divinatory incubation was somewhat widespread there was no god comparable to Asklepios in terms of issuing prophetic dreams at numerous sites.

5.2 Amphiaraos

Though better known as an Asklepios-like god who cured through therapeutic incubation at his Oropos sanctuary, the earliest evidence for incubation in the

1 The exceptions to this would be Amphiaraos, if his original Theban site and sanctuary at Oropos were both providing dream-oracles simultaneously at any point (see Sect. 5.2), and Amphilochos, if his sites in Cilicia and Aetolia both functioned in this manner (see Sect. 5.5).

cult of Amphiaraos is Herodotus's account of the consultation undertaken on behalf of Mardonios in 480/479 BCE, an anecdote that appears to have been set at an earlier cult site in Thebes.² Thus divinatory incubation, not therapeutic, is attested first in his cult, and if Amphiaraos's worship did indeed originate at Thebes but spread to Oropos it is likely that this was the only type practiced in the cult's early days. Other than the passage in Herodotus, however, the evidence for divinatory incubation in his cult undoubtedly pertains to the Oropos *Amphiareion*: thus even though Amphiaraos's oracle was identified by Herodotus as one of the most esteemed Greek oracles early in the fifth century BCE, midway through the Classical Period the oracular aspect of his cult changed in such a way that the Oropos *Amphiareion* was to become in certain respects essentially indistinguishable from an *Asklepieion*.³ Nonetheless, it appears that divinatory incubation remained a feature of the cult, even though most of the sources that have been cited as evidence for this are more ambiguous than has been recognized:⁴ Hyperides's discussion of a three-man Athenian delegation consulting Amphiaraos through incubation about the proprietorship of his sacred land sometime between 330 and 324 BCE is an example of a god communicating about the oversight of his own cult, so from this it cannot be concluded that inquiries about matters unrelated to health were a routine occurrence;⁵ the Classical literary and iconographic sources indicating a close link between Amphiaraos and Apollo, who in some traditions taught him divination and in one tradition was even his father, is indirect

2 Hdt. 8.133–134 (quoted pp. 102–103). For the Theban site, see Appendix x.

3 See Chapter 4.2.

4 See, e.g., Schachter 1981–94, 1:23n.6, citing some of the following sources as evidence for continued oracular function. The best discussion of the subject is provided by Sineux, though this also places too much weight on certain sources (Sineux 2007a, 188–200, 219).

5 Hyperid. 4.14–18. See Whitehead 2000, 199–215 and Sineux 2007a, 103–106, 188–189, 192–195, the latter rightly noting that this consultation appears to have occurred at Oropos only because the god's interests were involved, and also that, like the Persians' inquiries recounted by Herodotus, it was political in nature. Hyperides appears to indicate that on this occasion all three men sought dreams from Amphiaraos there but only one, Euxenippos, had been successful—an unparalleled example of multiple individuals engaging in divinatory incubation for the same purpose (but see p. 388n.147 for a possible parallel from Late Antique Egypt).

Sineux's attempt to determine whether use of the term *ἐνύπνιον* in this passage has particular significance overlooks the simple fact that this term was especially common in prose works and inscriptions of the late-Classical and Hellenistic periods, and therefore almost certainly was not imbued with special meaning (*ibid.*, p. 189; see my discussions in Renberg (in preparation), a and b).

evidence of the flimsiest sort;⁶ an inscribed stele dating roughly to 300–250 BCE that records a manumission and was erected in response to a dream by the newly freed individual, a Judaeon (Ἰουδαῖος) named Moschos, gives no sign of that dream having been received through incubation, and it need not have been;⁷ and, a dedication to Amphiaraios made around 335–322 BCE “at the god’s command” (προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ) likewise did not necessarily result from incubation, since this sort of language was commonly employed in divinely inspired dedications, only some of which can clearly be linked to incubation.⁸

Much better evidence is to be found in Philostratus’s *Imagines*, in which he describes a painting of Amphiaraios in his flight from Thebes being swallowed by the earth “so that he might prophesize in Attica and speak truthfully” (ὥς μαντεύοιτο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ἀληθεύοι), and notes that the painting also represents the personification of Oropos as well as “Amphiaraios’s place of meditation, a cleft sacred and divine” (τὸ φροντιστήριον Ἀμφιάρεω, ῥήγμα ἱερὸν καὶ θειῶδες), near which are shown the divinities Truth and Dream and the Gate of Dreams (ὄνειρων πύλη).⁹ The author’s explanatory comment that “for those consulting the oracle there sleep is required” (δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἐκεῖ μαντευομένοις ὕπνου) and a reference to Amphiaraios’s looking “oracular” (χρησμώδης), as well as the fact that no imagery or symbolism related to healing is present, further indicate that this image—whether real or only in Philostratus’s imagination—was exclusively concerned with the issuance of dream-oracles rather than therapeutic dreams at the *Amphiareion*.¹⁰ Similarly, Philostratus’s *Life of Apollonius*

- 6 This link is best illustrated by two reliefs from the Oropos *Amphiareion*, one that represents Apollo beside an *omphalos* (Oropos Mus., no inv. no. (= Petrakos 1968, 124, No. 26 + Pl. 43β = LIMC II, “Apollon,” No. 412 + photo = Vikela 2015, 202, No. Ap 7 + Pl. 3); cf. Petrakos, Δήμος τοῦ Παμνούντος 1:319), and one showing Amphiaraios with Hygieia or Hestia, who sits atop an *omphalos*, a symbol of Apollo (Oropos Mus., Inv. No. A 72 (= Petrakos, *ibid.*, 124, No. 27 + Pl. 44 = LIMC I, “Amphiaraios,” No. 64 = Leventi 2003, 146, No. R46 + Pl. 31); see Sineux 2007a, 87–88). On the evidence for the close association of Apollo and Amphiaraios, see Sineux, *ibid.*, 195–197, inferring a link to Amphiaraios’s prophetic activities at Oropos.
- 7 *I.Oropos* 329. For the claim that incubation was involved, see: Lewis (D.) 1957, 265; Guarducci, *EG* III:275; and Sineux 2007a, 180, 198–200. Although Moschos is typically identified as a Jew, at best it can be concluded from the ethnic that he was from Judaea.
- 8 *I.Oropos* 349 (see p. 290n.50). Sineux 2007a, 180–181 appears to imply such a link.
- 9 Philostr., *Imag.* 1.27.1, 3. Presumably, the cleft was associated with Amphiaraios’s reemergence from the earth. Sineux cites this passage as evidence for the persistence of Amphiaraios’s oracular function following the cult’s move to Oropos (Sineux 2007a, 188). Nothing else is known of this “place of meditation.” For Oneiros, the god of dreams, see Appendix XI.
- 10 Admittedly, the related noun μάντευμα is used by Pausanias in reference to therapeutic oracles (Paus. 1.34.4; quoted p. 314), but both it and the verb μαντεύεσθαι were normally used for more traditional divination (as can be seen in the next example).

of *Tyana* includes a lecture on dream-divination by this sage in which he refers to Amphiaraos as “currently prophesying in Attica by sending dreams to those making inquiries” (οὗτος . . . μαντεύόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ νῦν ὀνειράτα ἐπάγει τοῖς χρωμένοις) and calls the god’s oracles “λόγια”—a term that Strabo may have previously used to distinguish between Sarapis’s oracles and miraculous cures, and that was not normally linked to therapeutic dreams.¹¹ To this can be added that Pausanias expresses his belief that Amphiaraos while alive was especially devoted to dream interpretation, and thus “It is evident that, when he was promoted to god, he established (a site for) divination through dreams” (δῆλος δέ, ἡνίκα ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι’ ὀνειράτων μαντικὴν καταστησάμενος).¹² Perhaps the strongest evidence that Amphiaraos could still be consulted by those needing oracular advice is to be found in a list of gods communicating through dreams at oracular shrines provided by Tertullian:

*Ceterum Epicharmus etiam summum apicem inter divinationes somniis extulit cum Philochoro Atheniensi. Nam et oraculis hoc genus stipatus est orbis, ut Amphiarai apud Oropum, Amphilochoi apud Mallum, Sarpedonis in Troade, Trophonii in Boeotia, Mopsi in Cilicia, Hermionae in Macedonia, Pasiphae in Laconica.*¹³

Moreover, Epicharmus along with Philochorus the Athenian even praised as the highest pinnacle of divination that which involves dreams. Indeed, the world is even covered by oracles of this type, such as those of Amphiaraus at Oropus, Amphilochous at Mallus, Sarpedon in the Troad, Trophonius in Boeotia, Mopsus in Cilicia, Hermione in Macedonia, and Pasiphae in Laconia.

This passage’s inclusion of Amphiaraos at Oropos among Amphilochos, Sarpedon, Trophonios, Mopsos, Hermione and Pasiphae clearly indicates that the author had divinatory incubation in mind, since none of the others is known to have been involved in healing.

11 Philostr., *VA* 2.37.2; Strabo 17.1.17 (quoted pp. 339–340).

12 Paus. 1.34.5. The Byzantine-era *Geoponica*’s reference to Amphiaraos engaging in dream-divination likewise shows a belief that Amphiaraos’s interest in this divinatory medium predated his heroization (*Geoponica* 2.35.8; quoted p. 626).

13 Tert., *Anim.* 46.11. Similarly, Philo in the *Embassy to Gaius* mentions Caligula’s disparagement of Amphiaraos, Amphilochos, Trophonios, and “the others like them” (τοὺς ὁμοίους) in part for their *χρηστήρια*, apparently a reference to their all being divinized mortals who communicated through oracles, though he does not specify dream-oracles (Philo, *Leg.* 78). On these passages see Sineux 2007a, 196. For Trophonios, see Appendix 11.2; for the other divinities in Tertullian’s list, see below.

Also of significance is the information provided by Pausanias, whose description of worshipers at the *Amphiareion* sacrificing rams and engaging in incubation atop their skins—“having sacrificed a ram and spread the skin out under them, they sleep, awaiting the revelation of a dream” (κριὸν θύσαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμένοντες δῆλωσιν ὀνείρατος)—might refer primarily to divinatory incubation, but is unlikely to have accurately represented the activities of everyone who bedded down for the night in order to await a god-sent dream.¹⁴ Although Pausanias does refer to health-related oracles earlier in his discussion of the *Amphiareion* when he states that coins would be donated to the god’s sacred spring “when a man has been cured of a disease by an oracle” (νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γενομένου),¹⁵ there is good reason to think that his reference to rams being sacrificed pertains to divinatory incubation. Pausanias’s language itself is more reminiscent of divinatory than therapeutic incubation: the verb χρῆσθαι is typically used for oracular consultations, while the phrase “awaiting the guidance of a dream” (ἀναμένοντες δῆλωσιν ὀνείρατος) strongly suggests an oracular revelation.¹⁶

No less significantly, with the exception of the Classical reliefs from Attic *Asklepieia* and the Oropos and Rhamnous *Amphiareia* that show incubating worshipers lying atop animal skins and receiving medical attention,¹⁷ which may simply have been an artistic convention, all of the sources for the employment of sacrificial hides in this manner pertain to divinatory incubation: Calchas and possibly Podalirios were consulted at their respective shrines on Mt. Drion in northern Apulia by sleeping on the skins of black rams or sheep, respectively;¹⁸ at the semi-mythical Albunean oracle of Faunus, according to Vergil and Ovid, priests or royal consultants would sleep on multiple sheepskins, which reflects an awareness of the practice even if there is no truth to the two poets’ descriptions;¹⁹ in his commentary on *Isaiah*, Jerome’s treatment of the prophet’s comment about those who “who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places” refers to the use of animal skins for divinatory incubation, even though *Isaiah* lacks this detail;²⁰ and, in the portion of his *Iliad* commentary devoted to the Selloi at Dodona, the Byzantine writer Eustathius

14 Paus. 1.34.5 (quoted p. 281).

15 Paus. 1.34.4 (quoted p. 288).

16 Paus. 1.34.5.

17 See pp. 255–258 and 282–287.

18 Lycoph., *Alex.* 1047–1055; Strabo 6.3.9, p. 284. See pp. 304–307.

19 Verg., *Aen.* 7.86–88; Ov., *Fast.* 4.654, 659, 663. See p. 617n.17.

20 *Isaiah* 65:4 (see p. 32); Jerome, *Comm. in Esaiam* 18.65.4/5, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 73, p. 747 (= *PL* 24, 632C–633A) (quoted pp. 256–257).

of Thessalonika claims that they were using animal skins for divination, which might be an unreliable statement as it relates to what was done at Dodona, but nonetheless further illustrates the link between animal skins and divinatory incubation.²¹ In fact, the role of sacrificial rams in divination can be traced back as far as Homer, since he describes Odysseus sacrificing a black ram in order to summon the spirit of Teiresias.²² Therefore, it appears likely that this practice of sacrificing a ram prior to incubation was more commonly practiced by the worshipers of Amphiaraos when he was still primarily an oracular hero, though it evidently persisted to some extent once he had been transformed into a healing god whose strong physical resemblance to Asklepios was matched by the similarities in the manner of worship at their respective sanctuaries. Perhaps, if the cult did indeed originate at Thebes and then evolved into a healing cult after being established at Oropos, the need for ram sacrifices also changed;²³ however, as discussed in the previous chapter, there is insufficient reason to conclude that the practice played a central role in therapeutic incubation, and it appears most likely to have been employed at Oropos primarily by those seeking dream-oracles rather than cures.²⁴

21 Eust., *Il.* 16.235 (quoted pp. 100–101n.161).

22 Hom., *Od.* 10.522–525, 11.30–33; see pp. 305–306. On the potential significance of this passage in Homer for understanding practices at Oropos and the other sites at which one would sacrifice a ram or sheep in order to receive an oracle from a heroic seer, see Petropoulou 1985, 170, 176–177. Petropoulou also makes the suggestion that the pair of eyes at the top of the Archinos relief was indeed apotropaic, as has been claimed by some and disputed by others, and that it was present because the blood from the sacrifice might have been believed to attract unwanted spirits, just as the blood from Odysseus's offering to Teiresias drew countless other shades (Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1; see pp. 273–274n.6). This, however, makes little sense, because the relief was not dedicated at the time of the sacrifice; and, moreover, since the primary use of animal skins in divinatory incubation appears to have been purificatory, this explanation is even less convincing. (For animal skins in Greek religion, see Sineux 2007a, 174–176, and pp. 176–177 for the purificatory role of sacrificial rams and their skins in incubation at Oropos; see also *NGSL*², p. 72, Lupu 2003, 332–333, and Pley 1911, 3–10, the latter collecting the testimonies.)

23 The likelihood that incubating atop ram skins was a feature of Amphiaraos's hero shrine that was no longer required once therapeutic incubation became the foremost practice at his sanctuary appears to have been first noted by Petropoulou (Petropoulou 1985, 176–177).

24 There may have been a practical reason for this shift: rams were quite expensive, so perhaps originally oracles were sought from Amphiaraos by the few and wealthy, but when he became a healing god for the masses more affordable sacrifices preceding incubation would have been necessary as an option, though perhaps the wealthy continued the practice of sacrificing rams (see pp. 286–287n.35).

5.3 Pasiphae at Thalamai

Though today the Oropos *Amphiareion* is the better preserved and more well-documented sanctuary, it was not the only one in Greece associated with divinatory incubation. As scattered references in various authors reveal, other oracles of this type were to be found elsewhere in mainland Greece, as well as Asia Minor, though relatively little is known about these other sites and their clientele, and it is unclear just how common divinatory incubation was. Most famously, Spartan ephors and perhaps other “foremost” citizens would go to a shrine of Pasiphae or Ino—the ancient sources differ, though Pasiphae does appear to have been the goddess in question—at Thalamai roughly 20–25 miles away and receive dream-oracles pertaining to state affairs,²⁵ apparently while sleeping out in the open.²⁶ This oracle’s existence is indicated not

25 Cic., *Div.* 1.96; Plut., *Vit. Agis* 9.1–4, *Vit. Cleom.* 7.2–4 (= *Agis et Cleom.* 28.2–4); cf. Tert., *Anim.* 46.11 (quoted p. 313). The site, evidently still active in his time, is identified by Pausanias as an oracular shrine of Ino with a statue of Pasiphae (Paus. 3.26.1), located on the road from Thalamai to Oitylos. According to Plutarch (Plut., *Vit. Agis* 9.2), providing an apparent false etymology, Pasiphae’s name came from her “revealing oracles to all” (διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα). On this site in general, see especially Richer 1998, 199–212 (with Richer 2012, 271–272 briefly echoing his earlier discussion) and Lo Monaco 2009, 710–712, Cat. Lac. Thal 1; cf. Pease 1920–23, 1:266–267, Wacht 1997, 184, and Friese 2010, 52–53, 383, Cat. No. I.I.II.23. The suggestion that one would drink from the sacred spring recognized by Pausanias for its “sweet” water in connection with the site’s oracular function is groundless speculation (see Ginouvès 1962, 329n.2, followed by Richer, *ibid.*, 205).

The rediscovery of an inscribed stele featuring three proxeny decrees and a nearby city’s honorary decree for three local judges that is now in Kalamata in the Archaeological Museum of Messenia was announced at the 14th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy by Andronike Makres and Adele Scafuro, who determined from the latter text that the monument originated at the sanctuary and that the still undiscovered site was used to display public decrees (see Makres/Scafuro 2014 and Makres (forthcoming)). Unfortunately, the inscription was first seen reused in a local church at the modern village of Nomitsi rather than *in situ*, but Makres notes the distinct possibility of the sanctuary having been in the immediate vicinity. If so, according to Makres, the site would have been extra-urban (personal communication).

26 The evidence for this is to be found in Cicero’s reference to the site: “And also those who were foremost among the Lacedaemonians, not content with wakeful cares, would sleep outside for the sake of dreaming at Pasiphae’s shrine, which is in a territory near the city [*i.e.*, Sparta], since they regarded oracles obtained in sleep as true” (*atque etiam qui praeerant Lacedaemoniis, non contenti vigilantibus curis, in Pasiphae fano, quod est in agro propter urbem, somniandi causa excubabant, quia vera quietis oracla ducebant*) (Cic., *Div.* 1.96). Both Arthur S. Pease and Nicolas Richer comment on Cicero’s use of the term *excubare* rather than *incubare*, concluding that it refers to the ephors’ sleeping

only by literary sources, but also by an inscribed dedicatory stone set assigned to the mid-fourth century BCE on paleographical grounds that appears to attribute a prominent figure's action to the goddess's prompting, presumably in a dream, though the text's complexity and ambiguity render the precise circumstances difficult to determine:

Νικοσθενίδας τᾷ Παῖφῳ | γερωντεύων ἀνέσχηκε | αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ τῷ πατρὶ
π|ατὴρ Νικοσθενίδας, προβειπ|⁵άχας (= προειπάσης) τᾷ<ς> σιῶ (= τῆς θεοῦ)

outside the city (Pease 1920–23, 1:267; Richer 1998, 205–206n.17), while David Wardle notes the unusual term but does not distinguish it from *incubare* (Wardle 2006, 335–336; cf. Schultz 2014, 171). A reference to an extra-urban setting, however, is an unlikely explanation: first, the site was not merely outside Sparta, but quite far away; and, second, many *Asklepieia* and other incubation sanctuaries, as seems to have been the case with Pasiphae's shrine at Thalamai, were located outside of cities, but neither Cicero nor any other Latin author used the term *excubare* for sleeping at these sites (nor any Greek authors an equivalent in their language). Instead, since it was typically used in a non-religious context for spending a night sleeping outdoors or keeping overnight watch outdoors (TLL v.2, 1288–1289, s.v. “*excubo*”), it is likely that the those consulting Pasiphae would sleep out in the open—a possibility made more likely by Cicero's use of *fanum* for the site, which suggests an open-air enclosure, presumably equivalent to the Greek term *σηκός* (on this term, see pp. 669–670n.22). Perhaps a parallel, albeit a fictional one, is to be found in the earliest recension of the Greek *Alexander Romance*, in which Alexander asks Sarapis for a sign of his own supremacy and receives a dream confirming it, and this takes place at a *σηκός* that is only described as having had an altar and cult image (Ps.-Call., *Hist. Alex. Magni* 1.33, ed. Kroll).

There has been some confusion regarding the topographical evidence contained in Cicero's description of the shrine's location as *in agro propter urbem*. Both Pease and Richer have questioned Cicero's reliability, since Thalamai was not “near the city” (as W.A. Falconer in the Loeb Classical Library translates), but rather many miles away. In addition, Wardle notes but does not endorse a rather unlikely earlier suggestion that there was a lesser offshoot shrine in the immediate vicinity of Sparta (Wardle, *ibid.*, 336). Cicero's reliability need not be questioned, however: *ager* here simply means “territory” or “region” rather than “field” (Falconer's translation), and this territory is not the Spartan *chōra*, but rather one nearby. Thus Cicero was correctly stating that Pasiphae's shrine stood in a region that was close to Sparta. (Pease also notes an alternative that was proposed by Friedrich A. Wolf in 1802, that the manuscript originally read *propter urbem Thalamae*, but does not endorse this possibility because of his belief that despite the ancient sources Thalamai would have been inconveniently far for the ephors to travel (Pease, *ibid.*, 1:266–267, citing Wolf 1802, 407 (with note))). However, since journeying to consult an oracle was by no means unheard of—numerous examples are associated with Delphi alone—this is not a legitimate objection, and if one is willing to accept a transmission error then Wolf's suggestion is certainly worth considering, though it is unnecessary.)

πὸτ' (= πρὸς) Ἀνδρίαν συ|νεφορεύοντα ἀνιστάμεν (= ἀνιστάναι) | Νικοσθενίδα
ἐς τὸ γερώ|ιον (= γεροντεῖον) καὶ σὺν ἀλῶι χρῆσται (= χρῆσθαι).²⁷

Nikosthenidas [*nepos*], a member of the *Gerousia*, dedicated (this) to Pasiphae himself, and also (in the name of) his father's father Nikosthenidas [*avus*], the goddess having told Andrias, serving as his colleague in the ephorate, that he must erect an image of Nikosthenidas [*avus*] in the *Gerousia* members' chamber, and (would then?) consult the oracle with success.

According to its most recent treatments, this inscription records a dedication made at Thalamai by Nikosthenidas on his own behalf and that of his deceased grandfather soon after being admitted to the *Gerousia*, and commemorates an oracle received in the time of the elder Nikosthenidas by his fellow *ephor* Andrias around 400 BCE, informing the latter that he must honor Nikosthenidas with an image in the *Geronteion* at Sparta—for a reason now unknown but presumably quite significant—before he could successfully consult the oracle on other matters. The motivation of the younger Nikosthenidas is likewise unclear, though it has been suggested that his grandfather had needed to thank the goddess but was unable to, presumably because he died, and therefore his obligation had gone unfulfilled until around 350 BCE when his grandson reached a sufficient age to join the *Gerousia*.

5.4 Brizo on Delos

The sources for the Pasiphae shrine only indicate that this site was consulted by those serving the *polis* in an official capacity,²⁸ but, in contrast, other incubation oracles are likely or known to have served the public at large. For example, on Delos there may have been an incubation oracle at a sanctuary of the otherwise unknown goddess Brizo that was especially focused on local interests, but the Greek employed by the one source is too ambiguous for any

27 IG V.1, 1317, re-edited in Kourinou 2010–13 (which provides an improved reading and corrects ἐ[ν] τῷ ἱερῶι, ἡ|δὲν in lines 7–8 to ἐς τὸ γερώ|ιον). On this unusual text, in addition to Kourinou's commentary and discussion see the more recent treatment in Lanérés 2015. Older studies that remain valuable are Prakken 1953 and Richer 1998, 199–201; cf. Parker 1989, 155. See Renberg (in preparation), *b* for further discussion of this inscription.

28 For the ambiguous nature of the sources regarding who would consult the oracle, see Richer 1998, 208–209 and Prakken 1953, 344–345.

certainty. According to Athenaeus as he briefly draws from the lost *Deliad* of the Hellenistic writer Semos of Delos, this goddess, whose name was believed by Athenaeus (and presumably Semos as well) to come from βρίζειν (“to slumber”), was both a divinity worshiped as protectress of sea-going vessels and a “dream-prophetess” (ἐνυπνιόμαντις (or ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντις) . . . ταύτη οὖν ὅταν θύωσιν αἱ Δηλιάδες), and this has been thought to refer to her issuing dream-oracles, perhaps at the unidentified oracular shrine (μαντεῖον) mentioned in one Delian inscription.²⁹ Since Athenaeus’s reference to Brizo’s role of “dream-prophetess”

- 29 Semos of Delos *apud* Ath. 8.335AB (= *FGrH* 396 F 4); see Bruneau 1970, 447–448 and Wacht 1997, 184. Inscription: *IG* XI.2, 165, l. 44; see Bruneau, *ibid.*, 158–159. Wacht, following Ferdinand Dümmler (Dümmler 1897), concluded that incubation was “Hochstwahrscheinlich” at Brizo’s shrine, while Bruneau (at p. 448) treated her as a giver of dream-oracles and linked her to the *manteion*. It is unknown to which divinity this oracular shrine belonged, but Brizo should be included among the candidates. On Semos, who appears to have been writing sometime during the period 250–166 BCE, see Bruneau, *ibid.*, 2. While nothing is known about Brizo’s origin, her identity as a type of seer suggests that she was one of the human diviners of myth who came to be worshiped as an oracular divinity, such as Trophonios, Calchas, and Amphiaraos, and perhaps in life, as was said of Amphiaraos, she had an interest in dreams. Perhaps her exclusive association with Delos suggests that, like Cassandra, she had received her prophetic abilities from Apollo.

It is impossible to know whether Semos (or Athenaeus) did indeed use the term ἐνυπνιόμαντις for Brizo, and indeed it is not even certain that the word existed in classical antiquity. Two important Athenaeus manuscripts employ the phrase ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντις, which Georg Kaibel in his 1887 Teubner edition and S. Douglas Olson in his Loeb Classical Library edition of 2008 emended to ἐνυπνιόμαντις, whereas Johannes Schweighäuser and S.P. Peppink in their editions of 1803 and 1937, respectively, left the phrase unchanged. A similar problem exists for the one potential instance of the term’s use elsewhere: ἐνυπνιόμαντις is employed by the Late Antique lexicographer Hesychios (Hesychios, s.v. “βρίζω”) in both the 1668 edition of Schrevelius (*i.e.*, Cornelis Schrevel) and Kurt Latte’s 1953 edition, though perhaps it was the lack of a reliable parallel or his familiarity with Schweighäuser’s text of Athenaeus that led Moriz W.C. Schmidt to unnecessarily opt instead for ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντις in his 1863 *editio minor* (p. 321, s.v. Βριζοῖ) after having used ἐνυπνιόμαντις in his 1858 edition (1:399, s.v. βρίζομαντις). If Hesychios did have the term ἐνυπνιόμαντις this strengthens the possibility that Athenaeus and perhaps Semos as well used it. Ἐνυπνιόμαντις also has been tentatively restored by the Roberts in a hymn praising Harpokrates that was inscribed at Chalkis during the Imperial Period, though since only an *epsilon* from the damaged word survives this is merely a plausible suggestion (*RICIS* 104/0206, l. 9, adopting the restoration in *BE* 1946–47, 171; see Matthey 2007, especially p. 213, noting alternate restorations for E[—] suggested in Festugière 1949, 381 (p. 169 of 1972 reprint)). Overall, the evidence for ἐνυπνιόμαντις is unreliable, but there is no reason for the word not to have existed in antiquity, and indeed it seems preferable to the three-word phrase. Assuming that this word was in use, it would have been as rare as

is given in passing as a parenthetical comment (ὅταν θύωσι τῇ Βριζοῖ—αὐτῇ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνυπνιόμαντις), the nature of her oracles is unknown, but based on her association with sailing and the frequent questions addressed to oracles about the safety of an upcoming voyage, combined with the fact that the women of Delos would bring her offerings and sacrifices when praying for the safety of the ships (among other things), it is possible that Brizo specialized in oracles related to maritime matters. If so, perhaps her undiscovered shrine served not only those seeking to know when to head out to sea, but also women whose husbands had not sailed home and were feared lost.³⁰

5.5 Amphilochos and Mopsos (Cilicia)

Two of the most famous incubation oracles were located outside of Greece, in Asia Minor. In Cilicia, the diviners Amphilochos and Mopsos provided oracles in dreams at two as yet undiscovered sites that were said to be in close proximity—a fact explained by the myth that the two had killed each other in a duel and were buried in tombs that were nearby but out of each other's view.³¹ The oracle (χρηστήριον) of Amphilochos, Amphiaros's son, was located at Mallos, and Cassius Dio reveals that the oracular responses were issued through dreams,³² as appears also to have been the case at a second site in

ἐνυπνιοκρήτης, which—in marked contrast to the more common δνειροκρήτης—is attested only in a single Ptolemaic papyrus (UPZ 1 84, l. 79; see pp. 718–719).

- 30 Though this is speculative, a Lydian inscription recording a dream in which a shipwreck victim had appeared to his widow, along with some literary evidence, raises the possibility that women whose husbands were missing might seek a dream-oracle to learn their fate (TAM v.1, 661 (= *Steinepigramme* 1, 426, No. 04/08/01); see Renberg 2010d, 55–57).
- 31 Strabo 14.5.16, pp. 675–676. See Russo/Barbera 2009, 350–359 and de Polignac 2010, 168–169.
- 32 Cass. Dio 73.7.1–2, ed. Boissvain; cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 38 (with discussion in Bonnechere 2003a, 104–106). On the site, see: MacKay 1990, 2113–2115; Zimmermann 1994, 105–109; and Friese 2010, 396–397, Cat. No. I.II.II.8. For evidence of the association between the cults of Amphilochos and Amphiaros at Oropos, see Sineux 2007a, 145–146. According to two other works by Lucian, Amphilochos charged a fee of two obols per oracle (Lucian, *Alex.* 19 and *Deor. Conc.* 12). The shrine was recognized by Pausanias as “the most truthful oracle of my times” (μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ), though he made no reference to the medium of communication (Paus. 1.34.3). As MacKay has noted, Lucian's reference to inquiries being made by means of writing tablets that were given to a *prophētēs* suggests that the oracle may not have functioned solely through dream-divination (MacKay, *ibid.*, 2113–2114, citing Lucian, *Philops.* 38), which would put it in the small group of oracular sanctuaries at which both incubation and other types of oracular inquiry were possible

Greece.³³ According to Dio, who lived in Cilicia while his father was governing the province and thus claimed firsthand knowledge of the event, the ex-consul Sextus Quintilius Condianus had made an inquiry at the site and illustrated the response he received by producing a drawing of both a boy strangling two serpents and a lion pursuing a fawn—the meaning of which became apparent to Dio after he learned that Condianus's father and uncle had been strangled at the emperor Commodus's command and Sextus had taken flight to avoid the death sentence the emperor had issued for him.³⁴ Since Pausanias notes that all visitors to the *Trophonion* were expected to write on a *pinax* what they had seen and heard during their consultation,³⁵ it is possible that Condianus's illustration of his dream reflects a similar tradition at Amphilochos's oracle, and perhaps that Dio would have seen the drawing at the shrine itself; however, this is the only recorded instance of someone *drawing* the contents of a dream rather than describing them in writing, and therefore Condianus's actions might not have reflected those of others consulting Amphilochos.³⁶

(see p. 28n.77). However, instead it may be that giving one's inquiry to a *prophētēs* was part of the process of engaging in divinatory incubation there, since Plutarch refers to a worshiper bringing a sealed tablet to Mopsos's oracle and receiving a dream (see below), and this appears to have been the practice at Deir el-Bahari in Egypt (see Chapter 8).

- 33 The presence of an oracle of Amphilochos in Greece's Ambracian Gulf region that probably functioned through incubation is indicated by two somewhat ambiguous references. Of particular significance is the vague allusion by Aristides to Amphilochos both issuing oracles and appearing to worshipers in Aetolia (Aristid., *Or.* 38.21; quoted p. 224n.271), which suggests dreams. In addition, Origen implies that he had an oracular function at Acarnania by paraphrasing a passage in Celsus in which he lists Amphilochos's cult there along with the respective oracular cult sites of the divinized mortals Zalmoxis, Mopsos, Amphiaraios, and Trophonios (Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.34–35). Since Amphilochos was the legendary founder of Argos Amphilochikon (see de Polignac 2010, 169–170; cf. Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 357–358, s.v. “Argos” (H.-J. Gehrke & E. Wirbelauer)), which was close to Acarnania, he must have had at least one cult site in or near Argos, and like the more famous one in Cilicia it may also have been an oracle. (François de Polignac notes the possibility of an oracle of Amphilochos there but, apparently overlooking the evidence of Celsus, concludes that “l'indication soit très ténue.” Moreover, at pp. 171–173 he argues for Alkmaon instead having come to be considered the city's founder—which is not necessarily inconsistent with there having been an oracle of his brother Amphilochos.)

- 34 Condianus: *PIR*² Q 22.

- 35 Paus. 9.39.14 (see p. 573).

- 36 Were the subject of this anecdote not a member of Rome's senatorial class it would be possible to attribute the use of a drawing rather than a written message to illiteracy: instead, therefore, either Dio indicates a standard practice at the site or Condianus had his own reason for drawing rather than writing, now lost to history.

Less is known about Mopsos's nearby oracle, which was in Mopsouhestia—a city deriving its name from this figure—and prominent enough to be included in ancient lists of incubatory shrines.³⁷ According to an anecdote recounted by Plutarch, an individual sent by his master to test the oracle's power brought a sealed tablet containing an inquiry and then “according to custom at the precinct spent the night and, having fallen asleep reported a dream the next morning” (έννουχεύσας οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τῷ σηκῷ, καὶ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἀπήγγειλε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐνύπνιον), in which he had received a response from the figure of a man.³⁸ A later philosopher, Celsus, identified Mopsos along with Trophonios and Amphiaraos as “gods to be seen in human form and . . . not as deceits, but fully visible” (ἀνθρωποειδεῖς θεωρεῖσθαι θεοὺς καὶ . . . οὐ ψευδομένους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναργεῖς), which indicates that Mopsos appeared in either dreams or waking visions at his shrine.³⁹

5.6 Cults of Trojan War Heroes

Other sites have been linked to divinatory incubation based on inconclusive evidence, and are known primarily from literary sources. This includes, with varying degrees of certainty, the shrines of multiple figures associated with the Trojan War myth.⁴⁰ Calchas is said to have been consulted in this manner at a cenotaph on Monte Gargano in Italy—a site later converted into the church of S. Michele Arcangelo, the archangel's oldest shrine in western Europe—and there is also a chance that Asklepios's son Podalirios, likewise present at Troy, issued prophetic dreams at his own nearby hero shrine, though the evidence is problematic.⁴¹ Two other mythological figures, Menelaus's

37 Tert., *Anim.* 46.11 (quoted p. 313); cf. Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.34–35. On Mopsos, see López-Ruiz 2009; for the site, see MacKay 1990, 2115–2116. (MacKay at p. 2116 reads too much into an ancient comment on Statius's *Thebaid* in stating that it “suggests spoken responses, but might mean dreams,” since this *scholium* only refers ambiguously to oracles being received in an unspecified manner: *post mortem ei templa dicata sint, a quorum adytis saepe homines responsa accipiunt* (Lactantius, *schol. Stat., Theb.* 3.520–521).)

38 Plut., *De def. or.* 45 (= *Mor.* 434DE).

39 Origen, *C. Cels.* 7.35.

40 The belief held by scholars roughly a century ago that there was incubation in the cult of Protesilaos is no longer accepted (see p. 526n.2).

41 Lycoph., *Alex.* 1047–1055 (with Tzetzes, *schol. Lycoph., Alex.* 1050) and Strabo 6.3.9, p. 284; see pp. 304–307. On Calchas's shrine, see Perret 1937, Friese 2010, 401, Cat. No. I.III.1.1, and Friese 2013, 231; for Calchas's presence in Italy, see Russo/Barbera 2009. For the church and

daughter Hermione and Zeus's son Sarpedon, are both linked to divinatory incubation by Tertullian, who in his list of oracular shrines that issued dream-oracles includes them among Amphiaraos, Amphilochos, Trophonios, Mopsos and Pasiphae.⁴² For one of them, Hermione, who is identified by Tertullian as "Hermione in Macedonia," no further information or evidence exists.⁴³ The other, Zeus's mortal son Sarpedon, who died by Patroklos's hand on the plain of Troy, might have appeared in dreams at a shrine in the Troad, though the lone source is questionable, and may instead pertain to a site in Cilicia.⁴⁴

5.7 Oracles of the Dead

In contrast to the sites devoted to heroes and heroines of myth, most of whom had been diviners, certain shrines linked to divinatory incubation were associated with deceased individuals who had only gained local prominence, or with the spirits of the dead in general.⁴⁵ An inscription from Lydia that has no known parallels appears to be an example of the former. This Roman-era funerary monument of the priestess of an unidentified cult at Thyateira states that dream-oracles could be solicited from her by praying at her tomb-altar:

the history of Monte Gargano in later centuries, including the belief in the appearances of the Archangel Michael there, see pp. 789–790.

42 Tert., *Anim.* 46.11.

43 For the mythological Hermione, see Zwicker 1912a. It is not certain that Tertullian's Hermione was indeed the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, but this seems most likely, despite the lack of a myth associating her with Macedonia. The only plausible alternative, other than this being an unknown figure with that name, would be that the use of the name "Hermione" as an epithet or hypostasis for Demeter and Persephone might have occurred in Macedonia, as it did in Syracuse. Such a conclusion is implied by Johannes Zwicker's inclusion of the Tertullian passage in his treatment of "Hermione" as a "*Beiname*" for these goddesses, but it is less likely that Demeter and Persephone were also called "Hermione" in Macedonia than it is that there was a hero cult devoted to the mythological Hermione and a shrine at which she issued dream-oracles. (See Zwicker 1912b, relying on Hesychios, s.v. "Ἑρμιόνη" for Syracuse's Hermione but misleadingly referring as well to "Demeter Hermione" at the Argolid *polis* Hermion(e), where Demeter's epithet was "Chthonia," and wrongly implying that Zenobius is evidence for this cult there when the passage in question only attests to the existence of a temple of Demeter and Persephone at Hermion(e) without providing an epithet for either (Zen. 2.22, ed. Lelli (= *Paroemiogr.* 1, p. 38).)

44 See Appendix 1.3.1.

45 For this phenomenon among other peoples, see pp. 106–110.

Ἀμμιάδι | τὰ τέκνα καὶ οἱ μύσ|ται τῶν θεῶν ἀνέ|στ<η>σαν τὸν βωμὸν | σὺν
τῇ πυαλίδι [---] | [---] τῇ ἱερείῃ τῶν | θεῶν μνείας | χάριν. | εἴ τίς δὲ θέλει τὸ
ἄλ|θη|ς μαθεῖν παρὰ ἐμοῦ ἰς τὸν βω|μὸν ἐνευξάσθω | ὃ ἂν θέλει καὶ ἐπι|τεύξεται
διὰ ὁ|ράματος νυκτὸς | καὶ ἡμέρας.⁴⁶

For Ammias, the children and *mystai* of the gods set up the altar and sarcophagus... for the priestess of the gods in her memory. If anyone wishes to learn the truth from me let him pray at this altar for what he wishes and he will obtain it through a vision, either by night or by day.

Since the tomb has not been discovered it is impossible to know whether the dream was to be received within the funerary enclosure itself, and therefore it may be that inquirers were to sleep in their own beds after having prayed at the site.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, without the discovery of similar inscriptions we will be unable to know whether Ammias was the only person to be associated with dream-oracles in this manner, though it seems unlikely that this was a unique instance.

In contrast to the phenomenon evident in this inscription, other known oracular sites of the dead (νεκυρομαντεῖα) were not associated with a single individual. This belief in *nekyromanteia* goes back at least as far as the Classical Period, as is revealed by Herodotus's somewhat dubious tale of the tyrant Periander of Corinth sending messengers to consult the oracle of the dead at the Acheron River in Thesprotia and their seeing the phantom of his deceased

46 TAM V.2, 1055 (= de Hoz, *Lydische Kulte*, 303, No. 63.2); see Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, 129–133 (with Pl. 5, 3), Chaniotis 2002, 72, and Renberg 2010c, 179.

47 For a perhaps comparable phenomenon, see the *scholium* to Persius that refers to statues of fifty Danaids and fifty of the sons of Aegyptos at Apollo's Palatine temple in Rome and states that one could seek dream-oracles from the latter group of images (... *in porticu quadam Apollinis Palatini fuerunt L Danaidum effigies et contra eas sub divo totidem equestres filiorum Aegypti. ex his autem statuīs quaedam dicebantur postulantibus per somnium dare oracula*) (schol. Pers. 2.56.1–2; on the statues, see LIMC III, “Danaides,” No. 6). Presumably, these dreams were to be received away from the temple, not while spending the night there. (In their 2004 edition of the *Commentum Cornuti* Wendell V. Clausen and James G. Zetzel retain “*Aegisti*” (*i.e.*, Aegisthus) in the text as the one with fifty sons, but Otto Jahn in his 1843 edition was undoubtedly correct in emending the passage with “*Aegypti*” in recognition of the mythological association of Aegyptos and the Danaids. Clausen and Zetzel indicate their awareness of the problem by listing “Aegistus (= Aegyptus)” in their *index nominum rerum verborum* (at p. 179), but an emendation to the text itself is surely in order.)

wife, presumably in a dream.⁴⁸ Another such site is reported by Cicero and Plutarch to have been near Terina, a city in southern Italy originally colonized by Croton during the Classical Period and thus a place where Greek religious beliefs and practices would have been firmly established.⁴⁹ This oracle, referred to as a ψυχομαντεῖον by Plutarch (and “*psychomantium*” by Cicero), was the site at which an individual reportedly encountered both his deceased father and son in a dream after making the customary preliminary sacrifices and bedding down (προθυσάμενον δ’ ὡς νόμος ἐγκοιμάσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ὄψιν τοιάνδε). Such sources showing a belief in oracles of the dead functioning by means of incubation suggests that other such sites may have existed, especially since phenomena like the one represented by the tomb altar from Thyateira would have been “under the radar” of most ancient authors. It is unclear, however, whether dreams were employed at every *nekyomanteion*, since other divinatory methods might instead have been employed.⁵⁰

5.8 Conclusion

Overall, the evidence for so many sites at which divinatory incubation was practiced raises the question of how widespread this phenomenon was.⁵¹ Since most of our knowledge regarding the existence of these sites depends on

48 Hdt. 5.92.7. For the practice of consulting the dead through incubation, see Ogden 2001a, 75–92 *et pass.* (with general discussion of *nekyomanteia* at pp. 17–28), Ogden 2001b (especially pp. 51–52), Ogden 2001c, and Merkelbach 2001a, 3–9, and on *nekyomanteia* in general see Stramaglia 1999, 25–27, Ustinova 2009, 68–81, Friese 2010, 78–83 and Friese 2013, 228–229. On this passage, see Merkelbach, *ibid.*, 6, Johnston (S.) 1999, vii–viii *et pass.* and Johnston (S.) 2005, 291–292, and Fouache/Quantin 1999, 36–38. The main study of the Acheron *nekyomanteion* is Ogden 2001a, 43–60 *et pass.*; see also Ogden 2001b, 45–49 and Ogden 2001c, 173–177. For the disproven claim that the remains of the oracle have been discovered, see Appendix I.1.4.

49 Plut., *Consol. ad Apoll.* 14 (= *Mor.* 109BD); cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 1.115. Both authors tell different versions of the same story, with Plutarch’s more detailed but Cicero attributing it to Krantor of Soloi’s *Consolation*. On this site, see Ogden 2001a, 75–76, Ogden 2001b, 51, and Ogden 2001c, 178–180.

50 Daniel Ogden’s conclusion that “such evidence as there is for the means by which ghosts were experienced at tombs or in *nekyomanteia* points to incubation” may be correct (Ogden 2001a, 75), but the evidence is quite limited. (See also Ustinova 2009, 70, 72, entertaining the possibility that the Tainaron and Herakleia sites functioned through incubation, and Friese 2010, 81–82 and Friese 2013, 229, presenting a brief overview of the subject.)

51 For the existence of other such sites possibly being revealed by reliefs, see Appendix IX.

the chance survival of one or more literary sources, it can be inferred that other sites for divinatory incubation existed but were discussed by authors whose works are lost. Some sites may well be known to us, but not associated with the practice: Strabo, Pausanias and other authors often refer to oracular sanctuaries without identifying the oracular medium, and some of these sites may have functioned primarily or secondarily, if not solely, through dream-divination. If dream-divination at sanctuaries was truly unusual then such authors presumably would have been less likely to miss the opportunity to note the practice, so either these oracles did not function through dream-divination or they did but this was not thought noteworthy. Similarly, authors making brief references to oracles without discussing them in any detail would not have had reason to note whether dreams were involved: see, for example, Origen's comment implying that Amphilochos had an oracle near Acarnania, which can only be associated with incubation because of Aristides's slightly more informative comment that this god would appear to people there in addition to issuing oracles. Therefore, while it is certainly possible for divinatory incubation to have been a rare form of divination, there is good reason to conclude that it was fairly commonplace—so much so that it was not always worth noting when an oracle functioned through dreams rather than an inspired priest or prophet, a natural phenomenon such as rustling leaves, or some other form of divination. And it is quite clear that incubation as a means of divination was more widely and commonly practiced than is typically noted in studies of Greek religion.⁵²

52 See, for example, Martin P. Nilsson's essential handbook, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Nilsson 1955–61), which barely touches on incubation (most notably at p. 1:169).

PART 3

Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian Cults



Sarapis and Isis

6.1 Introduction

With the exception of Amphiaraos, an oracular god who apparently embarked on a second career as a healer after moving to a new city and began to issue therapeutic as well as prophetic dreams, the Greek gods who were consulted through incubation tended to be healers or diviners, but not both. In Egypt, however, such a dichotomy appears not to have been in effect for several of the divinities who could be contacted in this manner. The clearest evidence for this comes from the cults of Amenhotep and Imhotep,¹ but it also appears that Sarapis and Isis were available to their worshipers for both medical and non-medical matters.² More significantly, unlike the other Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian gods associated with incubation in Egypt, Sarapis and Isis were worshiped at numerous sanctuaries beyond their native land, where there is

1 See Chapter 8 for Amenhotep and Imhotep around Thebes, and Chapter 7.4 for Imhotep at Saqqâra.

2 There are numerous works on the separate and joint worship of Sarapis and Isis, but see especially Vidman 1970, Dunand 1973, Malaise 1986 and Malaise 2005, López Salvá 1992, Merkelbach 2001*b*, and Bricault 2013—each featuring at least some discussion of dreams, oracles and incubation—as well as several important conference volumes in the “Religions in the Graeco-Roman World” series and studies in its earlier incarnation as “Études préliminaires des religions orientales dans l’Empire romain.” To this should be added Kathrin Kleibl’s extensive study of the cult of Isis (and, inevitably, Sarapis) that is centered around a detailed catalog of all of her cult sites outside of Egypt as well as the ones in Egypt built on a Greco-Egyptian model (Kleibl 2009; for known Isis sanctuaries within Greco-Roman Egypt, see Haase 2005). Also of note are the jointly published articles of Quack and Bjorn Paarmann on Sarapis’s origins and subsequent worship in Egypt (Paarmann 2013; Quack 2013*b*), with other useful recent discussions of Sarapis to be found in Bergmann 2010 and Caroli 2007, 309–353. All of the inscriptions from the cults of Isis and Sarapis outside of Egypt have been collected by Laurent Bricault in *RICIS* and the coins in its sister publication *SNRIS*, and he has also produced a unique work that is likewise of great value and should be emulated for other cults: an atlas showing all of their known cult sites in the Greco-Roman world as well as the nature of the sources linked to or found at these sites (Bricault, *Atlas*). As of 2008 new work on the Egyptian cults of the post-Pharaonic era both in and beyond Egypt is being surveyed in a “Chronique bibliographique” prepared by Bricault and others for the *Bibliotheca Isiaca* series, in which supplements to *RICIS* and *SNRIS* as well as original articles are also appearing; a valuable overview of recent scholarship is also to be found in Bricault/Veymiers 2012.

good evidence for incubation being a feature of at least one of their cults.³ There is significantly more evidence for these gods providing oracular dreams than therapeutic, but since scholars have tended not to distinguish between the two types of incubation, too often the assumption has been made that because “incubation” was an important feature of their cults they routinely healed in this manner. Instead, as can be seen by looking at the evidence for the two phenomena separately and also distinguishing between sources from inside and outside of Egypt, it appears that both divinatory and therapeutic incubation in the cults of Isis and Sarapis may have been limited to a small number of sites. Whether incubation at any of these sites involved invoking both gods together is likewise a problem. While Sarapis and Isis were closely associated and worshiped jointly at countless sites—mostly a function of Sarapis’s worship having developed in part from that of Isis’s husband Osiris—there is no evidence for worshipers soliciting dreams from both simultaneously at either a *Sarapieion* or *Isieion*, and for this reason their cults are treated separately in this chapter.⁴ However, the close association of the two, as well as the fact that both cults spread far from Egypt but retained the essential characteristics of their original worship, dictates that Isis and Sarapis be studied together, as should likewise be the case for the sources for their cults from both Egypt and throughout the Greco-Roman world.

The belief that these two would communicate through dreams, for which there is abundant evidence in literature, inscriptions and papyri, has led some scholars to assume that incubation was a common element of their worship throughout the Greek East and Latin West, but there is little reason to think

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- 3 The close association of the Greco-Egyptian Sarapis with the Egyptian Osorapis at Saqqâra and with Osiris at the Abydos *Memnonion* requires that incubation and the cult of Sarapis at those sites be treated separately (see Chaps. 7.2–3 and 9.2). This chapter is devoted to the “Hellenized” god worshiped throughout the Mediterranean world, and in Egypt most notably at Alexandria and Canopus—though even at these two sites the god appears to have had different characteristics. This Sarapis, like Osiris, was associated with Isis, as can be seen as far back as the early third century BCE (*I.AlexPtol* 1–2 (reign of Ptolemy I) and 5 (reign of Ptolemy II)). As occurred with Sarapis, Isis became Hellenized in certain respects, but retained the essentials of her Egyptian identity. (For the matter of Sarapis’s origin and Hellenization at Memphis as well as this god’s relationship to the native Egyptian Osorapis, see pp. 403–405. For Isis’s Hellenization, also thought to have occurred at Memphis, see Malaise 2000.)
 - 4 The Ḥor Archive from Saqqâra demonstrates that an individual could invoke multiple gods while engaging in divinatory incubation (*e.g.*, *O.Hor* 13 (quoted p. 622)), at least, so it is certainly possible for this to have been done at sanctuaries of Sarapis and Isis, even if the sources do not attest to it.

that divinatory or therapeutic incubation in the cult of these gods was ever so widespread.⁵ After all, in Egypt itself there are only three sites at which either Sarapis or Isis—to our knowledge, the two never shared a joint medical practice there, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean world⁶—is known or can

- 5 Such a belief goes at least as far back as Bouché-Leclercq, who concluded that all sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis offered revelations through incubation (Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, III:391), whereas in more recent decades scholars have taken a more moderate position by treating incubation as common but not necessarily standard. But this may still overstate the situation.
- 6 No site in Egypt at which Sarapis and Isis were worshiped as a divine pair can be identified as a healing sanctuary, though they were among the gods who could be called upon for good health, and such prayers were sometimes addressed to both: see, for example, the second-century BCE papyrus letter from the Ptolemaios Archive in which his brother Apollonios writes, “I offer sacrifices for you before Sarapis and Isis so that you will be healthy” (θύομαι δὲ περὶ σου | πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν | καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν | ὅπως ὑγιάνῃς) (*P.Mil* II 28, ll. 7–10; for Ptolemaios and Apollonios, see Chapter 7.1). But the fact that a petitionary papyrus from Soknopaiou Nesos dating to 132 BCE refers to healing by Isis Nepherses and Soknopaios indicates that Isis could function as a healing divinity in tandem with gods other than Sarapis (*P.Amh.* II 35, ll. 31–35; on this site, see Davoli 2014 and Bricault 1998, 526). Since so few sanctuaries appear to have been dedicated to both Sarapis and Isis coequally—as opposed to distinct *Sarapieia* and *Isieia*—it is not surprising that sources for a joint healing practice would be so limited. There are, in fact, only three dedications that appear to credit both equally for a medical recovery: one by a native of Alexandria living at or visiting Lesbos during the Roman Period, who fulfilled a vow to “Zeus Helios great Sarapis and Lady Isis” after “having been saved from an illness” ([Δ]ι Ἠλίω μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι | [κ]αὶ τῇ κυρᾷ Ἰσιδι Ἰσιδωρος | [Α]φροδίτου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | [σ]ωθὶς ἐκ νόσου εὐχὴν | ἀνέθηκε) (*IG* XII.2, 114 (= *RICIS* 205/0304)), a Hellenistic dedication to Sarapis and Isis from Anchialos in Thrace by someone after “having been cured” (Πασίξεως Ἀντιφίλου | ἱαθείς Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἰσιδι) (*SEG* 29, 660 (= *RICIS* 114/1301)), and another from Kos by an Alexandrian who in Hellenistic times made a dedication to Sarapis and Isis as well as their associates following a cure (Σαράπι Ἰσι | θεοὺς πᾶσι | θεραπευθείς | Ἀπολλωνίδας | Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | χαριστέα) (*IG* XII.4, 2, 550 (= *RICIS* 305/1901)). But even these are uncertain evidence, since dedications might address both gods even if only one had been consulted or simply prayed to for help: this may well have been the case at Delos, where Isis was named with Sarapis in scores of dedications, some of which were clearly health-related, but whereas none of the temple inventories link Isis to healing, there are numerous records of gifts made to Sarapis due to his medical assistance (see pp. 350–353). Moreover, the matter is one of some ambiguity, since identification of a site as belonging primarily to one divinity rather than both might depend on chance survival of sources, and it is also possible for some sites to have been devoted to both but for just one to have functioned as a healer, but again the sources are too sparse. For example, in the case of the Egyptian sanctuary at Maroneia, where one inscription attests the presence of a high priest of both Sarapis and Isis and another inscription a priest of the two gods (*I.ThracAeg* 212, ll. 1–2 (= *SEG* 55, 745 = *RICIS* Suppl. I, 114/0210 + photo, cf. *RICIS* Suppl. II, p. 282) and *I.ThracAeg* 182, ll. 4–5 (= *RICIS* 114/0201), respectively), which

be reasonably thought to have healed through incubation. Furthermore, while literary evidence might suggest that this practice persisted at sanctuaries outside of Egypt, only the Athenian *Sarapieion* can be shown to have provided dream-oracles to those seeking medical assistance, though there is a possibility that this could be done at the first *Sarapieion* on Delos. The sources for divinatory incubation can only support similarly limited conclusions, with the evidence for the practice in Egypt being ambiguous or problematic—despite the abundant sources attesting to both having been oracular divinities at multiple sites—and the evidence for incubation at their overseas sanctuaries being even less reliable. Thus, more than any other major cult associated with incubation, it is an open question just how prominent a role divinatory or therapeutic incubation played in the worship—separate or joint—of Sarapis and Isis.

6.2 Sarapis and Therapeutic Incubation in Egypt

While it is clear that therapeutic incubation was an element of Sarapis's cult in Egypt, it is unclear how widespread the practice was.⁷ Incubation appears

shows significant overlap in their cults' operations, an aretology was commissioned by a worshiper for Isis alone in gratitude for a cure (*I.ThracAeg* 205; see pp. 364–365), but even though no other inscription from the site honors Sarapis for similar reasons it is not certain that only Isis was a healer at Maroneia. Conversely, it is evident from Varro that there was incubation at the Athenian *Sarapieion*, and none of the inscriptions and other materials revealing Isis's presence at the site indicate a therapeutic function for her (see Bricault, *Atlas*, pp. 4–5). (For a brief discussion of the evidence for Sarapis and Isis healing jointly, see Grandjean 1975, 27–28 and Sfameni Gasparro 1999, 409–410 (pp. 333–335 of 2002 version).)

- 7 The topic of Sarapis as a healing god both in and outside Egypt has most recently been studied by Bricault, who places an emphasis on the importance of healing and oracles in the god's cult going back to its early days, but also explores the growing importance of the link between the cults of Sarapis and Asklepios in later Hellenistic and Roman times (Bricault 2008a; cf. Fraser 1972, 1:256–258). To the sources he discusses can be added a thank offering to Zeus Helios Sarapis from Lepcis Magna by an individual who was “completely saved from a great disease” (ἐκ μεγάλης νόσου διασωθείς) (*RICIS* 702/0107 + Pl. 130), and a gemstone likely to be from Egypt that represents Sarapis both standing and enthroned, and bears the inscription ὁ πιστός (·) εἰ[ατ]ήριον (“The believer; a remedy”) (*SEG* 44, 1528 (= Veymiers, *Sérapis gemmes*, 324, No. V.AD 1 + Pl. 51, cf. p. 131); cf. Belayche 2007b, 88). Also worth adding is an anecdote in Artemidorus, about a man who was going to have an operation praying to Sarapis for its success and being promised in a dream that it would go well, and dying soon thereafter—an outcome that Artemidorus explains as successful because, just like one who has been restored to health, the man was no longer suffering pain, and also because Sarapis

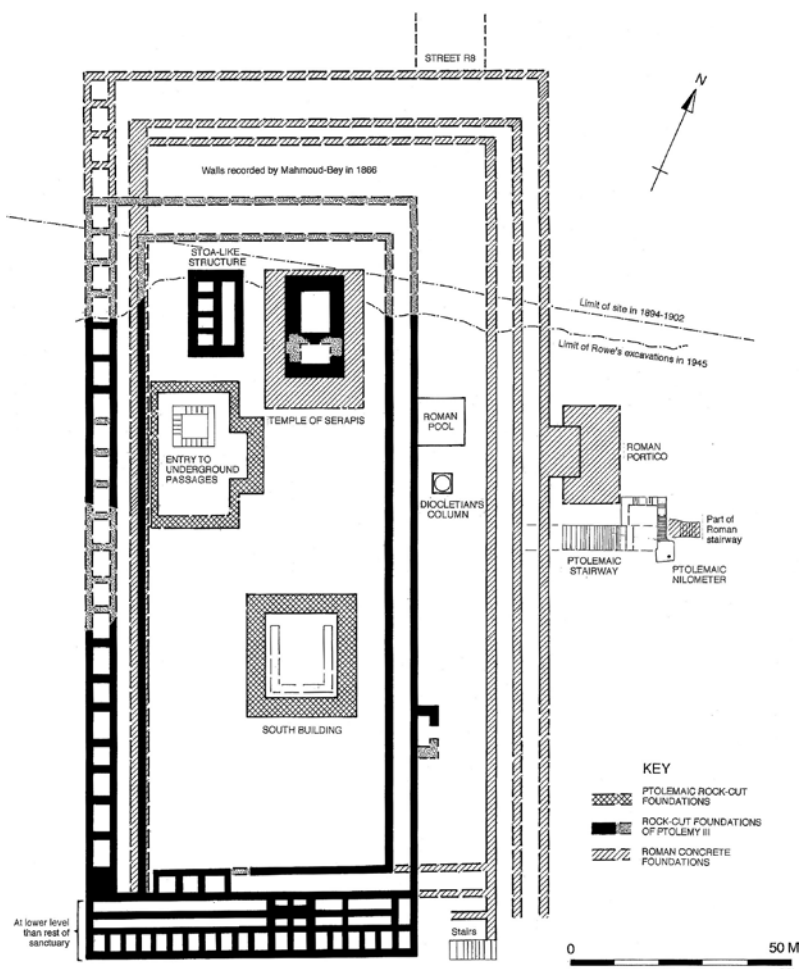
to have become a more common feature of religion in Egypt under the early Ptolemies,⁸ and it was in this context that Sarapis soon became proficient at providing therapeutic dreams, and probably dream-oracles as well, at one or more of his two major sanctuaries in the Delta region. This appears to have been the case at the Alexandria sanctuary that was the seat of his cult and, according to Pausanias, the “most prominent” (ἐπιφανέστατον) *Sarapieion* of his day, though the best sources for incubation there are from the Roman Period.⁹ None of the archaeological remains can be linked to incubation, either health-related or oracular (Plans 10–14).¹⁰ Moreover, the few sources for therapeutic

was a god with Underworld associations to whom death was not a negative (Artem. 5.94; see Barrigón Fuentes 1994, 43 and Prada 2015, 285).

8 See Chapter 2.2.

9 Paus. 1.18.4. On divinatory incubation in the cult of Sarapis, see Sect. 6.5.

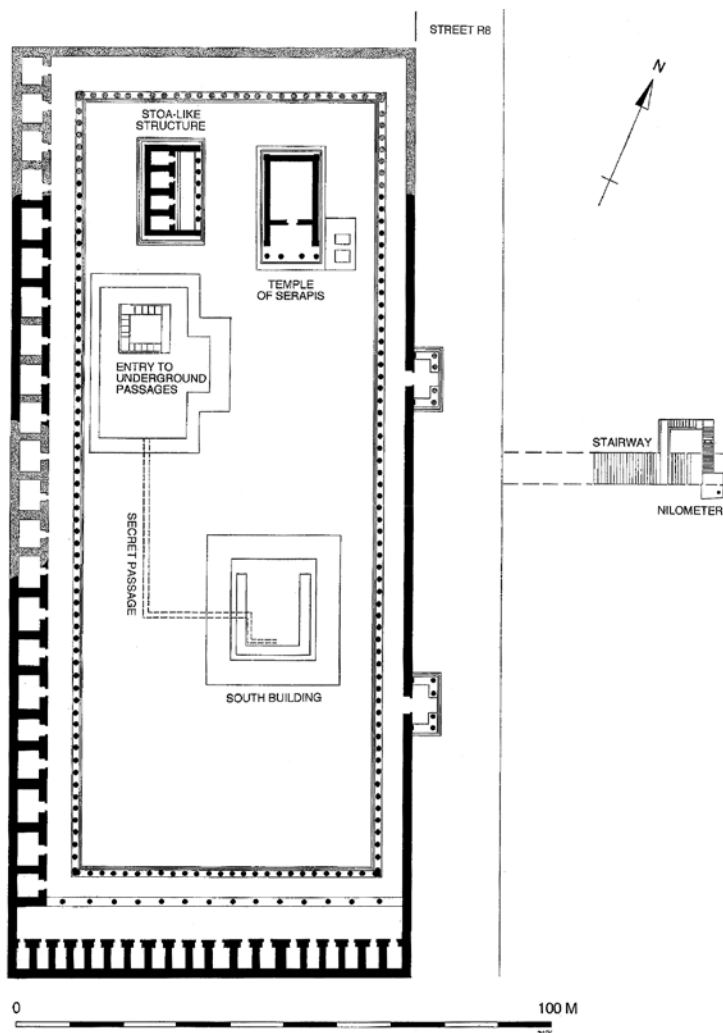
10 For a chronological and architectural analysis of the sanctuary's topography, see McKenzie/Gibson/Reyes 2004, McKenzie 2007, 52–57, 195–203 *et pass.*, and Sabottka 2008 (the latter excluding the former), and for the history of the excavations see Rowe/Drioton 1946 and Sabottka, *ibid.*, 3–24; see also McKenzie 2003, 50–56. The first two works make Rowe/Rees 1955–57 somewhat obsolete as a topographical study, but do not eliminate its value as a survey of artifacts found at the site. See also Kleibl 2009, 316–325, Cat. No. 46 and Kessler 2000 (parts of which are particularly speculative or problematic for other reasons, as noted in M. Malaise, *Bibliotheca Isiaca* 1, pp. 175–178). The complex measured 160 × 76 meters, with the *temenos* 142 × 55, making it among the largest known *Sarapieia* or *Isieia*. Though extensive archaeological evidence survives, none of the structures that has been unearthed can be conclusively identified as a site for incubation, though some are viable candidates: the “Stoa-like Structure” (or “Oikos-Gebäude”) just west of the temple, the purpose of which is unknown, was not replaced after the fire of 181 CE, which rules it out unless it was used for incubation up until the fire and then another structure was selected to serve this function; the colonnade surrounding the court is a possibility despite its lacking the privacy expected for incubation dormitories, though there was a row of rooms extending the length of the west side and these may have been used instead of the colonnade's open areas; the “South Building,” the purpose of which is unknown but might have originally been a temple of Osiris (McKenzie/Gibson/Reyes, *ibid.*, 89) or a monumental altar or shrine devoted to the royal cult (Sabottka, *ibid.*, 238–241); the “T-shaped Building” (or “Westbau”) located above the entrance to underground passages had an unknown function (Sabottka, *ibid.*, 226), while the passages themselves, reminiscent of the catacombs at Saqqâra and elsewhere, are generally believed to have been at least partly devoted to Anubis and burials of sacred dogs (Sabottka, *ibid.*, 215–218). If these passageways, in which a number of cult objects such as lamps and dedicatory objects as well as some graffiti have been found, were open to worshipers then perhaps incubation was practiced in them, though this is unlikely. The West Building itself is a better candidate, especially since at Saqqâra there is some evidence indicating that shrines at the entrances to sacred animal catacombs could be used by cult officials for



PLAN 10 *Alexandrian Sarapieion, showing building foundations of Ptolemaic and Roman phases.*

SOURCE: COURTESY OF JUDITH MCKENZIE

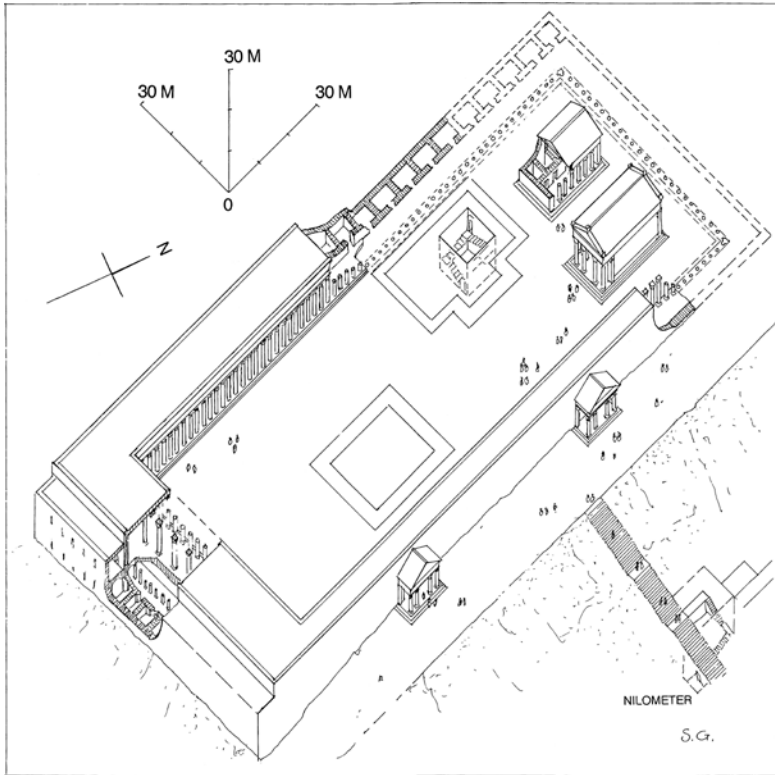
incubation (see p. 446). (The possibility of worshipers incubating in this building might be incompatible with Dieter Kessler's claim that there was a *wabet* at the West Building and oracular chambers in which priests received inquiries (Kessler, *ibid.*, 197–204), as the area would then have been off-limits to the public, though the building is large enough that perhaps multiple activities were set there.) Whether these subterranean passageways, including the one that ran from the West Building to the South Building, were the hidden shrines (*adyta*) mentioned by Rufinus of Aquileia is unknown, but seems likely (Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 2(11).23 (eds. E. Schwartz & T. Mommsen, *GCs* n.s. 6.2 (Berlin, 1999),



PLAN 11 *Alexandrian Sarapieion, showing Ptolemaic phase (restored plan).*

SOURCE: COURTESY OF JUDITH MCKENZIE

p. 1027); for Rufinus's treatment of the *Sarapieion*, see Thelamon 1981, 165–185). That the passageways served an oracular function was suggested in Rowe/Rees, *ibid.*, 490–491, drawing parallels with Delphi and other sites. McKenzie/Gibson/Reyes, *ibid.*, 87–90 *et pass.*, though discussing both the aboveground structures and underground passages at length, does not address the question of where incubation would have been practiced, while Sabottka, *ibid.*, 191 only makes the tentative suggestion that the “Oikos-Gebäude” may have been used for this purpose. Overall, depending on whether incubation was

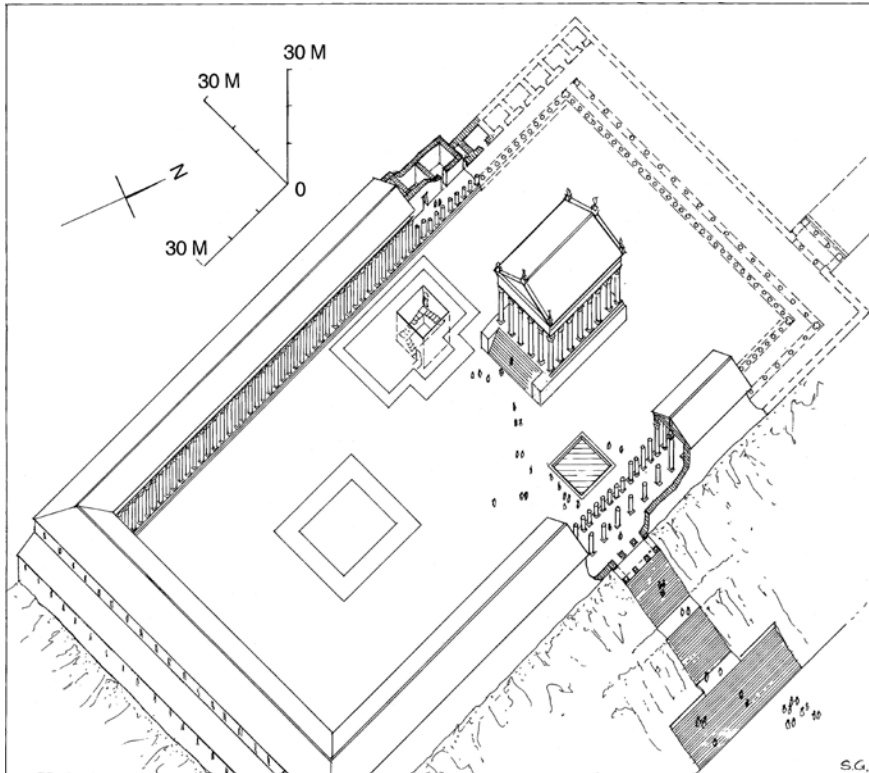


PLAN 12 *Axonometric reconstruction of Alexandrian Sarapieion, showing Ptolemaic phase.*

SOURCE: COURTESY OF SHEILA GIBSON (VIA JUDITH MCKENZIE)

incubation at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* are all literary, and mostly provide indirect or unreliable evidence: in what would be the earliest known instance of a miraculous cure being attributed to Sarapis, though not necessarily one involving a dream, Diogenes Laertius reports that the politician and philosopher Demetrios of Phaleron, a contemporary of Ptolemy I, “is said to have lost

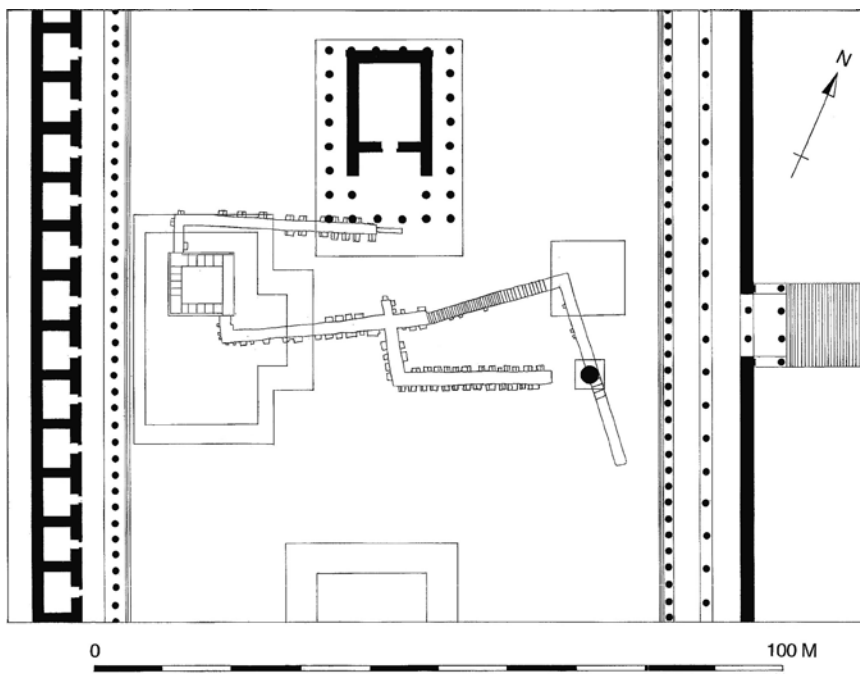
practiced in the relatively small West Building or the large colonnade, or else another structure, the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* would either have functioned like Epidauros and other major Greek sanctuaries that permitted numerous worshipers to solicit dreams at the same time, or catered to a more limited number of visitors. Moreover, if a structure or area associated with divinized animals was employed for incubation, as at Saqqâra, it is possible that its use was limited to those serving the god rather than the masses.



PLAN 13 *Axionometric reconstruction of Alexandrian Sarapieion, showing Roman phase.*
SOURCE: COURTESY OF SHEILA GIBSON (VIA JUDITH MCKENZIE)

his eyesight and regained it in Alexandria through Sarapis's agency, wherefore he wrote those paeans that are still being sung today" (λέγεται δὲ ἀποβαλόντα αὐτὸν τὰς ὄψεις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ κομίσασθαι αὐθις παρὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τοὺς μέχρι νῦν ᾄδομένους);¹¹ Artemidorus states, "Many

11 Diog. Laert. 5.5.76; see Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 50. For another problematic source associating Demetrios with Sarapis's healing miracles, see p. 342. Demetrios's miraculous recovery would have occurred after his arrival in Egypt in 297 BCE, a date so early as to render this claim suspect. While the extensive Alexandrian *Sarapieion* of Ptolemy III had not yet been built, it was preceded by one constructed by Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II—an altar given to unnamed *theoi sôtêres* by Ptolemy II and his queen Arsinoë II that was found at the *Sarapieion* provides a *terminus ante quem* of c. 275–268 BCE, the period during which they were married (*LAlexPtol* 8)—though probably not as early as 297 BCE (see Sabottka 2008, xiv, 43–66). Whether this earlier site would have provided incubation facilities remains unknown, due to the limited remains.



PLAN 14 *Alexandrian Sarapieion, showing underground passages.*

SOURCE: COURTESY OF JUDITH MCKENZIE

people in both Pergamon and Alexandria as well as other places have been cured by prescriptions" from the gods, which most likely alludes to incubation at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* and Pergamene *Asklepieion*, and this writer also might have been alluding to incubation in an anecdote ascribed to Menekrates the Grammarian about a man who appeals to Sarapis for an explanation of a dream that the dream interpreters had been unable to penetrate;¹² and, Dio Chrysostom possibly alludes to therapeutic dreams when he states that Sarapis regularly issued dreams to the Alexandrians, though he might instead be referring to divinatory incubation, or simply their tendency to dream of this god spontaneously.¹³ Four other literary sources, three of which pertain to

12 Artem. 4.22, p. 320, ed. Harris-McCoy (quoted p. 25n.71) and 4.80, pp. 364, 366 (see pp. 726–727).

13 Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.12 (quoted p. 380).

Vespasian's activities during his visit to Alexandria in 69–70 CE, should not be accepted as evidence for incubation, even if they appear plausible.¹⁴

The most definitive evidence for Sarapis healing through incubation at a particular site in Egypt pertains instead to the *Sarapieion* at Canopus, located roughly ten miles from Alexandria. According to Strabo, who visited the site,

Κάνωβος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας πεζῇ ἰούσιν, ἐπώνυμος Κανώβου τοῦ Μενελάου κυβερνήτου ἀποθανόντος αὐτόθι, ἔχουσα τὸ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλῇ ἀγιστεῖα τιμώμενον καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἄνδρας πιστεύειν καὶ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἐτέρους· συγγράφουσι δέ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, ἄλλοι δὲ <τάς> ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων.¹⁵

- 14 An incident involving Vespasian that Peter M. Fraser first linked to incubation should not be: according to the accounts of Suetonius, Tacitus and Cassius Dio regarding the emperor's visit, he miraculously healed individuals who had been told by Sarapis in their dreams to seek out Vespasian, but there is no compelling reason to conclude that these individuals who were acting on "the advice of Sarapis" (*monitu Serapidis*) received this advice while sleeping at the sanctuary (Suet., *Vesp.* 7; Tac., *Hist.* 4.81; Cass. Dio 65(66).8.1; for the association with incubation, see Fraser 1972, 11:407n.530; cf. Wacht 1997, 203–204). While these unnamed recipients of Vespasian's healing touch might not have engaged in incubation in the *Sarapieion*, it is possible that Vespasian himself did so, though not for health reasons (see Henrichs 1968, 61–62; see n. 121). On this episode, see: Derchain 1953; Henrichs, *ibid.*, 65–72; Weber (G.) 2000, 382–385; and Luke 2010; cf. Posener 1960, 67. The fourth source is a late and questionable reference by the Syriac biographer John Rufus to nocturnal healing rituals taking place at the *Sarapieion* (John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian* §99; see n. 117).
- 15 Strabo 17.1.17, p. 801. According to an alternate manuscript tradition the text originally read ἀρεταλογίων ("aretalogies") instead of ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων, though one would expect an accusative ἀρεταλογίας rather than the genitive. Unfortunately, this corruption prevents us from knowing for certain what Strabo said was being recorded. The sanctuary itself is almost certainly the complex discovered by means of underwater archaeology, which boasts a 101-meter western facade built of blocks roughly 110–120 centimeters in length and has produced numerous statues, busts and pieces of statuary representing Sarapis, Isis, other Egyptian gods, sphinxes, and Ptolemaic figures (see Goddio 2007, 50–57). The architectural remains in the area of the Tewfikieh fort that were inconclusively attributed to the *Sarapieion* by Evaristo Breccia should no longer be considered as such, though undoubtedly the site was linked to the god (on these, see Breccia 1926, 38–41 and *I.Delta* 1:276–277, 308–309, 317–318). For incubation and healing in the cult of Sarapis at Canopus, see Bricault 2014, 101–103; cf. Dunand 2006, 10 and Draycott 2012, 34–35. Sculptural evidence from the Canopus cult is discussed in Kiss 2004 (with references), to which should be added two Delian dedications to "Sarapis of Canopus" (*I.Delos* 2129 (= *RICIS* 202/0332 + Pl. 63), *I.Delos* 2176 (= *RICIS* 202/0370)); cf. Pfeiffer 2008, 390–391.

Canopus is a city 120 stades from Alexandria for those going by foot, named after Menelaus's helmsman Canopus, who died there. It features the temple of Sarapis, honored with much ceremony, which brings about cures, so that even the most highly reputed men have faith in it and sleep within it themselves on their own behalf, or others do so for them. There are some who document the cures, and others the wonders of the site's oracles.

Since it is not known when the Canopus temple was built, it is impossible to know whether therapeutic incubation was first practiced there or at the presumably older Alexandrian cult site. It is also worth entertaining another possibility, though an admittedly speculative one: because of the proximity of the two sanctuaries, it may be that the ancient writers discussed above conflated the Alexandria and Canopus *Sarapieia*, and only at Canopus were cures to be sought.¹⁶

Therapeutic incubation also may have been practiced at other Egyptian *Sarapieia*, but since none of the evidence from the known sites pertains to dreams or incubation, it is impossible to determine whether this was the case.¹⁷

For the cult of Osiris, which appears to have been distinct from that of Sarapis there, see Clerc/Leclant 1994*b*; cf. Winand 1998. For Isis's worship at Canopus, see n. 84.

16 Scholars claiming Alexandria to have been a site at which Sarapis cured numerous worshippers typically cite this passage in Strabo on Canopus as indirect evidence—and the tendency to closely associate the two sanctuaries need not have started in modern times. Although no one has previously suggested that *all* of the cures supposedly obtained at Alexandria should instead be attributed to Canopus a few miles away, Fraser did propose that those purportedly recorded by Demetrios of Phaleron pertained to that site (Fraser 1972, 1:257; for Demetrios, see p. 342), and Bricault in his recent study appears to implicitly link Sarapis's cures to Canopus rather than Alexandria (Bricault 2014, 102).

17 In addition to Alexandria and possibly Canopus, remains of *Sarapieia* only survive at Mons Claudianus (see Carrié 2001; cf. Kleibl 2009, 330–331, Cat. No. 49; for the claim of a voice-oracle there, see p. 586), Mons Porphyrites (Kleibl, *ibid.*, 333–334, Cat. No. 51), Akoris (*ibid.*, 337–338, Cat. No. 53), and Luxor (*ibid.*, 338–340, Cat. No. 54). To these can be added Oxyrhynchus, where a *Sarapieion* is known from papyri, but only sculptural rather than architectural remains have been found, which need not have been from that sanctuary (see Parlasca 2006, using sculptural materials to argue for the worship of Helios-Sarapis, with cautionary note by L. Bricault in *Bibliotheca Isiaca* 11, p. 415; see also Whitehorne 1995, 3078–3079). Other *Sarapieia* are known solely from written sources, e.g. the one constructed in Philadelphia by the finance minister Apollonios (*P.Cair.Zen.* 11 59168; see Hölbl 1993, 23–24), the *temenos* consecrated to Sarapis and Isis in Alexandria by the *epistates* of Libya (*I.Alex.Ptol.* 5; see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 192–193 and Fraser 1972, 1:271), Alexandria's early *Sarapieion* of Parmeniskos (*P.Cair.Zen.* 111 59355, ll. 102–103, 128; see Hölbl, *ibid.*,

Therefore, even though there are several sources clearly testifying to the role of therapeutic incubation in the cult of Sarapis without referring to particular sites, it cannot be shown that this practice ever spread to *Sarapieia* beyond the Delta region. Among these sources is a 27-line fragmentary aretalogy which does not state where the miraculous events it describes are supposed to have taken place. This tale, the lengthiest written narrative involving Sarapis and incubation, was circulating among the god's worshipers in Egypt in the third century CE, but is even less believable than most healing miracles ascribed to Sarapis or Asklepios: according to the surviving passage, Sarapis healed a pauper by transferring his illness to "a certain Libyan" (Λίβυς τις ἀνὴρ), who evidently had angered the god and thus appears to have received deliberately misleading instructions from Sarapis in a dream so that his subsequent incubation session would fail while the pauper's would succeed.¹⁸ Four more accounts of Sarapis's miracles, each in some way involving animals and healing, are recounted in Aelian's *On the Nature of Animals*, and incubation at one or more unidentified sites appears to have played a part in at least some of the recoveries: a cavalryman whose horse was blinded in the right eye came to a temple of Sarapis and prayed on the animal's behalf and was instructed to employ vapor treatments within the sanctuary; a devout worshiper of Sarapis who had been poisoned by his wife prayed to the god and was ordered to buy a moray and thrust his hand into the water, and when the moray fastened onto him he was cured; and, Sarapis gave two individuals with wasting illnesses prescriptions

28–29 and Fraser, *ibid.*, 1:270–271), and one at an unidentified site in the Fayoum that is indicated by a papyrus from 225 BCE referring to a *nakoros* of Sarapis (*P.Sorb* 1 37; see p. 721n.9).

18 P.Berlin ÄM P. 10525 (= Heitsch, *Griechische Dichterfragmente* 1 50 = Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 12); see Abt 1915 and Merkelbach 2001b, 217–219. This summary of the papyrus's contents follows the interpretation of D.L. Page (*SelPap* 111 96). For a somewhat comparable tale in which Asklepios transfers a skin ailment from one individual to another, see the two linked Epidaurian testimonies regarding the latter's punishment for failing to use the money entrusted to him by the former to make a thank-offering to the god (*IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 48–68 (= Test. Nos. 6–7); see Prêtre/Charlier 2014, arguing that the term *στίγματα* refers to a medical condition rather than scars or tattoos; cf. Dillon 1994, 252). Similarly, medical writers preserve two examples of Asklepios curing an individual by first converting his ailment into one that was more treatable (Galen, *Subf. emp.* 10, pp. 78–79, ed. Deichgräber; Ruf. Eph., *apud* Orib., *Coll. med. rel.* 45.30.10–14 (see p. 122n.16)). Thus it can be inferred that miraculous transfers and conversions of ailments were a minor staple of aretalogical fictions.

of bull's blood and donkey's flesh, respectively, and both were cured.¹⁹ These detailed stories of miraculous feats by the god, strongly reminiscent of the Epidaurian testimonial inscriptions, may well have been preserved at first in comparably public documents at an Egyptian *Sarapieion*—most likely at Alexandria or Canopus, where Strabo reported that there were “some who document the cures”—and then started to circulate more widely.²⁰ Multiple collections of this sort, part of a larger group of tales regarding various sorts of miracles performed by Sarapis, are known to have been in circulation, since Artemidorus refers to works by Demetrios of Phaleron as well as Artemon of Miletus and the unknown Geminus “recording many dreams, and especially prescriptions and cures given by Sarapis” (πολλοὺς ὀνείρους ἀναγραψάμενων καὶ μάλιστα συνταγὰς καὶ θεραπειὰς τὰς ὑπὸ Σαράπιδος δοθείσας).²¹ In the case of the work attributed to Demetrios, who is reported by a later and possibly incorrect source to have been healed by the god at Alexandria,²² it is likely that this lengthy work focused on the miracles wrought at the Alexandria or Canopus *Sarapieia*, or both, but Artemon and Geminus cannot be linked to either site, or even to Egypt.²³ For these reasons, the Alexandria and Canopus sanctuaries

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- 19 Ael., *NA* 11.31, 34, 35; cf. 11.32. These anecdotes were preserved only because they fit Aelian's needs for a wide-ranging work on animals, and must have belonged to much larger collections of miraculous tales that for the most part did not involve animals. (A work with a promising title, A. Tsaknakis, “The God Serapis Healer of the Animals,” *Tijdschrift voor Diergeneeskunde* (= *Netherlands Journal of Veterinary Science*) 100 (1975), 461–462, should not be consulted, as it merely reproduces the Aelian passages and adds some now outdated information about Sarapis.)
- 20 These tales were associated with the Alexandria or Canopus sanctuary by Fraser based on circumstantial evidence, but this assumption is a reasonable one (Fraser 1972, 11:407n.530). For the Epidauros testimonies entering literature, see p. 172.
- 21 Artem. 2.44, p. 232, ed. Harris-McCoy. See Prada 2015, 282–283 on this passage. According to Artemidorus, the work by Artemon was twenty-two books in length, that of Demetrios five, and that of Geminus three, which gives an indication of how many cures and other miracles attributed to Sarapis were known in antiquity. For an example of one such miraculous tale not preserved in the manuscript tradition, see the second-century CE papyrus fragment recounting a possibly fictional or embellished tale entitled *The Miracle of Zeus Helios Great Sarapis concerning the Pilot Syriion* (Διὸς Ἥλιου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ἀρετὴ ἢ περὶ Συρίωνα τὸν κυβερνήτην), which ends with this individual bringing fresh water to the desperate people of Pharos at the apparent urging of the god, as seems to be indicated by the use of εἶπε—an event said to have been publicly recorded (*P.Oxy* xi 1382, *verso* (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 13); see Weinreich 1919, 13–18, Wild 1981, 68, 228n.81, Merkelbach 1994, 283 and Merkelbach 2001b, 216–217, §399, and Alvar 2008, 322).
- 22 Diog. Laert. 5.5.76; see pp. 336–337.
- 23 For the life and literary output of Demetrios of Phaleron, see Fortenbaugh/Schütrumpf 2000; on Artemon, see *RE* II, 2 (1896), 1448, s.v. “Artemon 22” (E. Riess). It is necessary to

were probably the sources for these tales—depending on whether therapeutic incubation was indeed practiced at both—but this is impossible to ascertain.

That therapeutic incubation first became a feature of the cult of Sarapis at Alexandria or Canopus seems likely, especially since, as discussed in the following chapter, there is no evidence that Sarapis healed in this manner at Saqqâra, where the cult originated but worship of the Hellenized god Sarapis remained secondary to that of the Egyptian Osorapis, and no other site of comparable importance is known.²⁴ At Saqqâra, the presence of the Memphite healing god Imhotep's temple in the vicinity of Osorapis's reduced the need for this god or his Greco-Egyptian counterpart Sarapis to maintain his own medical practice.²⁵ At Alexandria, however, Sarapis may have become a healer because of his contact with Asklepios, with whom he often came to be associated or even identified not only in Egypt but throughout the Greek world.²⁶ While the apparently somewhat common belief conflating Sarapis and Asklepios evident

bear in mind Darius Del Corno's suggestion, partly based on the improbability of a large enough body of aretalogical tales and dreams being available so early in the cult's history, that the work cited by Artemidorus might have been attributed to Demetrios falsely (Del Corno 1969, 138–139). Even if Del Corno is correct about the matter of spurious authorship, though, the work in question almost certainly focused on the activities of Sarapis in Alexandria or Canopus (see p. 340), since it would have been Demetrios's later association with the cult there that made his authorship of the anonymous work seem plausible to Artemidorus and presumably others.

24 See Chapter 7.2.

25 See Stambaugh 1972, 77–78; see also Lewis (N.) 1986, 72, implicitly making this point. Conversely, at least two scholars have speculated or claimed that Sarapis became a healing god in Saqqâra specifically because of his close association with Imhotep (Fraser 1972, 1:256–257; Wacht 1997, 202). The latter view is not supported by existing sources, since there is at best limited evidence for Osorapis/Sarapis as a healing god there. On Imhotep at Saqqâra, see Chapter 7.4.

26 Fraser has suggested that Asklepios's influence on Sarapis may have been strengthened by the close ties between Alexandria and Kos during the reign of Ptolemy I, which is rather speculative (Fraser 1972, 1:257). A comparably speculative view is that Sarapis's alleged syncretism with Asklepios led to the prominence of therapeutic incubation in his cult (see, e.g., Wacht 1997, 202–203; a similar, though more toned down, thesis can be found in Bricault 2008a, 59–69). Whether the cult of Asklepios at Alexandria had a significant influence on that of Sarapis is an open question, since so little is known about the former: a small, early-Ptolemaic altar for Asklepios that appears to be a private dedication attests to the god's presence in the city at the time (*I.AlexPtol* 60 + Pl. 30), and Aelian makes brief reference to an *Asklepieion* during Roman times (Ael., *NA* 16.39), but the sources preserve no noteworthy details on Asklepios at Alexandria, including where he was worshiped (see Fraser, *ibid.*, 1:207 and Riethmüller 2005, 11:399, No. 453).

in certain sources from the rest of the Greco-Roman world does not reflect a phenomenon evident in Egypt itself;²⁷ and Asklepios was just one of several

- 27 The only possible evidence for a merging of Sarapis and Asklepios in Ptolemaic Egypt is a papyrus from the Zenon Archive that has been thought by some to reveal the existence of a temple of “Sarapis-Asklepios” in the middle of the third century BCE, but this papyrus is almost certainly referring to two cults, probably of *synnaoi*, though not indicating by means of καὶ that the two were distinct (*PMich* 1 31, l. 5, from 256/5 BCE; see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 185n.27). While the equating of Sarapis with Asklepios is demonstrably false in the context of Egypt and thus should no longer be claimed, it was widely accepted in the Mediterranean world beyond, especially during Roman times. The clearest statement to this effect is found in Tacitus’s brief discussion of the rival claims made regarding Sarapis’s identity, which included not only that he was Osiris, Jupiter or Dis Pater, but also that “Many conclude that this same god is Aesculapius, because he heals the sick” (*Deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus... coniectant*) (Tac., *Hist.* 4.84.5). Similarly, Pausanias’s reference to the Roman senator Sextus Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodoros from Nysa on the Maeander (*PIR* 1 398) having erected a temple “for Hygieia as well as for Asklepios and Apollo under their Egyptian names” (ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ὑγεία νάον καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ κλησιν Αἰγυπτίοις) at Epidauros may well have pertained to a conflation of Sarapis and Asklepios, since Pausanias is more likely to be referring to Sarapis or Sarapis-Asklepios than the Egyptian Imhotep (Paus. 2.27.6; for the difficulties in identifying this building, see Melfi 2007a, 111–115, and for the construction initiated by Antoninus see Melfi 2010, 334–339). Other evidence is epigraphical, and somewhat ambiguous. Most notably, Sarapis and Asklepios are both named in a third- or fourth-century CE dedication from the Lebena *Asklepieion* (see Sect. 3.3.4), but apparently as a single, syncretized divinity addressed as “Zeus Sarapis Asklepios, the physician of Titane and Lebena” (Διὶ Σεράπειδι | Ἀσκληπιῶ ἱατρῶ Τειτανίῳ Λεβηνάϊῳ), though it is also possible to read it as a dedication to two gods (*I.Cret* 1, xvii, 27 (= *RICIS* 203/0301 + Pl. 72 = Melfi 2007b, 194–195, No. 48); see Matthey 2007, 216–217 on the epithet *Tititanios*). A late-Hellenistic dedicatory inscription from *Sarapieion* C on Delos names Asklepios and Hygieia, but quite possibly was equating them with Sarapis and Isis (*I.Delos* 2386 (= *RICIS* 202/0375 + Pl. 68); cf. *I.Delos* 2384 (= *RICIS* 202/0376 + Pl. 68), a dedication to Asklepios from the site), as can be seen in a priest’s dedication to Isis-Hygieia found there (*I.Delos* 2060 (= *RICIS* 202/0307); quoted n. 74). (Another dedication, found below *Sarapieion* C, is addressed to Asklepios, Hygieia, Apollo, Leto, Artemis Agrotera, and the *theoi symbo-moi* and *synnaoi*, and though it has been suggested that the first three divinities should be viewed as the Egyptian triad of Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates, the lack of Egyptian divinities corresponding to Leto and Artemis as well as the fact that the island was sacred to Apollo, Artemis and Leto suggests that these three, and perhaps all five, divinities should not be viewed as Egyptian gods in disguise (*I.Delos* 2387 (= *RICIS* 202/0414).) A conflation between Asklepios and Sarapis might also be present in a bilingual stele from Lepcis Magna that was dedicated to Asklepios by a native of Nikomedia but features iconography from the cult of Sarapis as well: an aedicular relief with a bust of Sarapis in the pediment and a serpent facing a pinecone within the temple itself (*IRT* 264 (= *RICIS*

gods with whom Sarapis came to be associated,²⁸ it is quite clear that the two shared a close affinity that led them to be worshiped together at several sites both in Egypt and beyond,²⁹ and even to appear jointly on some protective

702/0401 + Pl. 132 = Benseddik 2010, 11:61–62, Stele No. 1 + Pl. 25, 1); see Benseddik 2007, 195 and Bricault 2008a, 66–68). In addition, an inscription from Melos might indicate an association between the Egyptian gods and the two Greek healing gods, though this relies on an uncertain restoration (*IG* XII.3, 1088 (= *RICIS* 202/0902)); another inscription from Melos that was previously thought to show a link has now been recognized by Forsén as a dedication to Asklepios rather than Sarapis (*IG* XII.3, 1087 (= *RICIS* 202/0901 + *RICIS* Suppl. 1, p. 90); see Forsén 1996, 103, No. 33.2 + fig. 113 (photo)). As these sources show, there were some worshipers who did not distinguish between Sarapis and Asklepios, but the evidence for the two maintaining their own distinct identities far outweighs these, and thus the belief does not appear to have been predominant. (For Sarapis and Asklepios, see now Veymiers, *Sérapis gemmes*, 153–155.)

28 The ancient sources that shed light on Sarapis's origins give no indication of an initial link to Asklepios, or to his Egyptian counterpart Imhotep: thus it was only after the god's identity was established that he came to be associated with Asklepios. This, however, also appears to have been true of Zeus, Ammon, Poseidon, Helios, Herakles, Mithras, Dionysos, and Hades (the latter two because they and Osiris were associated with the Underworld and afterlife, and even regularly shared some of their iconographical characteristics). For the evidence linking Sarapis to one or more of these other gods, see: Picard/Lauer 1955, 246–258; Fraser 1972, 1:255–257; Hornbostel 1973, 21–24; Merkelbach 2001b, 71–83, §§126–144; and Veymiers, *Sérapis gemmes*, 175–210. For Sarapis's iconography, which is that of a Greek god in terms of garments, hair and beard, with his *kalathos* being the primary Egyptian element, see: Stambaugh 1972; Hornbostel, *ibid.*; Clerc/Leclant 1994a; Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 61; Malaise 2005, 130–136 and Malaise 2009; and Veymiers, *ibid.*

29 Just as there is some evidence for Asklepios and Hygieia being worshiped at sanctuaries of Sarapis and Isis (see n. 27), the latter two were worshiped at some *Asklepieia* (including Pergamon and Epidauros) or had their own sanctuaries in the immediate vicinity of an *Asklepieion* (as at Athens), while at Thamugadi in Numidia multiple finds identify a sanctuary as having belonged jointly to Asklepios, Sarapis and the goddess Africa (see Le Glay 1991 and Bricault, *Atlas*, pp. 86, 88; cf. Bricault 2008a, 64). Therefore, it is not surprising to find dedications that included one or more of the Egyptian gods along with either Asklepios and Hygieia or just one of them. However, it appears noteworthy that so few survive and, moreover, that a number of other gods received joint dedications along with Sarapis or Isis (or both) and thus show that the relation between these Egyptian gods and Asklepios and Hygieia was not a unique one (see *RICIS* 11:775–779 for these other divinities). Just two dedicatory inscriptions address by name gods from the two pantheons: a Greek dedication from Olbia for Sarapis, Isis, Asklepios, Hygieia and Poseidon seeking the well-being of Severus Alexander, the Senate and the army (*IOSPE* 1² 184 (= *RICIS* 115/0201)), and a Latin one from *Legio VII Gemina* in Tarraconnensis for Aesculapius, Salus, Serapis and Isis (*AE* 1967, 223 (= *RICIS* 603/1001); see Bricault 2008a, 64). However, a link between the cults of Isis and Asklepios can also be seen in a dedication

to Sarapis made by an official priest of Aesculapius at Apulum (*CIL* III 973 (= *IDR* III.5, 316 = *RICIS* 616/0406)), an Athenian inscription from c. 120 CE recording the dedication of a statue of Asklepios (*IG* II² 4772 (= *RICIS* 101/0222)) by two individuals who are identified as cult officials in a dedicatory inscription thought to be from the nearby *Isieion* (*IG* II² 4771 (= *RICIS* 101/0221); see Bricault, *Atlas*, p. 4), and a first-century CE inscription from Mantinea (*IG* V.2, 269 (= *RICIS* 102/1602)). Two other inscriptions worth noting are an Athenian dedication to Isis Tyche, Asklepios and Hygieia, though not Sarapis, from the area of the *Isieion* and *Asklepieion* (*SEG* 58, 205 (= *RICIS Suppl.* III, 101/0258); for the Egyptian cults in Athens, see n. 35), and a damaged inscription found near the Pergamon *Asklepieion* and thus possibly originating there that names Sarapis, Apollo, Zeus, and perhaps other gods (*I.Pergamon* 3, 149 (= *RICIS* 301/1204)). A situation similar to the dedication by Isis officials in Athens can be seen in a dedication to Aesculapius by an *aedituus* of Isis from Gratianopolis (modern Grenoble) in Gallia Narbonensis and could show a link, especially if it had been set up in her sanctuary (*CIL* XII 2215 (= *RICIS* 605/0901)). Sculptural finds from a temple of Aesculapius at Iuvavum (modern Salzburg) likewise reveal an association of the two gods, as a head of Sarapis was found with three Aesculapius statues, a pair of statues of Aesculapius and Hygieia, and the head from a statue of Magna Mater (Salzburg Inv. Nos. 169/69, 2785–2790 (= *CSIR-Österreich* III.1, 12–14, Nos. 4–9 + Pls. 3–9); for the site, see Riethmüller 2005, 11:452–453, Cat.-App. No. 691). Similarly, at the Balagrae *Asklepieion* an alabaster bust of Sarapis, representing a copy of the Alexandrian cult statue and believed to have been brought from there, was found (see Wanis 1979; for the *Asklepieion*, see Appendix 1.9.2), and at the Lambaesis *Asklepieion* a dedicatory inscription addressed to Isis and Sarapis by an imperial official and his wife records their contribution to the construction and decoration of a temple (*CIL* VIII 2630, cf. 18100 (= *RICIS* 704/0301, cf. *RICIS Suppl.* I, p. 103 = Benseddik 2010, 11:134, Dedication No. 41)), while a Greek dedication to Sarapis further demonstrates this god's presence at this Numidian sanctuary (Benseddik, *ibid.*, 11:137, Dedication No. 47 (= *SEG* 60, 1065)).

Three previous claims linking Asklepios/Aesculapius and Sarapis, however, must now be excluded. The sanctuary at Emporion in Hispania Tarraconensis that has been thought to have belonged to Aesculapius as well as Sarapis has been shown to have been a *Sarapieion*, since the statue previously identified as Aesculapius has been instead identified as Sarapis (see Ruiz de Arbulo/Vivó 2008). (The suggestion of Laetizia Puccio that the site could have been an *Isieion* depends on a speculative restoration of the goddess's name in a bilingual inscription from the site (*IGEP* 140, ll. 1, 7 (= *RICIS* 603/0701)), and thus is not convincing (see Puccio 2010, 210). Similarly unconvincing is the assumption in Ruiz de Arbulo/Vivó, *ibid.*, 128 that the stoa evidently referred to in line 9 of this inscription was an *abaton* used for therapeutic incubation, for which there is no evidence.) Further evidence for the close association of Sarapis and Asklepios might also have been found in the transition of a second-century BCE Egyptian sanctuary at Argos into a *Sarapieion-Asklepieion* before it became an *Asklepieion* and bath complex under Hadrian, but there are grounds for doubting that Sarapis and Asklepios were ever jointly worshiped there (see Aupert 1994, echoing his earlier tentative conclusion that there had been a temple shared by both gods; *contra*, see Riethmüller 2005, 11:73–83,

amulets.³⁰ However, it was quite common for divinities to be worshiped at sanctuaries devoted to other gods, so the mere presence of Asklepios at a *Sarapieion* or Sarapis at an *Asklepieion* can at best be taken as evidence for joint worship—not a joint medical practice with both divinities operating and prescribing through incubation. Still, the fact that the two were so often associated does give credibility to the speculation that the Hellenized god Sarapis became a healer at least in part due to the influence of the cult of the greatest of the Hellenic healing gods. Regardless of whether this was the case, Sarapis's healing function began in Egypt and was retained as his worship spread overseas, and this to some extent was also true of the role that therapeutic incubation played in his cult.

Cat. No. 26 and Veymiers 2011, 125, 128; see also Kleibl 2009, 196–197, Cat. No. 9). Lastly, Bricault in the notes for *RICIS* 102/1200 and in Bricault 2008a, 62 cites Paus. 7.26.7 as evidence for a temple of healing gods at Aigeira that had statues of Asklepios, Sarapis and Isis, but the passage instead indicates that while the statues of Asklepios stood in his temple, those of the Egyptian gods were “elsewhere” (Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματα ὁρᾷ ἐστὶν ἐν ναῷ καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐτέρωθι καὶ Ἰσίδος).

- 30 Several Roman-era amulets represent a different type of evidence showing joint worship of Sarapis and Asklepios. Most notably, there is a gold cylindrical amulet inscribed, “(There is) one Zeus Sarapis Epiphanes, Asklepios Sōtēr” (εἷς Ζεὺς Σ|έραπιδος Ἐπι|φανὴς | Ἀσκλη|πιδος | Σωτήρ) (*BMC Jewellery*, 381, No. 3156 + Pl. 71 (= Veymiers, *Sarapis gemmes*, 370, No. A 8, cf. pp. 131, 155); see Versnel 2000, 149–150, arguing against viewing this as a single god), as well as a gold and lapis-lazuli Egyptian intaglio ring featuring Sarapis flanked Asklepios and Hygieia and inscribed, “There is a single god in heaven” (μῶνος θε|ὸς ἐν οὐρ|ανῶ) (Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 11:107–108, No. 52304 + Pl. 25 (= Veymiers, *ibid.*, 338, No. V.BCB 2, cf. p. 153)), which provides support for interpreting the gold cylinder's inscription as a reference to two gods, though this remains uncertain. See also the jasper intaglio from Colonia Agrippina (modern Cologne) that features Sarapis, Isis, and a goddess entwined by serpents who has been identified as Hygieia (Veymiers, *ibid.*, 331, No. V.BBB 1 + Pl. 54, cf. p. 154), and the terracotta medallion from Apulum featuring Asklepios and Hygieia on one side and Sarapis on the other (see Popa 1959). A gemstone from Egypt with *voces magicae* that features an image of Asklepios may, as Campbell Bonner suggested, represent “a fusion of Sarapis with Asklepios” (Bonner, *SMA* 58, cf. p. 42). Bonner based this conclusion both on the object's Egyptian provenience and the fact that several gemstones showing Sarapis holding a staff or trident entwined by a serpent, which was Asklepios's most recognizable iconography, appear to reveal an association with this god (Veymiers, *ibid.*, 363–366, Nos. VI.EAB 1–VI.EAF 5). Such a fusion might also be represented by a second- or third-century CE jasper representing Asklepios and Hygieia but bearing an inscribed request seeking health from Sarapis (Veymiers, *Sarapis gemmes*, *Suppl.* 11, No. A.54 + Pl. 17).

6.3 Sarapis and Therapeutic Incubation outside of Egypt

Outside of Egypt, Sarapis also appears to have healed through incubation, but, with the exception of very general statements by Cicero and Galen (or Ps.-Galen),³¹ the evidence for this is limited to Athens and perhaps Delos, and thus it is impossible to determine whether therapeutic incubation was a widespread feature of the god's medical practice.³² In Athens, the Egyptian sanctuary that can be linked to the practice is the *Sarapieion* near the Acropolis, which appears to be the subject of some fragments of Varro's lost Menippean satire *Eumenides*:

Hospes, quid miras auro curare Serapim? quid? quasi non curet tanti idem Aristoteles.

In somnis venit, iubet me cepam esse et sisymbrium

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- 31 Whereas the Galen passage is too obscure to have had an impact on scholarly views (Galen, *Comm. in Hippoc. Iusi.*, frag. B1c; quoted p. 205), a significant reason for thinking that therapeutic incubation had a widespread role in Sarapis's cult has been a brief reference in Cicero's treatise *On Divination* (Cic., *Div.* 2.123):

Qui igitur convenit aegros a coniectore somniorum potius quam a medico petere medicinam? An Aesculapius an Serapis potest nobis praescribere per somnium curationem valitudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest?

Who therefore concludes that the sick should seek treatment from an interpreter of dreams rather than a doctor? Or can either Aesculapius or Serapis really prescribe to us in our sleep a remedy for health, but Neptune is not able to do so for helmsmen?

At the time, however, Sarapis did not yet have a temple in Rome, so if Cicero was referring to prescriptive dreams received at a sanctuary he must have had in mind practices in the Greek East, as is the case with so many of the examples and anecdotes discussed by Cicero in this work. And, since the satire by his contemporary Varro discussed here pertains to incubation at the Athenian *Sarapieion*, Cicero need not have been alluding to more than this one sanctuary; indeed, the fact that Cicero's work (c. 44 BCE) was written more than two decades after Varro's (c. 81–67 BCE) suggests that the latter may even have been among the influences leading Cicero to mention dreams in the cult of Sarapis. (Another literary passage associating the two gods with dreams, Aristides's comment in his *Speech for Sarapis* that dreams from Sarapis and Asklepios did not feature verse oracles, likewise should not be taken as having universal relevance, since he was a devotee of both gods and therefore was not necessarily commenting on a widespread phenomenon (Aristid., *Or.* 45.7; for Aristides and Sarapis, see Behr 1978).)

- 32 For a relief that has been implicitly linked by two scholars to incubation in the cult of Sarapis, see Appendix IX.

*“Ego medicina, Serapi, utar!” cotidie praecantor. intellego recte scriptum esse Delphis: θεῶ ἔπου.*³³

Stranger, why do you wonder that Serapis cures for gold? Why? As if Aristotle wouldn't cure for just the same?

He comes in my sleep, and orders me to eat onion and mint.

“I shall avail myself of medical treatment, Serapis!” Every day I chant prayers. I understand that it was rightly written at Delphi, “Follow God.”

While most of this satire is lost, enough survives that the setting can be identified with confidence as Athens, and consequently the references to Sarapis receiving money for his healing miracles and providing prescriptions in dreams should refer to practices at the city's *Sarapieion*. These fragments, one of which refers to payments similar to those made at other healing sanctuaries,³⁴ represent the only reasonably clear evidence for therapeutic incubation at a *Sarapieion* outside of Egypt, and unfortunately are not complemented by inscriptions or other sources associating this site with healing: at best, a dedicatory inscription indicating the presence of an official dream interpreter at the site potentially represents indirect evidence for incubation, though not necessarily therapeutic.³⁵

33 Varro, *Sat. Men., Eumenides*, frags. 128, 138, 152, ed. Astbury (= frags. 145, 147, 144, ed. Cèbe). For the arguments favoring an Athenian setting, see Cèbe 1972–99, IV:557–564, rightly noting at pp. 560–561 the lack of evidence for incubation in Sarapis's cult in Rome at this time (on which see Renberg 2006, 114–116). It is likely that the Aristotle referred to in frag. 128 was a physician, not the famous philosopher (see Cèbe, *ibid.*, IV:673). Onion is among the types of food said to have been prescribed by Asklepios (*SEG* 37, 1019, ll. 5–6 (quoted p. 198); see Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, pp. 212–213).

34 On the payment of “medical fees” (ἰατρὰ) to Asklepios, see p. 261.

35 *RICIS* 101/0206 + Pl. 2: “Ἰσιδι Σαράπιδι | Ἀνούβιδι Ἀρποκράτι | Μεγαλλίς Μάγα | Μαραθωνίου θυγαῖ⁵τηρ ὑπέρ τῆς θυγαῖτρὸς Δημαρίου κα[ι] | τ«ὼν ὤων» κατὰ πρόσταγμα, ἐπὶ ἰε|ρέως Μενάνδρου | τοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος |¹⁰ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, κλε[ι]|δοϋχοῦντος Ἀσω|ποκλέους Φλυέως, | ζακορεύοντος Σω|σικράτου Λαοδικέ|ως, κρίνοντος τὰ ὀ¹⁵[ρ]άμματα Διονυσίου | Ἀγτιοχέως (“For Isis, Sarapis, Anubis, and Harpokrates: Megallis, the daughter of Magas of (the deme) Marathon, on behalf of her daughter Demarion and her sons (dedicated this) according to divine command, during the priesthood of Menander son of Artemon, from (the deme) Alopeke, at the time of Asopokles of (the deme) Phlya serving as *kleidouchos*, Sosikrates of Laodikea as *zakoros*, and Dionysios of Antioch as the one judging dreams”). On the Athenian *Sarapieion*, see Bricault, *Atlas*, pp. 2–4 (with references), and for Egyptian cults in Athens more generally see Muñiz Grijalvo 2009 and Pologiori 2008, 127–134. (The evidence for dream interpreters at Egyptian cult sites in Athens and elsewhere is discussed in Appendix XIV.)

At Delos, on the other hand, where Sarapis was worshiped at three successive sanctuaries (*Sarapieia* A–C) beginning in the late-third century BCE, the opposite situation exists: there is much evidence for worshipers believing themselves to have been healed with the god's assistance, but no source indicates how this was achieved.³⁶ Since so few dedicatory inscriptions from the Delian *Sarapieia* refer to health issues, the best evidence for Sarapis's role as a healing god there is the rich record of temple inventories from *Sarapieion* C.³⁷ These reflect the vast range of gifts given Sarapis and his associates, among which were a number of anatomical votives that represent evidence of medical cures;³⁸

36 For the cult of Sarapis at Delos, see Bruneau 1970, 457–466, Baslez 1977, 35–65 *et pass.*, and Kleibl 2009, 211–227, Cat. Nos. 10–12; cf. *GD* 91, 96, 100. See also now the important study of Ian Moyer, which includes a significant departure from the traditional view of the cult's history on the island, arguing that all three *Sarapieia* existed by c. 200 BCE (Moyer 2011, 142–207, especially pp. 194–205 on the chronological issues).

37 *IG* XI.4, 1307, 1308, 1309 (= *RICIS* 202/0191–0193); *I.Delos* 1403, 1412, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1434, 1435, 1440, 1442, 1445, 1452, 1453, 1454 (= *RICIS* 202/0421–0433). On the inventories, which date to the early- to mid-second century BCE, see Hamilton (R.) 2000, 196–200, with translations at pp. 223–240; cf. van Straten 1981, Appendix A 25. In addition to the few health-related inscriptions discussed here, see the three Delian dedications showing a link between the Greek Asklepios and Hygieia and the Greco-Egyptian Sarapis and Isis (see n. 27). (A parallel might be seen in the epigraphical sources from the Oropos *Amphiareion*, where few inscriptions other than the inventories refer to health, though the site was a healing sanctuary (see pp. 290–292).)

38 One of the inventories refers ambiguously to the gift of a small bowl (σκάφισον) given by a Roman from Cumae c. 182 BCE as “medical fees” (ιατρεῖα, i.e. ἱατρὰ) (*I.Delos* 1417, A, col. ii, l. 119 (= *RICIS* 202/0424); also recorded in *IG* XI.4, 1307, l. 17 (= *RICIS* 202/0191), *I.Delos* 1403, Bb, col. ii, l. 91 (= *RICIS* 202/0421), and restored in *RICIS* 202/0422 (but not *I.Delos* 1412, A, l. 68)), and this term is possibly associated with incubation in two dedicatory inscriptions (see below). However, the bulk of the evidence for Sarapis as a healer in these inventories is to be found in the references to gifts of anatomical votives (see Baslez 1977, 299–300, with references). While it has been suggested that these indicate therapeutic incubation (see Fraser 1972, 1:258), anatomical votives alone are never sufficient evidence, and at best prove that a god or goddess had been recognized for the ability to restore health (see pp. 266–268). It might also be tempting to link these dedications to healing achieved by means of the holy “Nile” water provided by the Inopos brook (see Baslez, *ibid.*, 300), but such transubstantiated “Nile” waters at Egyptian sanctuaries were not believed to have had curative powers (see Wild 1981, 86–100). Similarly, the divinized waters of the *Hydreion* at *Sarapieion* C, which has been linked to healing, cannot be associated with these epigraphical sources because they all predate the construction of this structure sometime after 130 BCE (on the *Hydreion*, see Siard 2007; cf. Siard 2008, 33–34). (For water and its associated structures at sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, see Kleibl 2009, 102–114 and Kleibl 2007a.)

however, many of the gifts of eyes or ears are instead likely to have symbolized divine watchfulness or receptivity to prayer, respectively,³⁹ with the

Therefore, since neither incubation nor hydrotherapy, nor any other specific practice, can be linked to the Delian *Sarapieia*, the inventoried dedications such as the silver wombs and male genitalia made of silver (*I.Delos* 1442, A, ll. 56, 61 (= *RICIS* 202/0428)), silver throat (*ibid.*, ll. 77–78), and two feet (*I.Delos* 1417, B, col. i, l. 74 (= *RICIS* 202/0424)) can only be taken as evidence that the individuals who gave these gifts credited the god with their recovery (or were seeking help with a matter of health or fertility), and nothing regarding the god's methods should be inferred from them. That incubation should not be assumed is underscored by the fact that temple inventories from the Delian *Thesmophorion* likewise record such gifts, and there is no reason to associate Demeter and Kore with dream-divination of any sort (see van Straten 1981, Appendix A 24, citing examples from *I.Delos* 1444; for anatomical votives in the cult of Demeter and Kore, though omitting the Delian evidence, see Forsén 1996, 142–144).

- 39 While some of the anatomical votives given Sarapis clearly pertained to health or reproductive matters, this was not necessarily the case with the eyes or with both the eyes and ears (as claimed by Fraser 1972, 1:258 and Baslez 1977, 299–300, respectively). There should be, of course, no doubt that eye ailments in particular were quite common, both in Egypt and the rest of the Mediterranean world (for Egypt, see now Draycott 2012, 62–71; cf. Lang 2013, 15 *et pass.*, as well as Montserrat 2005, 233 on miraculous cures of eye problems by Cyrus and John, the saints who eventually succeeded Isis at Menouthis (see pp. 369–377, 387–388)). Moreover, unlike many other common ailments, sight problems were often beyond the skills of physicians, prompting sufferers to seek divine aid. In the cults of Sarapis and Isis alone this can be seen in Demetrios of Phaleron's rescue from impending blindness by Sarapis (Diog. Laert. 5.5.76; quoted pp. 336–337), Diodorus's specific comment that Isis both restores health and saves eyesight (Diod. Sic. 1.25.5; quoted pp. 361–362), the dedication of the Maroneia Isis aretology by an individual grateful to her for curing his eye ailment (*SEG* 26, 821; see pp. 364–365), an oracle question for Sarapis concerning an eye ailment (*POxy* XLII 3078; see n. 127), and possibly a papyrus from the Zenon Archive recording that a god, perhaps Sarapis, had given a prescription of Attic honey for an eye problem (*PCairZen* III 59426; see pp. 413–414n.49). Gifts of eyes and ears at Delos were much more numerous than other body parts, as can be seen in the temple inventories. This disparity between dedications of eyes or ears and of other body parts suggests that many of the eyes and ears are likely to have been given for a reason other than that the worshippers had been cured of a sight or hearing ailment. In the case of the eyes, which appear to have significantly outnumbered the ears, some—probably most—would have been given as thanks for a cured eye ailment, but the others may well have been given by worshippers to indicate the belief that the gods were watching over them; conversely, since ear ailments are not known to have been an especially common problem, most of the ears were probably unrelated to restored hearing and would instead symbolize the belief that prayers had been heard. (This pattern of eyes outnumbering ears—by a ratio of more than 20:1—can

latter sometimes also signaled by the divine epithet ἐπήκοος (“one who listens”).⁴⁰ Indeed, only at sanctuaries primarily devoted to healing, especially

also be seen among the dedicatory and propitiatory inscriptions of Lydia and Phrygia (see Chaniotis 1995, 338–342).)

- 40 The standard, albeit dated, study of the ἐπήκοος phenomenon remains Weinreich 1912, supplemented in Weinreich 1916, while both this term and the phenomenon of dedications featuring ears at Egyptian sanctuaries outside of Egypt and those of other gods are discussed in Versnel 1981, 34–37, Forsén 1996, 13–19, and Gasparini 2016. Among the Egyptians, the concept of ἐπήκοος was matched by the comparable phrase “gods who listen” (*n ntr.w nty sḏm*), and evidence for the practice of recognizing gods hearing prayers is to be found as far back as the Pharaonic Period: for representations of ears on Egyptian dedicatory objects, see Schlichting 1981, Sadek 1987, 245–267 and Pinch 1993, 248–253; see also Morgan (E.) 2004 (to be read with M.M. Luiselli, *OLZ* 102 (2007), 12–20 (review)). Two Roman-era reliefs from Canopus dedicated to Isis and Osiris reflect the post-Pharaonic continuation of the practice in Egypt (*SEG* 41, 1628–1629 (= Gasparini, *ibid.*, 566, Nos. 1–2 + photos); see Kayser 1991), as does Clement of Alexandria, who wrote of the Pharaonic tradition of gifts of eyes and ears symbolizing the gods’ ability to see and hear everything done by mortals still persisting (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 5.7, §42.2, ed. Le Boulluec). Therefore, the disproportionately high number of eyes and ears dedicated at the Delian *Sarapieion* (see previous note), surviving examples of which can be seen in dedicatory reliefs—most notably a bronze *tabula ansata* with two ears for Isis ἐπήκοος (*I.Delos* 2173 (= *RICIS* 202/0361 + Pl. 67 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 566, No. 3 + photo)) and an inscribed plaque with a single ear for Hydreios ἐπήκοος, the god associated with the waters of the *Hydreion* (*I.Delos* 2160 (= *RICIS* 202/0344 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 566, No. 4))—reflects the continuation of this belief into Ptolemaic times, especially in the case of ear dedications (see Bruneau 1970, 167–168 and Hamilton (R.) 2000, 200, briefly noting the phenomenon). The same is no doubt true for representations of ears from other sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, though unfortunately we have no inventories from other *Sarapieia* and *Isieia*. At Thessalonika’s Egyptian sanctuary alone were found a relief with two ears dedicated to Isis in fulfillment of a vow (*IG* X.2, 1, 100 (= *RICIS* 113/0550 + Pl. 29 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 568, No. 10 + photo)), a plaque dedicated to Isis ἐπήκοος that has square grooves originally used for mounting a pair of metal ears (*IG* X.2, 1, 101 (= *RICIS* 113/0551 + Pl. 29 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 568, No. 11 + photo)), another plaque for Isis ἐπήκοος but with the one ear carved rather than affixed (*IG* X.2, 1, 98 (= *RICIS* 113/0529 + Pl. 24 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 568, No. 8 + photo)), an uninscribed relief of three ears (Thessaloniki Inv. No. 828 (= E. Voutiras in *Sculpture Thessaloniki* 1, No. 50 + fig. 132 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 568, No. 13 + photo)), a broken relief on which a single ear is preserved but not the name of the god to whom it was dedicated (*IG* X.2, 1, 119 (= *RICIS* 113/0543 + Pl. 28 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 568, No. 9 + photo)), and a relief with a pair of ears dedicated to Dionysos following a vow (*IG* X.2, 1, 59 (= *RICIS* 113/0558 + Pl. 31 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 568, No. 12 + photo)). Among the eight others that are known a relief from Pisa is especially noteworthy, since it was dedicated by an Egyptian only to “the gods who listen” (θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις) and represents Sarapis, Isis and Harpokrates

Asklepieia, are representations of eyes and ears more likely to reflect that a worshiper had been healed than that a god had been attentive to prayer, so at these Delian *Sarapieia* a significant number would have been unrelated to health.⁴¹ It has also been suggested that a recently excavated altar from

solely by means of their traditional symbols, each supported by a pair of ears (*AE* 1972, 184a (= *RICIS* 511/0601 + Pl. 102 = Gasparini, *ibid.*, 570, No. 18 + photo)). A related phenomenon can be seen in the Karpokrates (*i.e.*, Harpokrates) hymn from Chalkis, which is dedicated to Karpokrates, Sarapis, “ears of Isis” (ἄκοαίς τῆς Ἰσιδος), Osiris ἐπήκοος, and Hestia Kourotrophos (*RICIS* 104/0206; most recent edition in Matthey 2007; see *ibid.*, 210–211 for an explanation of ἄκοαί in the context of the Egyptian epithet *sdm*).

This custom of representing ears to indicate that a god had heard prayers is to be found in various other cults: see, *e.g.*, the collection of plaques dedicated to the Nymphs at Philippopolis, two of which have the worshiper's name inscribed (*SEG* 47, 1094, Nos. 1–2; see Gočeva 1995, 136, with Pl. 40, 6), the stele for Apollo Karios at Hierapolis (*SEG* 47, 1734), the group of recently excavated plaques and steles from the sanctuary of Aphrodite near Miletus (Erhardt/Günther/Weiß 2009, 189–198, Cat. Nos. 1–33; noted in *SEG* 59, 1363), and, perhaps most significantly, a cylindrical base with a bronze ear dedicated to Atargatis at the Syrian sanctuary adjacent to *Sarapieion* C on Delos, further demonstrating that the recorded gifts of ears at the Egyptian sanctuary should primarily be associated with prayers rather than healing (Delos Inv. A 2936 (= *I.Delos* 2301)). (There were also two uninscribed bases with bronze ears found in the area that could have come from either site, the current location of just one of which is known (Delos Inv. A 558 (= Deonna, *Mobilier delien*, p. 220 + Pl. 593); see Hauvette-Besnault 1882a, 311 and Hauvette-Besnault 1882b, 487–488; cf. Siard 2007, 440n.76).) It has also been noted that the Phrygian serpent-god Glykon was shown in statues and amulets to have especially large ears, an apparent symbol of his responding to prayers (see Chaniotis 2002, 73).

- 41 Most notably, an inscribed plaque from the Epidauros *Asklepieion* with two ears in relief makes reference to the person's ears having been healed, leaving little doubt as to the relief's symbolism (Athens, N.M. 1428 (= Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* 11:430–434, No. 126 + fig. 212 + Pl. 70 = van Straten 1981, Appendix A 14.2 = Forsén 1996, 83, No. 13.1 + fig. 83 = Katakes, *Glypta* 141 + Pl. 155γ); inscription *CIL* III 7266 (= *ILS* 3853) and *IG* IV² 1, 440) (Fig. 17, below). Similarly, an ear dedicated at Pergamon because of a dream is more likely to reflect a cure than that a prayer was heard (*I.Pergamon* 3, 91; see p. 199). Far more common were the uninscribed anatomical votives or votive reliefs of eyes and ears that have been unearthed at other *Asklepieia* (see van Straten, *ibid.*, Appendix A 15.8–15 (Corinth) and 35.1–6 (Pergamon)), while inventories from the Athenian *Asklepieion* record that such dedications were given there as well (see Aleshire 1989, 42, noting the inexplicably high number of eyes listed in Inventory v in particular). (The Oropos *Amphiareion* inventories, overall much shorter than those from the Athenian *Asklepieion*, also include several examples of eyes and ears (see p. 291n.52).) The problem of how to interpret eyes and ears at *Asklepieia* was noted by van Straten, who concluded that it is usually difficult to tell their intended meaning (van Straten, *ibid.*, 144).

Sarapieion C that was used for such offerings as poultry and cakes served those making thank-offerings for cures, thus attesting that the *Sarapieion* was a healing sanctuary, which is a plausible explanation of the remains.⁴²

The only other piece of evidence that might be linked to incubation in the cult at Delos is a dedicatory inscription from *Sarapieion* A:

Ξενότιμος Ξενοτ[ίμου κ]αὶ Νικασώ Ἱπποκράτου Δήλιοι | ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ
Ξενοφώντος ἰατρεῖα θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Σαρά|πιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι χαριστήριον, ἐπὶ
ἱερέως Δημητρίου | τοῦ καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Δηλίου, ἐπιμελομένου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
καὶ | τὰς θεραπέας αἰτοῦντος Ὡρου τοῦ Ὡρου Κασιώτου.⁴³

Xenotimos, son of Xenotimos, and Nikaso, daughter of Hippokrates, Delians, on behalf of their son Xenophon (dedicated) medical fees as a thank-offering to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, gods who listen, during the

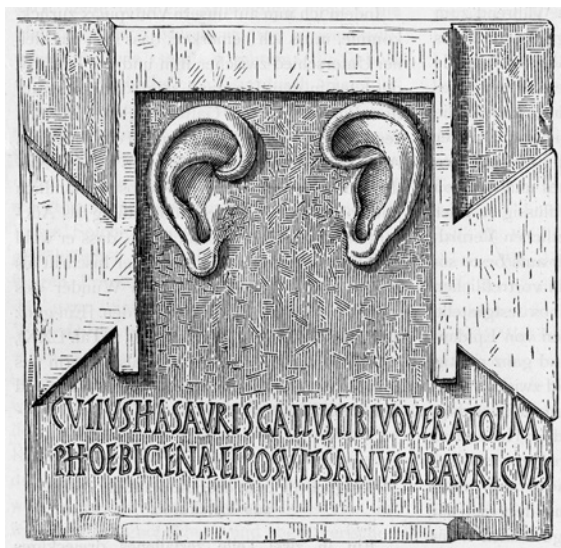


FIGURE 17 *Pair of ears dedicated to Asklepios at Epidauros*
Asklepieion (Athens, N.M. 1428).

SOURCE: SVORONOS, NATIONALMUSEUM, FIG. 212

42 See Siard 2008. In addition to the remains from sacrifices, the author suggests that the altar's proximity to the *Hydreion* (see n. 38) shows its role in the sanctuary's therapeutic function, which she concludes was centered at the southern end.

43 *I.Delos* 2116 (= *RICIS* 202/0197 + Pl. 48).

priesthood of Demetrios of Delos, son of Telesarchides, when Horus of Kasion, son of Horus, was serving as site administrator of the temple and asking for cures.

This base for an unspecified thank-offering was dedicated by a husband and wife on behalf of their son and indicates that he had recovered his health with the help of Sarapis and associates Isis and Anubis. No reference to a dream is made, but the unusual description of one cult official as “asking for cures” might suggest that this individual had undergone incubation on behalf of the ailing Xenophon.⁴⁴ Other methods of divination employed by this *epimelētēs* when he was “asking for cures” cannot be ruled out, nor can the possibility of the phrase simply referring to ordinary prayer for this individual’s recovery, but if those cures *were* sought through dreams then *Sarapieion A* at Delos would have been among the sanctuaries at which priests or other cult officials would engage in therapeutic or divinatory incubation, instead of the worshipers seeking a god’s medical assistance or prophetic advice directly themselves.⁴⁵ The problem of incubation at the Delian *Sarapieia* is made more complex by additional epigraphical sources, however. Of particular note is a nearly identical base that was also dedicated as a “thank-offering” and “medical fees” by the same Nikaso, but this time her husband was not identified as a co-dedicant, the person on behalf of whom it was given is not named, and Harpokrates was added to the list of “gods who listen”:

Νικασώ Ἰπποκράτου Δηλία θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις ἰατρεία | Σαράπιδι, Ἰσιδι, Ἀνουβιδι,
Ἄρποχράτει χαριστήρι|α, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δημητρίου τοῦ καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου | Δηλίου,
ἐπιμελομένου τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ὡρου τοῦ Ὡρου | Κασιώτου.⁴⁶

44 This interpretation has been suggested previously by Malaise 1986, 102 (with references to earlier discussions).

45 For the other sites, see Appendix IV. If on some occasions Horus and other cult officials would obtain prescriptive dreams (or dream-oracles on other matters) themselves the reason may have been a practical one: *Sarapieion A* was too small to accommodate groups of incubating worshipers. The colonnaded room to the north of the temple (GD 91D), measuring roughly ten meters in length, could conceivably have provided sufficient space for small numbers of worshipers to engage in incubation, but if demand for dream-oracles was large enough it would have been more practical for cult officials to incubate on their behalf. This could have been done anywhere in the small precinct, though not in the Nilometer crypt, as has been proposed (see Baslez 1977, 300; *contra*, see Wild 1981, 52).

46 *I.Delos* 2117 (= *RICIS* 202/0198 + Pl. 48).

Nikaso, daughter of Hippokrates, Delian, (dedicated) medical fees as a thank-offering to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpokrates, gods who listen, during the priesthood of Demetrios—also known as Telesarchides—of Delos, when Horus of Kasion, son of Horus, was serving as site administrator of the temple.

The *epimelētēs* Horus, on the other hand, was mentioned, but this time with no reference to his involvement in praying or obtaining the proper course of treatment through divination. The differences between the two inscriptions are sufficient to suggest that they were dedicated on separate occasions, and it can be inferred—though not with certainty—that the former alludes to a medical recovery by means of a divine prescription given in response to an inquiry, while the latter likewise alludes to a recovery but without such an interaction. Unfortunately, the cryptic phrase “asking for cures” is insufficient proof that incubation was practiced at *Sarapieion* A by anyone. Moreover, it is unclear just who was being asked, since Anubis was not typically associated with healing and the evidence linking Harpokrates to it is quite limited,⁴⁷ and thus either Sarapis or Isis, or both Sarapis and Isis, would have received the request.

Three or four decades later a different situation seems to be in evidence at the much grander *Sarapieion* C: a small base dedicated in 129/8 BCE, evidently on behalf of two or three of the dedicant’s offspring, identifies both an annual priest and dream interpreter, and if [ιατ]ρεῖα (*i.e.*, ἱατρα) has been correctly restored it would raise the possibility that a man had commissioned the dedication after receiving a dream and consulting this official dream interpreter regarding a family health crisis:

47 For Harpokrates (*i.e.*, the Greek equivalent of Horus) and healing, see the final line of the hymn from Chalkis, in which the god is praised for having taught doctors about healing drugs (πάσαν φαρμακείαν ἱατροῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν [---]) (*RICIS* 104/0206, l. 11), a claim also made for Horus (Diod. Sic. 1.25.7; see n. 57). The same hymn, which identifies him as a brother of Hypnos and Echo (l. 3), includes δνειρόφοιτος (“dream-frequenter”) and ὑπνοδότης (“sleep-giver”) as part of a string of epithets (l. 10), and it has been suggested that another epithet be restored ἐνυπνιόμαντις (“dream-diviner”) (l. 9; see pp. 319–320n.29). The latter might link Harpokrates to incubation, as was suggested by Richard Harder (Harder, *Karpokrates von Chalkis*, p. 16), though Philippe Matthey entertains the previous alternative suggestions ἐντερόμαντις (“guts-diviner”) or ἐγγαστρίμαντις (“stomach-diviner”) (Matthey 2007, 213), neither of which seems at all likely in the context of Egyptian religion. This epithet therefore remains a matter for speculation.

[---] | [ύπερ --- τῆς γυ]| [ναϊκός]ς κα[ι Ἀθη]| [να]γόρου Ἀ[ντιγ]| όνου Δηλι[άδος?
-άδου?] | τών τέκν[ων] ιατ[ρ]εῖα ἐπὶ ἰε[ρέως] | Σωκλέου[ς τοῦ] | Ἀφροδισίου
[Φλυέως] | ὀνειροκρί[του δέ] | [Σ]αραπίω[νος].⁴⁸

[---] on behalf of his wife (?), and children Athenagoras, Antigonos and Delias(?) [or, Deliades(?)] (dedicated) medical fees (?), during the priesthood of Sokles son of Aphrodisios, of (the deme) Phlya, with Sarapion serving as dream interpreter.

If this did indeed occur, there is no way to know whether the dream would have been received at *Sarapieion* C itself, where no structure appears to have been devoted to incubation, but since the site is not yet fully understood this remains a possibility.⁴⁹ Moreover, since the inscription may merely be naming the dream interpreter as a member of the cult's hierarchy, the presence of Sarapion in the text is not probative. Thus Sarapion and his colleagues may have been present in order to advise worshipers on the meaning of dreams received within the precinct, but undoubtedly would have been available to be consulted by those who received dreams in their own beds, and for this reason their presence at this sanctuary should not be assumed to be evidence for incubation.⁵⁰ Of the three inscriptions from the *Sarapieia* that record "medical fees" just one mentions a dream interpreter—if ἱατρεῖα has been correctly restored—and thus no definite link between such figures and therapeutic incubation can be drawn. Similarly, the other Delian inscriptions referring to dream interpreters give no indications of being health-related, as is likewise true of those found elsewhere, while some are clearly unrelated to health

48 *I.Delos* 2120 (= *RICIS* 202/0245 + Pl. 52). The *sigma* in the first surviving line may well come from the name of the wife rather than the word γυναικός itself, and thus Roussel's restoration (originally in Roussel, *CE* 84) should be in doubt. The best restoration for ΔΗΛΙ[---] is the name Delias or Deliades, since one would not expect the ethnic "Delians" in this context. Therefore, even though there are few attestations for the two names (see *LGPN* I, 123, s.v. "Δηλίας," "Δηλιάδης"), and none from Delos itself, it appears that this individual made the dedication partly on behalf of three children.

49 I am grateful to Hélène Brun (formerly Siard) for her insights into the topography of this sanctuary.

50 The presence of dream interpreters at Delos has been cited as evidence for incubation by Fraser (Fraser 1972, 1:258 with 11:408n.535, specifying therapeutic incubation because of the evidence for anatomical votives discussed above) and Baslez (Baslez 1977, 236–237, 300); cf. López Salvá 1992, 187–188. For dream interpreters at Egyptian sanctuaries, see Appendix XIV.

matters.⁵¹ Therefore, the precise role of dream interpreters at Delos remains an open question, and likewise there is no way of knowing whether therapeutic or prophetic dreams could be solicited at the Delian *Sarapieia*.

Just as it is uncertain whether the dream interpreters known to have been present at Delos's *Sarapieion* C should be linked to incubation, the desire of some scholars to associate the numerous divinely-inspired dedications from this and the other two *Sarapieia* with the practice may be misdirected: instead, especially since Sarapis was widely viewed as an oracular god, it is quite possible that the abundance of dedications made "according to a command" (κατὰ πρόσταγμα) refer to some type of divine medium of communication other than dreams, and thus that, as was the case in Egypt, Sarapis on Delos communicated through both dreams and oracles.⁵² Therefore, the more than three dozen dedications made to Sarapis and his associates on Delos at the prompting of a divine "command" represent clear evidence for divination, but not necessarily for dreams or incubation.⁵³ Similarly, the two dedications from *Sarapieion* C that were made "according to a dream" (καθ' ὄραμα), one for Isis and the other

51 The other inscriptions, all found at *Sarapieion* C or likely to have originated there, are: *IDelos* 2071 (= *RICIS* 202/0217) and 2072–2073 (= *RICIS* 202/0283–0284), which are dedications by dream interpreters (the latter two by the same individual and his wife); *IDelos* 2105–2106 (= *RICIS* 202/0340–0341) and 2151 (= *RICIS* 202/0289 + Pl. 57), referring to consultations of dream interpreters (though the first two are matching dedications); *IDelos* 2619, b, col. i, l. 10 (= *RICIS* 202/0209), listing a female dream interpreter (Μινθία ὀνειροκρίτις) among others in a catalog of donors; and, *IDelos* 2110 (= *RICIS* 202/0372), a fragmentary text which, like *IDelos* 2120 (see pp. 356–357), appears to name a dream interpreter for his role in the cult's hierarchy (see Renberg (in preparation), *d*). Although the absence of a link between dream interpreters and health issues on Delos may seem significant, as noted above very few of the dedications from the Delian *Sarapieia* allude to health at all, despite the importance of healing in the cult that is evident from the temple inventories.

52 The claim that the κατὰ πρόσταγμα dedications at Delos were prompted by dreams and incubation has been made by Fraser (Fraser 1960, 42 and Fraser 1972, 1:258 with nn. 535, 539) and followed by Bruneau (Bruneau 1970, 463–464), but as discussed earlier terms for "divine command," "oracle," "warning," "advice," and the like that are ambiguous as to medium of communication should not be assumed to have been received through dreams, unless other evidence strongly suggests so (see pp. 34–35n.95). Since none of these κατὰ πρόσταγμα dedications was made by the Athenian *demos* or a local authority it would appear that Sarapis's oracles most often addressed private and religious matters, not public affairs. For other forms of divination in the cult of Sarapis, see Sect. 6.5.

53 See Renberg (forthcoming), *b*, with more detailed discussions to follow in Renberg (in preparation), *a* and *b*.

for a god or gods whose name is lost due to damage, should not automatically be attributed to incubation, as several hundred dedications employing this or similar formulas have been discovered, the majority of which are for divinities not associated with incubation or private dream-divination.⁵⁴ Moreover, even though *Sarapieion C* in particular can be linked to healing and the god was regularly issuing “commands” to his worshipers, there is little overlap between the sources for these two phenomena. Overall, then, it is possible that incubation was practiced in the cult of Sarapis on Delos in some form, perhaps even both therapeutic and divinatory incubation, but the evidence is quite unreliable.⁵⁵

6.4 Isis and Therapeutic Incubation in Egypt and the Rest of the “Inhabited World”

In contrast to Sarapis, whose cult was a development of the Ptolemaic Period, Isis had long been worshiped by the Egyptians in many capacities, among them that of healing god. Even if there are only a few sources linking her to cures for particular ailments and no specific examples of a recovery attributed to her among the various written sources, this function was important to her identity in certain contexts beginning in the Pharaonic Period;⁵⁶ however, a similarly

54 Isis: *LDelos* 2114 (= *RICIS* 202/0223 + Pl. 50). Unidentified god(s): *LDelos* 2115 (= *RICIS* 202/0380).

55 It may also be significant that the cult was reported to have been brought to Delos from Memphis rather than Alexandria (see p. 731n.35), since at Saqqâra incubation is not known to have been a feature of the cult of Osorapis/Sarapis (see Chapter 7.2–3).

56 In general, Isis was often referred to as “rich/great of magic” (*wrt ḥkꜣ.w*), a common epithet reflecting one of her chief roles in traditional Egyptian religion, and one with strong healing connotations (see Bergman 1980, 191–192 and Gordon/Gasparini 2014). The sources associating her with healing are primarily invocations and mythological *historiolae* (i.e., short narratives concerning one or more divinities and linking a myth about a health matter or other problem encountered by them to one being experienced by a worshiper, as a strategy for resolving it). For the Pharaonic Period, during which Isis was associated especially with cures for scorpion and snake bites, the text most often cited as linking Isis to healing is the *Ebers Papyrus*, the very lengthy religio-medical treatise dated to the late-sixteenth century BCE but based on texts thought to be considerably older (eds. Wreszinski 1913 and Grapow 1958; see Ghalioungui 1987 for commentary and English translation, and Westendorf 1999, 11:547–710 for German translation). Although one of the three prayers for protection at the start of the treatise invokes Isis’s aid for the successful loosening of a bandage (P.Ebers cols. i, l. 12–ii, l. 1; trans. Borghouts, *EMT*, No. 81; see Fischer-Elfert 2005, 139–143, and on all three prayers see Bardinet 1995, 39–48),

low number of sources appears to suggest that the case for her as a healer during post-Pharaonic times may be overstated. After all, documents such as the Greek and Demotic aretalogies show not only that Isis was valued for a number of powers unrelated to healing, but also that some of her powers were associated more with some cult sites than with others. As therapeutic incubation became popular in Egypt, Isis's cult adopted the new healing method, and so it is that she, too, was achieving miraculous cures in this manner and came to be associated with therapeutic incubation both in Egypt and beyond its borders, though just how common this was is an open question. According to Diodorus, by the end of the Hellenistic Period Isis's powers of healing in this manner had gained her worldwide fame:

φασὶ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν Ἴσιν φαρμάκων τε πολλῶν πρὸς ὑγίαιαν εὐρέτιν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης μεγάλῃν ἔχειν ἐμπειρίαν· [3] διὸ καὶ τυχοῦσαν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἐπὶ ταῖς θεραπαίαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα χαίρειν, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τοῖς ἀξιούσι διδόναι βοηθήματα, φανερώς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν τε

and elsewhere a remedy for a head ailment is attributed to a cure Isis had concocted for Ra (P.Ebers col. xlvi, ll. 5–10), relative to the length of the whole papyrus Isis's two appearances are negligible—as is true of other Pharaonic medical treatises (see Bardin, *ibid.*, 583–584, s.v. “Noms de divinités égyptiennes”). Better evidence is to be found in another text, a magical papyrus dated to the 19th Dynasty (1315–1201 BCE) with numerous healing spells, among which are several involving Isis (P.Leiden I 348, Nos. 8(45), 10(43), 19, 21, 22(26), 23(49), 37, 38(36), ed., trans. and comm. Borghouts, *MTL* (references to Borghouts, *EMT* in parentheses); cf. Nos. 29 and 34(63), concerning birth rather than healing). See also the *Berlin Medical Papyrus*, from the time of Ramesses II, which features a rare formula invoking Isis with “the great one practises the art (*hmnw.t*) of Rē, (she) the physician of the god who soothes the god!” (P.Berlin ÄM P. 3038, col. xxi, ll. 3–9 (= No. 190), ed. and trans. Wreszinski 1909; trans. Borghouts, *EMT*, No. 74 and Bardin 1995, 434–435); several additional pertinent texts will be discussed in J.F. Quack, “Ein Lobpreis der Isis,” in K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond* (forthcoming). In addition to the relatively small number of medical and magical texts that precede Greco-Roman times by a millennium, Isis was recognized for such powers in the hieroglyphic text of the Metternich Stele, which dates to the 30th Dynasty (c. 380–342 BCE), though she was not the only god invoked in the spells inscribed on it (Metternich Stele, Spell Nos. 1, 4, 5, ed. and trans. Sander-Hansen, *Metternichstele*). For Isis as healer, see Walker (J.) 1993, 89–91 *et pass.*, Sfameni Gasparro 1999, and Gordon/Gasparini, *ibid.*, 43–44 *et pass.*; cf. Merkelbach 2001b, 199–201 and Dunand 2006, 5–6, 18–19; for Isis-Horus *historiolae*, see Frankfurter 2009. Isis was by no means the only divinity worshiped for healing in Pharaonic Egypt, as various sources reveal (see Dunand, *ibid.*, 19–20). However, since she did not have her own sanctuaries until the fourth century BCE incubation would not have been a feature of her cult until the end of the Late Period at the earliest.

ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετικόν. [4] ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φασὶ φέρειν ἑαυτοὺς οὐ μυθολογίας ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἐναργεῖς· πάσαν γὰρ σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην μαρτυρεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, εἰς τὰς ταύτης τιμὰς φιλοτιμουμένην διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θεραπαίαις ἐπιφάνειαν. [5] κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφισταμένην διδόναι τοῖς κάμνουσι βοηθήματα πρὸς τὰς νόσους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπακούσαντας αὐτῇ παραδόξως ὑγιαίνειν· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπελπισθέντας ὑπὸ ταύτης σώζεσθαι, συχνοὺς δὲ παντελῶς πηρωθέντας τὰς ὁράσεις ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τοῦ σώματος, ὅταν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν θεὸν καταφύγῳσιν, εἰς τὴν προϋπάρξασαν ἀποκαθίστασθαι τάξιν.⁵⁷

The Egyptians say that Isis both became the discoverer of many healthful drugs and had great experience in the medical field, and on account of this she especially rejoices in the healing of mankind now that she has

57 Diod. Sic. 1.25.2–5; see Sfameni Gasparro 1999, 403–405 (pp. 327–329 of 2002 version) and Aufrère 2001, 98–102. David Frankfurter has suggested that Diodorus's comments most likely referred to Isis's Canopus sanctuary, "since he would be dependent on traditions and reputations in circulation around Alexandria" (Frankfurter 1998, 162–163; cf. pp. 40, 165). Though it is certainly plausible that the tales of Isis's cures known beyond Egypt originated at just one or two heavily trafficked sites in the Nile Delta, the amount of detailed knowledge many Greeks and Romans had of Egypt, which was a subject of endless fascination, suggests that this need not have been the case. While there is little evidence for therapeutic incubation in Isis's cult being widespread in Ptolemaic Egypt—as Frankfurter points out—it cannot be ruled out that Isis healed in this manner at several or even numerous sites. Therefore, there is no particular need to associate Diodorus's observation with only a single sanctuary—especially since Isis is not explicitly linked to incubation at Canopus, and the sources for incubation at nearby Menouthis are from Late Antiquity and now recognized as quite unreliable (see pp. 369–377, 387–388). Further undermining an association of this passage solely with the Delta region is that it continues with a reference to Horus's having learned divination and medicine from Isis and then becoming "a benefactor of the race of men through oracles and cures" (διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ τῶν θεραπειῶν εὐεργετεῖν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος) (Diod. Sic. 1.25.7), and the evidence for Horus as a healer comes from parts of Egypt other than the Delta. Thus since Diodorus was aware of Horus's role of healer, he may well have been aware of Isis's activities beyond the Delta, though the nature and extent of these remains unclear. For Horus as a popular healer going back to the New Kingdom, especially for scorpion and snake bites, as was true of Isis, see Sadek 1987, 284–285, Walker (J.) 1993, 95–97, and Koleva-Ivanova 2005. Cf. Dunand 2006, 19–20. Additional evidence is in the *Wilbour Papyrus*, which features several passages concerning protection against such animals (P.Brook. 47.218.138, §§6, 13, 16–18, ed. Goyon 2012). See also the line from the hymn to Harpokrates inscribed c. 300 CE at Chalkis that features language about Horus similar to Diodorus's (*RICIS* 104/0206, l. 11; quoted n. 47).

achieved immortality, and that she gives assistance in their sleep to those seeking it, visibly revealing her very own presence and her beneficence towards those in need. As proof of these claims they say that they themselves offer not myths akin to those of the Greeks, but visible results: for nearly all of the inhabited world serves as witness for them, seeking to add to her honors because of her manifestation through healings. For appearing in their sleep she gives aid to the sick against their diseases, and those who heed her regain their health contrary to all expectation. And many who had been despaired of by their physicians due to the difficult nature of their ailment have been saved by her, and a great number whose vision has been completely incapacitated or else the use of another part of their body, when they have taken refuge with this goddess, are restored to their previous state.

Diodorus's statement attests that by his time Isis would heal through incubation at her sanctuaries,⁵⁸ but also that she served as a more conventional

58 That the goddess was known for ministering to the sick in her sanctuaries rather than in their own beds is revealed by use of the verb καταφεύγειν, which indicates movement towards a place. Most notably, it is used in a narrative preserved on an *ostrakon* from Deir el-Bahari written by an individual named Polyaratos about his having come to the sanctuary of Amenhotep/Amenothos and received a miraculous cure: ἀψ[τὸς] | [ἀ]φελπισμένος κατ[α]έφυγον[τος δέ μου] | [εἰς τὸ ἱε]ρόν τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ἰκ]έτης (“having myself despaired, I fled to the temple of Amenothos as a suppliant”) (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1, ll. 24–25; see pp. 461–465). (Polyaratos also uses the verb in reference to first seeking help from doctors, raising the question of whether he metaphorically “fled” by turning to medical experts or actually visited an establishment where they were operating—the term does have a secondary meaning of “to seek recourse”—before ultimately turning to Amenhotep/Amenothos: ὥς δ’ αὐτως δὲ πρὸς ἰα[τρους κα]τέφυγον καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναν[το] ὑγιῆ[με] ποιῆσαι (ll. 13–15).) Similar language is to be found in some of the astrological treatises, including the statement that those with psychological ailments flee to temples (οἱ δὲ μανίας νοσοῦντες ἐπὶ ναοὺς καταφεύγουσιν) (*CCAG* II, p. 175, l. 32 (Dorotheus) = Vett. Val. p. 385.6, ed. Pingree), and the equivalent Latin term is employed by Firmicus Maternus in the phrase *ad deos confugiunt et illic manebunt ab ipsis remedia postulant* (Firm. Mat., *Mathesis* 3.5.32; cf. 6.11.11; briefly noted in Cumont 1937, 149–150n.2). The same use of the verb is to be found in a comment regarding Asklepios by Alexander of Aphrodisias, who comments that “Just about all men flee to him, where he is most manifest, having come to believe that he bestows himself on those who are zealous to have him as their doctor rather than those who are not” (πάντες γοῦν σχεδὸν ἄνθρωποι καταφεύγουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἂν ἐπιφανέστατος ᾖ, πεπιστευκότες ὅτι τοῖς σπουδάζουσιν αὐτόν ἔχειν ἱατρόν μᾶλλον τῶν οὐ σπουδάζόντων ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτόν) (Alex. Aphrod., *De fato* 32), and Aelius Aristides also used it in reference to his own choice to head to Pergamon (κατεφύγομεν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ) rather

healing divinity. However, it is unclear to what extent this was the case, and how central incubation was to her worship. Moreover, the passage emphasizes Isis's medical prowess both in Egypt and most of the *οἰκουμένη*, but this term was vague enough that it could allude to numerous sanctuaries scattered throughout the "inhabited world" or just a few prominent ones.⁵⁹

While there is certainly evidence for Isis as a healer both in Egypt and beyond its borders, and despite what Diodorus's statement would lead one to believe, this quality seems not to have been universally recognized as one of her primary roles. Indeed, it appears that Isis's role of divine healer during Greco-Roman times is often overstated by scholars, some of whom have treated her as especially noteworthy in this regard.⁶⁰ Regardless of how the individual sources are interpreted, it cannot be ignored that there are so few overall. This scarcity of affirmative evidence is mirrored by the Isis aretalogies that survive from Hellenistic and Roman times in Egypt and elsewhere, which give little attention to Isis's medical skills, emphasizing her numerous other contributions to mankind's welfare instead:⁶¹ the Greek aretalogy found at

than seeking medical treatment from physicians (Aristid., *Or.* 28.132), while Libanius employed it when recounting how he had turned to Asklepios after years of suffering (Lib., *Or.* 1.143). Cf. Vett. Val., *Anth.* 4.15, p. 174.14, ed. Pingree (ἐκφυγόντες θεῶν).

59 That the term *οἰκουμένη* could have a counterintuitively narrow scope is perhaps suggested by two graffiti written in the same hand at the Abydos *Memnonion* to honor Bes as "the wholly truthful one, dream-giver, oracle-giver, without lies, witnessed throughout the whole inhabited world as heavenly" ([τὸ]ν πανταλη[θ]ῆ [καὶ] | [δόνειρο]δ[ό]τ[η]ν καὶ χρησμ[οδότ]η[ν] | [καὶ] ἄψευστον καὶ δι' ὅλης | [οἴκου]μέ[ν]ης [μ]α[ρ]τυροῦ[μενον] | [οὐ]ρανί[ο]ν) (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 492, ll. 1–5; cf. Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 500). Since Bes was a minor god whose worship barely extended beyond Egypt—and even then only as a "temple-sharing" god (σύνναος) at sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis rather than one worshiped in his own right—the statement is difficult to accept as anything other than a gross exaggeration, though admittedly the worshiper at Abydos may have been unaware of the relatively limited extent of Bes's worship (on Bes, see Chapter 9.2). Thus while in the case of Isis the use of the term *οἰκουμένη* may well refer to countless sanctuaries throughout Egypt and the rest of the Mediterranean world, the possibility that this was an exaggeration for a small number of sites cannot be ruled out.

60 An especially problematic example is R.E. Witt's often cited chapter on Isis and healing, which has multiple errors and misleading statements (Witt 1971, 185–197), but even Giulia Sfameni Gasparro in her comprehensive and otherwise fine study of the medical and oracular aspects of Isis's cult too readily accepts the idea of Isis as a healing goddess, when few of the sources indicate anything exceptional about her medical prowess in comparison to that of other gods (Sfameni Gasparro 1999).

61 The virtual absence of healing references in these Greek aretalogies, which reflect or represent official cult propaganda, has previously been recognized by Sfameni Gasparro

Egyptian sanctuaries in Kyme, Thessalonika and nearby Kassandreia (as well as at Ios and Telmessos, where the inscription's provenience is unknown), evidently based on a single original from Memphis that is now lost, makes no reference to healing;⁶² the lengthy Andros aretalogy that appears to be adapted from the Memphite one provides a seemingly comprehensive list of powers and accomplishments, but none of the more than one hundred fully preserved lines of text or roughly seventy-five partly preserved lines refers to personal health matters or healing, though one cryptic line might indicate that women claimed her to be a goddess who would ward off plagues (θηλυτέραις λοιμῶν γέ[νόμαν] θε[ός] ἐ[ὐάντητος]);⁶³ the surviving lines of the aretalogy inscribed at the Cyrene *Isieion* praise Isis as queen of the universe, but not as a healer;⁶⁴ the Maroneia aretalogy was inscribed at the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis by an individual expressing gratitude to Isis for curing an eye ailment (ἐπὶ τῶν

1999, 406–408 (pp. 331–333 of 2002 version) and Jaime Alvar (Alvar 2008, 329); cf. Gordon/Gasparini 2014, 51–52. For a survey of the hymns' contents and language that shows their Egyptian derivation, see Quack 2003*b* and Zabkar, *Hymns*, 135–160. On the Isis hymns and aretalogies, see also: Versnel 1990, 39–52, Versnel 2000, 132–138, and Versnel 2011, 283–289; Sfameni Gasparro 2007*a* (with an emphasis on the goddess's soteriological aspects); Alvar, *ibid.*, 322–326; and Kockelmann 2008 (primarily on Demotic hymns).

62 Kyme: *I.Kyme* 41 (= *RICIS* 302/0204 = Pfeiffer, *Inschriften Aegyptus* 42); annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 276–278, No. 1; see Streete 2000. Thessalonika: *IG* X.2, 1, 254 (= *RICIS* 113/0545 + Pl. 28). Kassandreia: *SEG* 58, 583 (= *RICIS Suppl.* 1, 113/1201 + photo); see Veligianni/Kousoulakou 2008 (new edition with commentary). Ios: *IG* XII.5, 14 (= *RICIS* 202/1101). For a composite text based on the Kyme, Thessalonika and Ios inscriptions as well as a truncated version found in Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 1.27.4), see Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 1A. (Since that edition appeared, a seven-line fragment has been found in Lycia at Telmessos, but remains unpublished (*RICIS* 0306/0201).) Regarding the ultimate origin of these hymns at Memphis, which has been the subject of long debate, see Quack 2003*b*, 319–324. (For the goddess's temple in Memphis, as opposed to the complex at Saqqâra, see p. 446n.140.)

63 *IG* XII.5, 739, l. 24 (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 2 = *RICIS* 202/1801 = *I.Andros* 128). Like Totti, Bricault follows the rather speculative restorations of Peek (Peek, *Isishymnus*, pp. 16, 38), translating this line, “Les femmes m'appellent la déesse guérisseuse de tous les fléaux.” (This is a slight contrast to Peek's own translation, in which he treats λοιμός as a lingering illness: “Siechtum-leidender Frauen Not erhört mein nahendes Helfen” (Peek 1930, 328).) Despite the uncertainty of the restoration, the line does appear to have featured a rather unusual allusion to women in particular suffering from plague, even though plague ordinarily did not differentiate between men and women. Perhaps a phenomenon akin to the barrenness of the women of Thebes at the beginning of Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus* was intended (Soph., *OT* 26–27), or the plague during the war with Pyrrhus, which according to Augustine affected pregnant women (August., *De civ. D.* 3.17.3).

64 *SEG* 9, 192 (= *RICIS* 701/0103 + Pl. 129); annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 279, No. 2.

ὀμμάτων, Ἱσι, ταῖς εὐχαῖς | [ἐπήκ]ουσας), and perhaps hinting that this cure was achieved by means of incubation, but the surviving portion of the list of her accomplishments and powers does not include praise for her power to heal;⁶⁵ two of the four “Hymns of Isidorus” inscribed at the entrance to the temple of Isis at Narmouthis (modern Medinet Madi) in the Fayoum make brief mention of Isis’s ability to cure those gripped with a mortal illness if they pray to her (καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νοῦσοις θανατώδεσι μοίρῃ ἔχοντ[αι] / σοὶ εὐξάμενοι ταχέως σῆς ζωῆς ἔτυχον), and one also mentions her ability to relieve great pain, but these do not attribute to her a more general health-related role;⁶⁶ the Oxyrhynchus Isis aretalog, which devotes nearly three hundred lines to listing epithets and traits of Isis and associating them with particular sites where she was worshiped, is notably silent on the matter of her ministrations, at best referring to her at multiple points as a goddess who saves people and once as one who subjugates spirits (presumably those causing harm to people), though it may also provide a single veiled allusion to incubation;⁶⁷ the eight hieroglyphic hymns

65 SEG 26, 821, ll. 6–7 (= RICIS 114/0202 + Pl. 37, cf. RICIS Suppl. 11, p. 281 = *I.ThracAeg* 205); see also Papanikolaou 2009 (with references) and Chanotis 2012b, 211–212, 226. As the inscription’s author makes the transition from recording his personal experience with Isis’s wondrous powers to a more generic “encomium” (to use his term), he rhetorically asks, “If you came for my rescue when called upon, how could you not come for the purpose of being honored?” (εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς καλουμένη σωτηρίας ἦλθες, πῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τιμῆς οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοις;) (ll. 10–11). As suggested by the inscription’s first editor, Yves Grandjean, this language might allude to the goddess having come to this individual in an incubation dream (Grandjean 1975, 38), but the widespread use of metaphorical language for gods “standing by” worshipers or heeding their summons when in distress makes this far from certain (see Renberg (in preparation), *a* and *b*).

66 Vanderlip, *Hymns of Isidorus* I, ll. 29–34 and II, ll. 7–8 (quoted) (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 21–22); annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 279–284, No. 3; cited by Merkelbach 2001b, 199 as an example of “die Heilkraft der Isis.” The first passage lists terminal illness among other types of emergencies, which indicates that Isis was being treated as a goddess associated with miraculous rescues, not necessarily healing miracles (see next note). (As discussed in Chapter 3, Wickkiser has shown that the sources provide no indication that Asklepios was called on to cure terminal illnesses rather than merely chronic ones (see p. 23n.68), which indirectly supports reading such a distinction between healer and deliverer into these Isis hymns. On the Isidorus hymns see now Ian S. Moyer, “Isidorus at the Gates of the Temple,” in I. Rutherford (ed.), *Greco-Roman Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE–300 CE* (Oxford, 2016), 209–244, which became available too late for consultation.)

67 *P.Oxy* XI 1380, re-edited by Lafaye 1916 (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 20); annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 289–295, No. 7. The goddess is referred to as σώτειρα, σώζουσα or even ἀνδρᾶσώτειραν in ll. 20 (Naukratis), 55 (Isidion), 76 (Ekregma), 92 (Petra), and 293

to Isis from her early Ptolemaic temple at Philae likewise ignore her healing abilities;⁶⁸ a short and incomplete Imperial-period hymn to Isis preserved on papyrus lists powers over the sun and stars, among others, but not medical powers;⁶⁹ and, powers other than healing are emphasized in the aretalogical preamble to the two prayers spoken by Lucius and Isis's own aretalogy-like speech describing herself towards the end of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.⁷⁰

What the hymns' near-total silence indicates is not that Isis was not widely viewed as a healer in Greco-Roman times, but rather that this was not an essential aspect of her official theology in Egypt or beyond—at least, not at Memphis and other cult centers linked to the aretalogies. Whereas Sarapis was marketed to potential worshipers as a god with an appealingly lengthy record of healing miracles (and other types of miracles as well),⁷¹ Isis's supreme authority over the cosmos was trumpeted by her devotees, and any mention of her regularly

(toponym not preserved). For the concept of Isis as a goddess who saved and protected, see below. The reference to *daimones* is incomplete in the phrase “The [---] *daimones* become obedient to you” (οἱ [...] δ[α]ίμονες ὑπήκοοι σοὶ [γ]ιγν[ο]νται), but Richard L. Gordon and Valentino Gasparini are probably correct to view it as “a reference to illness caused by spirit attack” (Gordon/Gasparini 2014, 52–53, citing ll. 164–165). The Oxyrhynchus Isis aretalogy also includes the cryptic statement that “The ones who call upon you in faithfulness see you” (ὁρῶσι σε οἱ κατὰ τὸ πιστὸν | ἐπικαλούμενοι) (ll. 152–153), which might be an allusion to incubation (as claimed by Lafaye, *ibid.*, 88), or at the very least to the goddess's tendency to appear to worshipers in their dreams. Whether this would be an allusion to therapeutic or divinatory incubation, or both, is no less unclear. (Lafaye, *ibid.*, 68 has indicated that the original text had ὁρῶσι, but that a second hand corrected this to ὅπως. The original reading seems preferable.) For the worship of Isis at Oxyrhynchus, see Whitehorne 1995, 3073–3074.

68 See Zabkar, *Hymns*, Nos. 1–8. Despite the claim of Étienne Bernand, a dedication in which the epithet σώτειρα is applied to Isis is not necessarily evidence of healing (*I.Philae* 1, p. 329, commenting on *I.Philae* 59).

69 PSI VII 844; annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 284–285, No. 4. See Heitsch 1960 and Barigazzi 1975 (with new edition); see also Wolbergs 1975, arguing that the work is an encomium of Homer.

70 Apul., *Met.* 11.2 and 11.25.1–6 (Lucius), 11.5.1–3 (Isis).

71 For the Sarapis aretalogies, see pp. 341–343. The surviving collection is quite different from the Isis aretalogies, especially in terms of their consisting of individual tales rather than lengthy recitations of divine powers. Overall, no hymns comparable to those honoring Isis or the *historiolae* emphasizing her healing abilities survive from the cult of Sarapis, while in contrast to Sarapis accounts of miracles said to have been performed by Isis do not survive, outside of fictional works such as the *Aesop Romance* (Anon., *Vit. Aesopi* §§4–8, ed. Perry) and the Demotic story known as *Der Beistand der Isis* (P.Berlin ÄM P. 12345; annotated translation by J.F. Quack in Hoffmann/Quack, *Anthologie*, pp. 178–180).

aiding the sick and dying was treated as being of secondary importance,⁷² as is true of certain other functions that were perhaps more important to ordinary worshipers than cult officials.⁷³ Nor does other epigraphical evidence, whether from the Greek East or Latin West, make Isis stand out as an exceptional healing divinity. While one dedication from Delos addresses her as Isis-Hygieia and there is additional evidence from elsewhere for such an association,⁷⁴ in two others from Rome and Ostia, respectively, she is called Isis Salutaris or referred to by a worshiper as “restorer of (my) health” (*restitutrix salutis suae*),⁷⁵ and

72 A parallel, however, might be drawn to the cult of Imhotep in Egypt, since despite his well-attested importance as a healing god, much of the epigraphical evidence emphasizes other aspects of his divinity (see pp. 423–424), though some hymns, at least, would mention his healing prowess and attest to its importance in his official theology (e.g., Firkow, *Urkunden* VIII, 145, §213 from Deir el-Bahari (see pp. 482–483n.99)). The absence of references to Isis’s healing powers also can be compared to the minimal attention given to her oracular abilities in the works reflecting her official theology, which are briefly alluded to in the Oxyrhynchus aretology. Moreover, since the various inscribed hymns to Isis are either Hellenistic in date or, if Roman, based on Hellenistic versions, it is possible that these were composed too early to reflect any surge in Isis’s prominence as a healing (or oracular) goddess that may have occurred in Roman times, or shortly before in Diodorus’s time.

73 Most notably, there are similarly scattered references to Isis as a guardian of sea-farers and ships in some of the aretologies and other texts discussed above, which do not emphasize her maritime powers, but from other sources we know of her profound importance to sailors, travelers, merchants and others (see Bricault 2006, 37–42).

74 *I.Delos* 2060 (= *RICIS* 202/0307): Σέλευκος Ἀνδρονίκου Ῥαμνούσιος, ἱερεὺς | γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ | τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων Ἰσιδι Ὑγιείᾳ (“Seleukos son of Andronikos, of Rhamnous, upon becoming a priest (dedicated this) to Isis-Hygieia on behalf of the Athenian *demos* and the *demos* of the Romans”). Since this dedication was made on behalf of the two populaces it should be seen as calling upon the goddess as a protectress of health rather than a healer. A fragmentary inscription from modern Kalecik in Galatia appears to have been dedicated to Anubis, Isis and Hygieia, though it might have been for Anubis and Isis-Hygieia (*CIG* III 4100 (= *RICIS* 311/0201); cf. Bricault 1996, 72). On the other hand, though, the temple built by a Roman senator at Epidauros “for Hygieia as well as for Asklepios and Apollo under their Egyptian names” could indicate that the goddess, unlike the two gods, was identified solely by the Greek name rather than as Isis or Isis-Hygieia, depending on how one interprets the Greek (Paus. 2.27.6; quoted in n. 27).

75 *CIL* VI 436 (= *RICIS* 501/0151) and *CIL* XIV 4290 (= *RICIS* 503/1118). Another dedication, from Tarracina (Latium adiectum), is addressed to *Isi restitutri(ci)* but makes no specific reference to anyone’s health (*AE* 1926, 89 (= *RICIS* 502/0702)). Cf. Apul., *Met.* 11.22.2 (*deae potentis benignitas salutaris*).

in a number of inscriptions she appears as Isis Sôteira,⁷⁶ such a small group of inscriptions employing these epithets—though admittedly comparable to the small number of similar texts addressing the known healer Sarapis with the epithet “Sôtēr” (*i.e.*, “Deliverer”)⁷⁷—is negligible proof. Moreover, the fact that many dedications were made to Isis ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας or *pro salute* does not distinguish her in any way from dozens of other gods whose dedications bear such formulas.⁷⁸ It is thus primarily in literary sources such as Diodorus that Isis gains recognition as a popular healing divinity.⁷⁹ This minimal attestation of Isis’s healing powers in documentary texts is even more striking in light of the Roman-era literary sources, and the fact that in Egypt Isis had long been venerated as “rich/great of magic.”⁸⁰ While it is perhaps not surprising that the Isis aretalogies make so little mention of her medical abilities—after all, official theology would not necessarily have focused on the healing of private individuals, when there were so many other functions to emphasize⁸¹—one would expect a greater number of dedicatory inscriptions recording cures, as one finds in the Asklepios cult. And yet, the opening to the Maroneia aretalogy,

76 See Bricault 1996, 67–68 and *RICIS* 11, p. 771 (index); cf. Versnel 1990, 45–46. For the use of such language in the Oxyrhynchus aretalogy, see n. 67.

77 See Bricault 1996, 119–120 and *RICIS* 11, p. 773 (index) for Sarapis Sôtēr. For Asklepios Sôtēr, and the meaning of terms referring to gods “delivering” individuals or being a “deliverer,” see pp. 116–117.

78 Nonetheless, such epigraphical sources have occasionally been adduced as significant evidence for Isis as a healer: see, *e.g.*, Grandjean 1975, 26–29, citing the epithets and *pro salute*-type dedications to refute Pierre Roussel’s conclusion that Isis was only secondarily (“accessoirement”) a healing divinity (Roussel 1929, 167–168). More recently, Holger Kockelmann in his discussion of the Demotic Isis hymns and the evidence they provide for Isis as “the saviour goddess par excellence” in Hellenistic and Roman times has documented quite effectively that the goddess was believed to protect her worshipers from a broad range of dangers, but like Grandjean—on whom he relies heavily—does not put these sources in context (Kockelmann 2008, 63–66, 75–76).

79 This can also be seen in a late literary source, John Lydus’s *On Months*, which states that “They [*i.e.*, the Egyptians] say that she is a giver of health, just as we say Asklepios is” (φασὶ δὲ ταύτην καὶ ὑγείας εἶναι δότεिरαν, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν) (Joh. Lyd., *Mens.* 4.45). Though written in the sixth century CE, it should not be taken as evidence for Isis’s prominence as a healer in Byzantine Egypt, since the passage appears in an antiquarian treatise and follows a reference to the *Ploiaphesia* (*i.e.*, *Navigium Isidis*) festival of March 5, which by then would have been as defunct as Isis’s sanctuaries. See below for additional literary sources.

80 See n. 56.

81 The point is that of Kockelmann (Kockelmann 2008, 64n.267).

which unambiguously thanks Isis for treating an eye problem, is the rare example, rather than the norm.⁸²

While there should be little doubt that Isis's medical assistance was sought through incubation at one or more of her sanctuaries in Egypt, as Diodorus indicates, the evidence for this aspect of her cult is no less fragmentary, disparate and unclear than it is for Sarapis's. It appears that Isis's medical practice was generally separate from that of Sarapis, and as noted above there is no evidence from Egypt that the two ever healed through incubation at the same sanctuary.⁸³ At best, it is possible that the two had distinct incubation sanctuaries in close proximity: just two miles from Canopus, the site of the *Sarapieion* visited and described by Strabo (at which Isis was also worshiped), Isis had an important sanctuary in the town of Menouthis at which incubation is believed to have been practiced.⁸⁴ This conclusion, however, depends almost entirely on patristic sources for a cult of two saints replacing Isis, and these writings have relatively recently been challenged as unreliable or even wholly fabricated, and therefore should now be viewed as questionable evidence for the nature of the Isis cult at Menouthis.⁸⁵ This sanctuary, which was already flourishing in Ptolemaic times, appears to have remained open in some

82 *I.ThracAeg* 205; see pp. 364–365.

83 See pp. 331–332. Outside of Egypt, the only evidence of the two collaborating on a cure is the pair of ambiguous inscriptions from Delos recording that a husband and wife gave “medical fees” to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and (in just one) Harpokrates (*I.Delos* 2116–2117; see pp. 354–356) and the dedications from Lesbos, Thrace and Kos by those thanking Sarapis and Isis for cures (*IG XII.2*, 114 (= *RICIS* 205/0304); *SEG* 29, 660 (= *RICIS* 114/1301); *IG XII.4*, 2, 550 (= *RICIS* 305/1901); quoted n. 6).

84 Strabo 17.1.17, p. 801 (quoted pp. 339–340). See Stolz 2008, 203–204 on the relative positions of Canopus and Menouthis. For Isis's worship at Canopus, see *I.Delta* 1:279–280, 285–287, 309 *et pass.*, Malaise 1994, and Winand 1998, as well as Bommas 2010 on the “Alexandrinische Isis”; for her Menouthis cult, see Kayser 1991, 214–217, Stolz, *ibid.*, 199–200 *et pass.*, and Bricault 2014.

85 The traditional viewpoint associating Menouthis with incubation because of both pagan and Christian sources is well represented in: Sansterre 1991; Frankfurter 1998, 40–41, 163–165; Montserrat 1998, 258–260 and Montserrat 2005 (at p. 231 referring to “a Christian veneer over a pagan healing shrine”); Sfameni Gasparro 2007c, 328–338; Teja 2007; Csepregi 2010, 60n.8, 68–69; and Graf 2015, 259–261 (pp. 134–136 of 2013 version). (The questionable nature of the evidence regarding Isis's oracle in Late Antiquity is also addressed by Jean Gascou, whose work on the patristic sources undermines much of the previous scholarship on the saints' cult (see below), in a forthcoming article, “L'oracle tardif d'Isis à Ménouthis, une fiction?”, to appear in a volume in the series ‘Hautes études du monde gréco-romain,’ which he generously shared with me as work on this book was nearing completion. I have not changed my own discussion to reflect Gascou's study,

form at least into the fifth century CE,⁸⁶ lasting long after the forced closure of the Canopus sanctuary during the wave of destruction that expunged the Alexandria *Sarapieion* from the religious landscape in 391 or 392 CE under the bishop Theophilus.⁸⁷ The Menouthis *Isieion* must have been an important site in earlier times: material remains demonstrate the sanctuary's popularity and scale,⁸⁸ two dedicatory inscriptions from the port of Rome record gifts of statues of "Isis of Menouthis,"⁸⁹ and, the second-century CE Oxyrhynchus Isis aretology, undoubtedly copied or derived from an earlier text, indicates that the goddess was valued there as "truthfulness" itself (ἐν Μεν[ο]ύθι ἀλήθειαν).⁹⁰

The practice of therapeutic incubation at the *Isieion* has long been inferred from three Christian sources, the reliability of each of which was challenged only in the last decade as part of an ongoing debate primarily regarding the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the saints Cyrus and John at Menouthis in the fifth century CE or later,⁹¹ but also concerning whether

which makes a further contribution to the subject of Isis, Menouthis, and the patristic sources.)

- 86 Epiphanius refers to rituals at Menouthis, showing that the sanctuary was still active in the late-fourth century (Epiphanius, *De Fide* 12, 1).
- 87 Canopus *Sarapieion*'s closure: Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 2(11).26, eds. E. Schwartz & T. Mommsen, *GCS* n.s. 6.2 (Berlin, 1999), pp. 1032–1033; Eunap., *vs* 6.107–114, ed. Goulet. See: Trombley 1994, 1137–139; Hahn 2004, 102; Grossmann 2006, 204–208; Russell (N.) 2007, 7–11; Dijkstra 2008, 88; and Stolz 2008, 199. On the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*'s destruction, see most recently Hahn 2008, at pp. 339–345 providing an overview of the complicated scholarly debate regarding the date of this event and favoring 392 CE, Hahn 2006, and Martin (A.) 2008; cf. Dijkstra 2011, 394 and Watts 2015, 1–4, 213–215 *et pass*.
- 88 On the location and remains of the Menouthis *Isieion*, see Stolz 2008.
- 89 *IGPortus* 9 and 18 (= *RICIS* 503/1204 + Pl. 96, 503/1212). The rarity of inscriptions associating Isis with the site of one of her sanctuaries (e.g., "Isis of Memphis") argues for the importance of Menouthis in her cult (see *RICIS* 11, pp. 770–771, 773–774 for the epithets of Isis found in Greek and Latin inscriptions outside of Egypt).
- 90 *P.Oxy* XI 1380, l. 63; for the aretology, see n. 67. See Frankfurter 1998, 163. This choice of language may suggest a prominent oracle at the Menouthis sanctuary (see pp. 387–388).
- 91 The debate regarding the origin of this martyr cult has traditionally been over whether it was introduced in the early fifth century by the bishop Cyril of Alexandria or towards the end of the century under Peter Mongus, when the Isis cult was reportedly wiped out (see Montserrat 1998, 261–264, reviewing the debate and opting for the earlier date; cf. Montserrat 2005, 232–233). More recently a new debate has arisen over whether the joint cult of the two saints even existed in the fifth century, since Gascou has argued that only the Alexandrian Cyrus was worshiped at Menouthis first, with John not being established there until the early sixth century CE, when the town was chosen over other possible sites for the saints' relics (Gascou 2007). Gascou's view regarding the saints' Menouthis cult has gained

the two saints ever even lived.⁹² One of these texts, a likely spurious homily attributed to the Alexandrian bishop (and Theophilus's nephew) Cyril of Alexandria (412–444 CE),⁹³ contains language indicating that he had intended for the saints to replace Isis as divine healers, and thus it would be of great significance if genuine. Similarly, another text, a controversial narrative by Zacharias Scholasticus that is preserved only in a Syriac translation of his Greek *Life of Severus*,⁹⁴ describes later events that, if true, would testify to Isis's continued worship at Menouthis in the late-fifth century CE and that she was still being sought for dream-oracles long after Cyril's purported attempt to replace her. And, the third text, the first *Life* of the two saints, is too late to be trusted. If the homily, *Life*, and certain other sources concerning Cyril are to be taken at face value, in the early fifth century he established the cult of the two saints at Menouthis as an alternative to Isis's healing cult in an apparently

some acceptance (see Cannuyer 2013, 28–33, Booth 2014, 47–48, and Bricault 2014, 112), but it has also been opposed, most notably by Edward J. Watts, who suggests that the saints' jointly shared church was active by the late-fifth or early-sixth century CE based on the episode in Sophronios's *Miracles* involving the iatrosophist Gessios (*PLRE* 11, "Gessius 3"; *Pros.Rhet.Soph.*, Appendix, No. 8 (E. Szabat)), who is known to have been active at the time and whose career may have lasted until the 540's (Sophr., *Thaum.* 30, ed. Fernández Marcos; see Watts 2010, 8n.38 and Watts 2009; for the *Miracles*, see below). If Isis's shrine was destroyed by 489 CE there need not have been any overlap between her cult and the joint cult of Cyrus and John.

The church, like Isis's temple, was situated in an area that is now underwater, off a cape, Abuqir, named for Cyrus (*i.e.*, Apa Kyros). See Stolz 2008, 195–196, 200–203, 205–206; see also Ehrenheim 2009, 261–263 for an attempt to use the miracle tales associated with the complex in order to determine where incubation was practiced, and Grossmann 2002, 216–221 for a broader attempt to recreate the lost church's layout from the patristic sources. Evidence for the cult of Cyrus and John in Egypt is collected in Papaconstantinou 2001, 135–136.

92 See Gascou 2007, 262–263. According to tradition, before their martyrdoms Cyrus was a doctor and John a soldier.

93 See Gascou 2007, 254–257. For the homily, *Oratiuncula* 111, see n. 95.

94 Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, ed. and trans. Kugener 1907 (= *BHO* 1060/*CPG* 6999); English translation and reproduction of Kugener's text in Lena Ambjörn, *The Life of Severus by Zachariah of Mytilene* (Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 9; Piscataway, N.J. 2008), and annotated English translation in Brock/Fitzgerald 2013 (with valuable introduction at pp. 1–29). The *Life of Severus* has been dated by Watts c. 520 CE instead of the traditional date between 512 and 518 CE, while the lengthy biography-within-a-biography concerning a student named Paralios is thought to have been originally written and issued in the 490's (for Paralios, see n. 147).

deliberate effort to co-opt pagan traditions and undermine Isis's worship.⁹⁵ Even if this version of events is merely legend, which is quite likely, elements of Isis's worship might have been appropriated by the new martyr cult, so it is not altogether irrelevant, and these sources, though unreliable, cannot be completely dismissed.⁹⁶ That the two saints were valued for their healing powers, and especially for miraculous cures that often involved sleeping at their church,⁹⁷ is attested at length by Sophronios, the seventh-century patriarch of Jerusalem (634–639 CE), who around 610–615 CE had visited Menouthis and had an eye ailment cured, subsequently composing his *Account of the Miracles of the Wise and Unpaid Saints Cyrus and John*, a work devoted to recounting seventy “miracles” in which he detailed the saints' accomplishments, as well as an *Encomium* (often called the *Panegyric*) introduced by a distinct *Preface* (Προθεωρία).⁹⁸ (However, despite the zeal with which Sophronios and a small

95 For more general overviews of the issues surrounding the saints' establishment, see Montserrat, *ibid.*, 261–266 and Gasco 2007. The view that this was done in a way intended to have the two saints replace Isis has been explored in a number of studies (see, e.g., McGuckin 1993, Takács 1994, Grossmann 2006, 208–211; cf. Frankfurter 1998, 165, 271 and Montserrat 1998, 259n.5, with additional references). The sources for Cyril having established these saints at Menouthis are to be found in three *Oratiunculae* (i.e., homilies) that have been attributed to him but are most likely not authentic (Ps.-Cyril, *Oratiunculae* I–III (= PG 77, 1100C–1105B)), and two short, anonymous hagiographies of John and Cyrus, referred to as *Life* I (PG 87.3, 3689C–3696C) and *Life* II (PG 87.3, 3677A–3689B). On the *Lives* and *Oratiunculae*, all preserved with writings by Sophronios of Jerusalem, see Gasco, *ibid.*, 246–257 *et pass.* According to the first *Life*, Cyril's actions were prompted by an angel speaking to him in a dream that he received after praying for guidance on the matter of Isis's cult (PG 87.3, 3693C–3696C), and Sophronios presents a similar tale in his *Panegyric* (Sophr., *Pan.* §27 (= PG 87.3, 3413A–C)), while a briefer version is in the second *Life* (*Life* II, §16 (= PG 87.3, 3688D–3689A)). Since the first *Life* is thought to date to the late-sixth or early-seventh century CE, as appears to be the case with the second as well, it is hardly a contemporary source for any of the events it describes.

96 See most recently Bricault 2014, 111–112. See also Graf 2015, 259–261 (pp. 134–136 of 2013 version), concluding that “Given the role of pagan incubation in the Paralios affair, one might also suspect that it had not yet started in the church of Menouthis at that time, but began as a reaction to the destruction of the secret sanctuary of Isis” (p. 261), contrary to his study's overall thesis that Christian incubation was generally unrelated to pagan practices, even at the same sites (see p. 751).

97 For the problem of whether incubation was practiced at this church and certain others, see Appendix XVI.

98 Eye ailment: Sophr., *Thaum.* 70 and Sophr., *Preface* §1; on this episode in Sophronios's life, see Gasco 2007, 258–259 and Montserrat 2005. The Διήγησις θαυμάτων τῶν ἁγίων Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν σοφῶν ἀναργύρων (ed. Fernández Marcos 1975, 229–400, with corrections in Lackner 1980 and Duffy 1987; previous edition PG 87.3, 3424B–3676A (= BHG 477–479/

group of others wrote of the two saints, their popularity in Egypt evidently was not widespread, and evidently no match for that of Menas and certain other saints sought for their miracles elsewhere in Egypt.⁹⁹)

Sophronios's evidence for healing at the martyrs' shrine suggests that incubation at Isis's sanctuary might be alluded to in the third homily attributed to Cyril, which boasts that these saints are "the truthful and celestial doctors whom God omnipotent has graced with the power to heal" (τοὺς ἀληθινούς καὶ ἄνωθεν ἰατρούς· οἷς ὁ πάντα ἰσχύων Θεὸς τοῦ θεραπεύειν δύνασθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχαρίσατο) and that "No one among us contrives dreams" (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ὀνειράτα πλάττεται)—possibly a contrast implying that Isis was healing through dreams (but not the saints), and perhaps also alluding to the role of Isis's priests in engaging in incubation on behalf of worshipers, which might be viewed by a Christian as contriving dreams.¹⁰⁰ More straightforward

CPG 7646)) and Sophronios's other writings devoted to these saints, his *Preface* and *Panegyric* (ed. Bringel 2008; previous edition PG 87.3, 3380A–3421C, with *Preface* (= §§1–6) at 3380A–3388B and *Panegyric* (= §§7–33) at 3388B–3421C (= BHG 475–476/CPG 7645)), were written a few years after his visit, around 620 CE. On these works, see Fernández Marcos, *ibid.*, 1–228 and Gascou, *ibid.*, 258–262 *et pass.*, as well as Gascou's extensively annotated translation of the *Miracles* (Gascou 2006; see also Festugière 1971, 217–256, a translated and annotated selection of miracles), and Bringel's short introduction to her edition and translation of the *Preface* and *Panegyric*; see also Montserrat 1998, 266–278 and Montserrat 2005 (both works treating in detail religious and medical aspects of the *Miracles*), Efthymiadis 1999, 198–199 and Efthymiadis 2014, 109–111. These works were preserved in Vaticanus Gr. 1607, the same tenth-century Vatican manuscript as the ones pertaining to Cyril cited above, but those are not believed to have been written by Sophronios. (For additional studies that focus chiefly on the *Miracles*, see pp. 762–763n.32.)

Miracles involving the two saints are known from other sources as well: a collection of five miracles from a codex preserved at Mt. Athos (Koutloumousiou 37) has recently been edited, adding to the number of sources for incubation at their church (see Déroche 2012b), and there has also been a detailed survey of the unedited Arabic materials in recent years (see Boutros 2008, especially pp. 138–139 on the miracle narratives translated from Greek into Arabic), while there is known to be an unpublished Coptic collection (see Efthymiadis 2014, 111).

99 See Papaconstantinou 2001, 136, noting the relative lack of documentary sources for Cyrus and John, as well as *ampullae* (i.e., small flasks for holy water or oil) and other pilgrim souvenirs from Menouthis, and thus suggesting that Sophronios exaggerated their shrine's relative importance; see also Montserrat 1998, 257–258, 266–268 and Maraval 1985, 318, the latter uncritically treating Sophronios as evidence for the cult's widespread impact. (The lack of *ampullae* is especially noteworthy when contrasted to the abundance of those linked to the shrine of Menas at Abû Mînâ (see pp. 768–771).)

100 Ps.-Cyril, *Oratiuncula* 111 (= PG 77, 1105A–B). Graf plausibly reads the phrase as probably an indication that at the Christian shrine only prayer was needed, and not dreams, especially

evidence for therapeutic incubation at the Menouthis temple is to be found in the first *Life* of the two saints, in a reference to a female-shaped demon named “Menouthē” (*i.e.*, Isis), whom Cyril was said to have banished, issuing oracles and “indicating prescriptions of certain medicines” (ἐπιταγὰς τινων φαρμάκων τεραπευόμενος).¹⁰¹

The other significant patristic source is Zacharias’s narrative, which includes the dramatic events surrounding the destruction of a second and clandestine cult site of Isis, hidden in a private house, sometime after 484 and before 489 CE, most likely the spring of 486 CE.¹⁰² Zacharias, who states that he participated in the destruction, indicates that despite the popularity of Cyrus and John, Isis was still valued as a healer by some: he describes secret chambers that served those undergoing incubation, and also tells an anecdote about an Alexandrian philosopher, Asklepiodotos, whose wife had been barren until, at the prompting of an apparent dream-oracle, he traveled from his adopted home in Aphrodisias first to Alexandria and then Menouthis in order to consult Isis through incubation, receiving a dream intended to enable him to father a child:

Asklepiodotos of Alexandria . . . spent a considerable time in Caria with his wife, desirous to become a father of children. His desire, however, was not fulfilled, God having imposed on him deprivation from children and his wife’s barrenness as a punishment for his busying himself with the evil practices of magic. Now when his father-in-law was upset at his daughter’s lack of children, this philosopher forged an oracle—or rather, in reality, he was deceived by the demon who takes on the likeness of Isis—to the effect that she promised him children if he went with his wife to her temple that had formerly existed in Menouthis, a village fourteen miles from Alexandria, close to the place called Canopus. Thus he urged his father-in-law to allow him to take his wife and go with her to that place, having promised he would return to him with his wife and the son she would bear. . . . He spent some time in Menouthis, and offered up

not those coming from demons (Graf 2015, 261 (p. 135 of 2013 version)). For “priestly” incubation, see Appendix IV.

101 PG 87.3, 3693B (quoted p. 387). While the date of the *Life* is quite late and the work thus unreliable, the reference to this demon prescribing medicines is a rather specific detail, and thus may preserve a local memory. See also the brief reference to Cyril’s concern over the “apparitions of Menouthis” (τὰ φάσματα τῆς Μενουθέως) in the second *Life* (*Life* II, §16 (= PG 87.3, 3688D)).

102 The date is that of Watts 2010, 263–264.

myriads of sacrifices to the demons, but failed to get any further benefit, his wife remaining as she was, barren, even there. Having imagined that he had seen Isis in a dream lying beside him, he learnt from the dream interpreters who were there ministering to the demon who had taken on the likeness of Isis, that he ought to sleep with the goddess's idol and then afterwards cohabit with his wife. By this means, a son would be born to him. The philosopher was persuaded by a deception such as this—just as the priest had advised him at the very beginning, so he promised him at the end—and he cohabited with the stone that had the likeness of Isis, and after this, with his wife. She, however, remained barren, all the same. Finally, the priest advised him to go alone with his wife to the village of Asty and live there for a while, and adopt as a son the boy that had been born a little while earlier to the priestess who was related to the priest who had pretended that this was what the gods and the fates wished him to do. He was persuaded by this advice too, and so he went with his wife, without anyone else with them, to the infant's mother. Having offered a specific sum of money, he then took her son. In this way, after a while he turned up in Alexandria, boasting that, after all this time, a barren woman had given birth. As a result, those who are gripped by the craziness of the pagans took enormous pride in this fabrication, as though it was a true fact, and gave praise to Isis and to Menouthis, the village of the goddess where (subsequently) some benefactor buried Isis's temple in the sand so that not even a trace of it could be seen.¹⁰³

Although the episode does not refer to healing, the fact that fertility-related incubation was generally associated with healing cults, perhaps combined with the implicit attacks on Isis as healer in the homily of Cyril, would argue in favor of therapeutic incubation having persisted into Zacharias's time—that is, if the story of Asklepiodotos and his wife is at all true.¹⁰⁴ This, however, is

103 Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, pp. 16–19, ed. Kugener 1907; trans. Brock/Fitzgerald 2013. For this episode leading to the temple's closure, see: Trombley 1994, 11:220–225; Frankfurter 1998, 164–165 and Frankfurter 2000a, 189–191; Montserrat 1998, 264–266; Dijkstra 2008, 88; and Bricault 2014, 109–112; cf. Gasco 2007, 279–280. As Zacharias goes on to relate, it was the Alexandrian pagan community's treating Asklepiodotos's wife's conceiving a child as a miracle that precipitated the destruction of Isis's shrine by a Christian student named Paralios and others (Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, pp. 19–35; for Paralios, see n. 147). On Asklepiodotos (*PLRE* II, "Asclepiodotus 3") and his milieu, especially at Aphrodisias, see Robert (L.) 1948 and Roueché 1989, 89–93.

104 While the episode Zacharias describes pertains to a fertility matter, the regular consultation of "healing" gods concerning fertility problems should leave little doubt that if Isis

far from certain, as the ongoing debate regarding saints Cyrus and John has raised important questions regarding Zacharias's trustworthiness.¹⁰⁵ Such concerns over so critical a source have already argued to some for caution when reaching conclusions regarding how long the cult of Isis lasted at Menouthis, whether healing and therapeutic incubation were prominent aspects of her worship there, and whether the saints' important function as healers by the sixth century was in any way influenced by the Isis cult—and it must now be recognized that the case for Isis at Menouthis having healed through incubation at all, or having even been a healing goddess, is quite speculative. At best, the homily might imply that curative dreams were sought from Isis, while if certain crucial details are true the story of Asklepiodotos visiting the site might also reveal that this was the case for fertility-related dreams, and the Oxyrhynchus aretalogy—possibly supported by the tale of Cyril defeating

was indeed being consulted about fertility through incubation she was also being consulted about health (see Appendix 111). The date of *Oratiuncula* 111 is unknown, but could be as late as Sophronios's time (see Gasco 2007, 254–256).

- 105 Zacharias's narrative appears in a work produced three decades after the events it describes (or partly fabricates) but was most likely written at the time and then later incorporated into his broader work on Severus (see Watts 2005), and thus whether it is reliable has been the subject of recent debate. The first detailed attack was that of Alan Cameron, who in addition to noting Zacharias's dishonesty on a number of unrelated matters questioned whether Isis would have had a shrine at Menouthis this late—and, if she did, whether it can be thought to have been flourishing if it had a single priest, its statues and altars were kept hidden, and the temple had been converted into a private house (Cameron 2007, 21–28). At best, Cameron concludes, with Isis's temple having been destroyed by Cyril she would have had a small, secret shrine, but her worship would no longer have been dominant at Menouthis—a dominance created by Zacharias to meet the needs of his “triumphalist” Paralios narrative. Gasco, writing independently of Cameron the same year, likewise challenged Zacharias's account as well as the later hagiographic sources pertaining to the Isis cult at Menouthis, considering them to be fabrications fitting the pattern of Christians who did not know the history of a church or shrine associating it with the destruction or adoption of a pagan cult site (Gasco 2007, 264–266, 278). Responding to Cameron, Watts argued for the account's general reliability, suggesting that the “structurally distinct” nature of Zacharias's section on Paralios means it should be treated differently from the rest of the *Life of Severus* and perhaps given greater credence, and also attempting to counter some of Cameron's more specific points (Watts 2010, 265–268). (Regardless of whether Cameron and Gasco are correct, Cameron's first point, concerning there having been a single priest, is not persuasive: at Egyptian temples even in pre-Christian times it was common, especially in towns and villages, to have a single priest whose efforts were supported by rotating groups of residents: see now Hoffmann/Quack 2014, 142–147 on the multiple roles of those functioning as gate-keepers/*pastophoroi*, including a discussion of “Einmannbetrieb.”)

the oracular demon Menouthe¹⁰⁶—might indicate that Isis issued oracles at the site, but these are not reliable sources for incubation.

Other than this relatively late evidence for Menouthis, therapeutic incubation is not known or suspected to have been practiced at any other particular site associated with Isis.¹⁰⁷ While there is additional evidence for Isis being valued as a healer in Egypt in Greco-Roman times, none of these sources explicitly refers to therapeutic incubation being her *modus operandi*, and only two are at all likely even to allude to it. One of these texts, a petition of 114 BCE addressed to the *komogrammateus* of Kerkeosiris, describes an assault allegedly perpetrated by a resident of one of the two shrines of Isis against a nearby villager who “was present here at the great *Isieion* for medical treatment on account of the lingering ailment that was gripping me” (ὄντος μου ἐπὶ θεραπείαι | ἐν τῷ αὐτόθι μεγάλῳ | Ἰσιείῳ χάριν τῆς περιεχούσης με ἄρρωστίας), which might suggest that this farmer sought a cure through incubation, though he is no less likely to have been availing himself of the medical expertise of some of those serving there and was engaging in other, more traditional religio-medical activities that did not involve dreaming.¹⁰⁸ The other, an *ostrakon* from the Ḳor Archive found at Saqqâra, refers to a remedy from Isis intended to help the queen in a manner no longer preserved, and erasure hides both Ḳor’s role in determining or procuring the remedy as well as whether Isis had issued her prescription in a dream.¹⁰⁹ But even if incubation were involved in this case it would at best be evidence that those serving one or more of the Saqqâra cults could engage in the practice, not that ordinary visitors could.¹¹⁰ Thus, while there should be no doubt that Isis in Egypt was viewed as a healer, the evidence for her healing through incubation is limited to the nonspecific but significant passage in Diodorus, with other sources possibly alluding to it.

Similarly, that Isis was recognized as a healer among those living beyond her native land is clear from a small number of literary sources and inscriptions

106 See p. 387.

107 Despite the lack of compelling evidence, it has been widely accepted that therapeutic incubation was practiced at Hathor’s Dendara sanctuary, where Isis was also prominent and thus might plausibly have been associated with incubation, had the evidence identifying the site as a “*sanatorium*” not been undermined recently (see Appendix 1.8.1).

108 *P.Tebt* I 44, ll. 6–9 (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 69); annotated translation in Jördens 2010, 330–331, No. 6.1; cited as evidence for incubation by Thompson (D.) 2012, 245n.310. On Isis at Kerkeosiris, see Crawford 1971, 89 and Sfameni Gasparro 1999, 411n.33 (p. 336n.36 of 2002 version). (For similarly long stays at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 236–237; for temple medicine in Egypt, see p. 75n.103.)

109 *O.Hor* 28, ll. 15–17 (see p. 445).

110 For “priestly” incubation, see Appendix iv.

that refer to her in this capacity, but the evidence from these other lands for Isis as a divinity who healed through dreams is ambiguous at best. Indeed, only one literary passage might allude to incubation: in one of Tibullus's elegies, the poet prays to Isis for help, noting that the goddess's ability to heal was visually represented on numerous dedications: "That you are able to heal is indicated by the many painted plaques at your temples" (*nam posse mederi picta docet templis multa tabella tuis*).¹¹¹ It is tempting to conclude, as some have, that this statement refers to scenes of the goddess healing a patient that are reminiscent of the Classical reliefs portraying Asklepios and Amphiaraos doing so.¹¹² However, painted dedicatory plaques sometimes represented the part of the body that was healed without indicating how this was achieved, like the anatomical votives found at numerous healing sanctuaries of Egyptian and non-Egyptian gods, so it is quite possible, if not likely, that Tibullus was referring to this sort of anatomical image rather than paintings of the goddess in epiphany.¹¹³ And, since there is no sign that Isis's worship in Rome was different from elsewhere, presumably the practice of giving such gifts was to be

111 Tib. 1.3.27–28. For the popularity of dedicatory paintings as gifts at temples of Isis, at least in Rome, see Juvenal's comment, "Who does not know that painters are fed by Isis?" (*pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?*) (Juv. 12.28).

112 See, e.g., Bonnet, *Real.*, p. 837, s.v. "Traum" and Wildung 1977c; cf. Wacht 1997, 205.

113 Since painted dedicatory plaques are known to have been widespread (see Salapata 2002 and Renberg (forthcoming), *a*), such painted anatomical dedications may have been fairly common too, but almost none have survived (see, e.g., O. Masson, *BCH* 95 (1971), 331, Nos. 12, 12bis, 13 + figs. 20–22 (= *SEG* 52, 1491–1493), from Golgoi on Cyprus, now discussed in Michaelides 2014, 32–33). Clear evidence for paintings of healed body parts that were dedicated in lieu of anatomical votives is found in an overlooked Priapic poem, which is composed as the dedicatory epigram from a plaque featuring a painted phallus that was given to Priapus after he healed the worshiper's affected *membrum* (*Priap.* 37, ed. Callebat):

*Cur pictum memori sit in tabella
membrum quaeritis unde procreamur?
Cum penis mihi forte laesus esset
chirurgique manum, miser, timerem,
me dis legitimis nimisque magnis,
ut Phoebos, puta, filioque Phoebi,
curandam dare mentulam verebar.
Huic dixi: "Fer opem, Priape, parti
cuius tu, pater, ipse pars videris.
Qua salva sine sectione facta
ponetur tibi picta quam levaris*

Why, you ask, is there depicted on this commemorative tablet
that 'member' whence we are created?
When perchance my penis was injured
and, wretched me, I feared the surgeon's
hand,
to gods qualified and immeasurably great,
such as Phoebus, for example, and his son,
I trembled to give my prick for curing.
So I addressed this one instead, "Bestow
help, Priapus, for that part

found at some of her other sanctuaries. This and some of the previously mentioned sources do show that Isis served as a healer in many parts of the Greek East and Latin West, but it is important to recognize that overall the sources do not portray her as a divinity primarily associated with healing, let alone one whose role of healer eclipsed that of other divinities—quite the opposite, in fact, since there were numerous gods and goddesses whose therapeutic powers are at least as well attested. And, moreover, even the sources attesting to Isis's medical function are almost completely silent on the question of whether incubation sometimes played a role in her healing efforts. Thus the extent to which healing was an important aspect of Isis's cult, whether this aspect distinguished her from other gods linked to healing, and how prominent a practice therapeutic incubation was in her cult all remain open questions.

6.5 Divinatory Incubation in the Cults of Sarapis and Isis

Whereas it is certain that Sarapis and Isis each issued therapeutic dreams at certain sanctuaries—even if in the case of Isis no sanctuary can be identified with the practice—the sources for their having been consulted by those

partem, consimilisque concolorque.”
Promisit fore mentulamque movit
pro nutu deus et rogata fecit.

of which you yourself, father, seem to be a part.
 Which, if restored to health without slicing, that part you have relieved will be given to you as a picture, of same form and same color.”
 The god promised that it would come to pass and moved his prick in nodding manner, and carried out my request.

It is perhaps likely that both painted anatomicals and those that were carved or molded may have been given at some sanctuaries: at the healing sanctuary established at a sacred spring in Chamalières, 2600 wooden anatomical votives—primarily 1800 legs and 390 arms—and figurines were preserved due to especially fortuitous conditions, as were more than 1000 wooden plaques that appear to have been painted, and while many of these would have borne only painted texts, it is possible that some featured depictions of healed body parts (see Romeuf/Dumontet 2000, especially pp. 77–87 (anatomicals) and 88–89 (plaques), at 88n.137 noting the existence of wooden plaques at other Gallic sites). Though this discovery was made at a Gallo-Roman site there is no reason why both types of dedications could not be given at Greek sanctuaries as well, nor is there any reason to think that the Priapic poem reflects a purely Roman phenomenon.

seeking dream-oracles through incubation are less clear-cut, especially for Isis. This is true of the famous *Sarapieia* at Alexandria and Canopus, where one would expect divinatory incubation to have been practiced regularly, but for which the evidence is circumstantial, with no source comparable to Strabo's unambiguous reference to therapeutic incubation at Canopus surviving.¹¹⁴ This ambiguity is compounded by the literary evidence for both sites, which raises the question of whether Sarapis communicated through both dreams and other oracular procedures, as is known to have been the case at certain other gods' cult sites.¹¹⁵ According to Dio Chrysostom in a speech to the Alexandrians perhaps dating c. 71–75 CE, "Among (you) especially is this divinity honored, and especially does he exhibit his power almost every day through both oracles and dreams" (παρ' οἷς μάλιστα μὲν τιμᾶται τὸ δαιμόνιον, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸ δείκνυσι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μόνον οὐ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν διὰ τε χρησμῶν καὶ δι' ὀνειράτων).¹¹⁶ Such a distinction between χρησμοί and ὄνειροι might indicate that at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* the god issued oracles through dreams as well as an unspecified medium, as is further indicated by his curiously referring to how the god had "visibly prophesied in the middle of the day" (μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐναργῶς προείπεν).¹¹⁷ Moreover, from the statement's context it seems

114 It is also unclear whether divinatory incubation in Sarapis's cult would have started at Alexandria or Canopus, just as it is uncertain where therapeutic incubation in the cult began (see pp. 332–340). As was noted above, none of the archaeological remains at the few *Sarapieia* that have been uncovered point to incubation (see p. 340n.17).

115 See p. 28n.77.

116 Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.12–13 (quoting sect. 12). For the date, see Jones 1978, 134 and Desideri 2000, 95–96 (with n. 5), but see Salmeri 2000, 82n.142 arguing for a Trajanic date.

117 Potentially pertinent evidence is to be found in a later work than Chrysostom. According to a passage in Damascius's sixth-century biography of the Late Platonic philosopher Isidorus, the Alexandrians so regularly received prophetic dreams that they referred to dreams as "oracles," using the same term as Chrysostom: "Indeed, there are more than a few Alexandrians who are well suited by nature and good fortune to receive dreams; and because of this they even now call dreams 'oracles'" (εἰσὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὀλίγου πάντες εὐφυεῖς τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖς ὀνειροπολεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν χρησμοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν) (Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 9C, ed. Athanassiadi). Since this work dates to a time long after the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* had been closed, it appears likely to be a reference to contemporary dreams being received somewhere other than this sanctuary. However, it is possible that his comments present information, or perhaps even a paraphrase, from an old book and thus reflect earlier beliefs regarding dreams received in Alexandria, either at the *Sarapieion* or multiple sanctuaries, or in a domestic setting. (Though formally closed, enough of the *Sarapieion*'s original structures may have survived for informal worship to continue, as appears to be indicated by two patristic sources: according to Evagrius Scholasticus, there was a large enough area for imperial

that an official oracle is intended, especially since Chrysostom subsequently makes a contrast between Apis's communications through "utterances" (φῆμαί) or children at play, presumably a form of kledonomancy associated with his sanctuary at Memphis, and Sarapis's use of men speaking clearly and powerfully (ισχυρᾷ καὶ πλήρει κληδόνι καὶ λόγῳ σαφεῖ).¹¹⁸ This passage is problematic, however, because while Chrysostom's reference to men speaking must pertain to the sanctuary—regardless of whether he had in mind kledonomancy or, more likely, cult officials communicating on the god's behalf, or perhaps even inspired mediums¹¹⁹—this may not also be true of the dreams he mentions. Uncertainty over Chrysostom's intended meaning has two causes: he uses the unprefixd participle κοιμωμένων for "those sleeping" rather than one that would better indicate incubation,¹²⁰ and refers to the god communicating "to each one individually" (κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστω), which might refer to dreaming in a domestic context rather than an incubation dormitory. Thus it is not certain that Chrysostom was referring to incubation, however likely this may appear. There is also more indirect evidence applying to the issue of whether conventional oracles were issued at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*: Vespasian during his visit to Alexandria entered the temple of Sarapis in order to inquire of the god in a manner reminiscent of Alexander the Great's consultation at the Siwa oracle,¹²¹ while an elaborately carved statue of a male figure seated on

troops to take refuge there in 451 CE, while the Syriac biography of the fifth-century non-Chalcedonian bishop Peter the Iberian (c. 417–491 CE) attributed to his contemporary John Rufus states that this *Sarapieion* was being used for nocturnal pagan healing ceremonies in Peter's day (Evag. Schol., *Hist. eccl.* 2.5; John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian* §99, eds. C.B. Horn & R.R. Phenix, Jr.; see McKenzie/Gibson/Reyes 2004, 109 with n. 202). Thus it is not impossible for Damascius to have been referring to dreams within the cult of Sarapis, unlikely though this might be.)

118 For Apis's oracles, see Thompson (D.) 2012, 255, following Courcelle 1951 (with references to ancient sources for Apis's oracular nature). On kledonomancy, a form of divination based upon the interpretation of unexpected sounds or voices—like those that might be issued by children at play—that was sometimes linked to sanctuaries, see Maurizio 2013, 70–73; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, 1:154–160 and Burkert 2005, 9.

119 For inspired mediums, see n. 128.

120 As can be seen in Plutarch's reference to incubation by an ephor at Pasiphae's shrine, this participle could be used for the practice, but the context in that case renders the prefix unnecessary (συνέβη ... τῶν ἐφόρων ἓνα κοιμώμενον ἐν Πασιφάας ὄναρ ἰδεῖν θαυμαστόν) (Plut., *Vit. Cleom.* 7.2 (= *Agis et Cleom.* 28.2)); for the shrine, see Chapter 5.3).

121 For Vespasian's visit, see pp. 338–339; for Alexander at Siwa, see pp. 579–580, 583–584. The echoes of the Alexander episode seen in the accounts of Vespasian's consultation, which did not involve incubation, are discussed in Henrichs 1968, 55–61 and Luke 2010, 81–82. While Henrichs may be right to suggest that Vespasian himself engaged in incubation

a curule chair found in the area of the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* and dating to the Severan Period bears a dedicatory inscription by a “site administrator and voicer of sacred matters of lord Sarapis” (ἐπιμελητῆς τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἱερόφωνος τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος), which possibly indicates a role in issuing Sarapis’s oracles.¹²² Literary evidence for the Canopus *Sarapieion* is no less problematic, since Strabo’s brief discussion of the sanctuary may indicate that the god both healed and delivered oracles, though as noted above the text is corrupt and may be lacking a reference to “oracles”: “There are some who document the cures, and others the wonders of the site’s oracles” (συγγράφουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπειάς, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων).¹²³ As with the evidence for Alexandria, the “oracles” could have been obtained through incubation, but some other oracular medium seems more likely, especially since the use of the term λόγια in association with divinatory incubation was exceedingly

on this occasion (*ibid.*, 61–62), this would not necessarily indicate that ordinary people would do so there.

- 122 *IAlexImp* 44 + Pl. 24. The precise responsibility of a ἱερόφωνος has been the subject of some debate, with the standard dictionary definition being “utterer of oracles” (*LSJ*, p. 823 + *Suppl.*, p. 157), but other possibilities have been suggested, including reciter of sacred texts and songs (*IGPortus*, p. 40) and, most recently, *interpreter* of oracles (*RICIS* II, p. 597). To these might be added another possibility, though one similar to the standard definition: the term may have applied to those who consulted Sarapis on behalf of inquirers and conveyed his responses, as quite possibly was done on Delos by the individual who “was serving as site administrator of the temple and asking for cures” (ἐπιμελομένου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰς θεραπειὰς αἰτοῦντος “Ὁρου τοῦ “Ὁρου Κασιώτου”) (*IDelos* 2116; quoted pp. 354–355). If either this suggestion or the “dictionary” definition is correct there would appear to be a similarity between this term and the comparably rare ἱερόγλωσσος (“of prophetic tongue”) used only by Pausanias (Paus. 6.17.6), as was first suggested by A.-J. Letronne (*CIG* III, p. 332). (The claim by Wilhelm Hornbostel and later François Kayser that this title must refer to one who delivered the god’s oracles from hiding through a statue can be dismissed outright: not only is there less evidence for oracles issued in this manner than has been recognized, but the very nature of such a subterfuge would hardly be consistent with an individual who served as the god’s secret impersonator shattering the illusion by publicly identifying himself as such (Hornbostel 1973, 236–237; *IAlexImp*, p. 166; for voice-oracles in Egypt, see Appendix 11.3). Moreover, as the comments of Dio Chrysostom discussed above demonstrate, Sarapis’s oracles were *known* to be spoken aloud by men, and while his use of the term κληδών may only refer to chance utterances (*i.e.*, kledonomanancy), the passage suggests the possibility of oracular statements spoken deliberately by those serving the god at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, and perhaps other sanctuaries (Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.13).)

- 123 Strabo 17.1.17, p. 801 (see n. 15).

rare.¹²⁴ Similarly, Plutarch referred to the Canopus sanctuary as an “oracle” (χρηστήριον), a generic term that was occasionally—but certainly not exclusively—applied to sanctuaries associated with divinatory incubation, apparently using as his source the lost Περὶ χρηστηρίων of Herakleides of Pontus.¹²⁵

The likelihood that Sarapis issued oracular responses through media other than dreams at Alexandria and Canopus is supported by a broad range of sources showing or suggesting that he did so at other sites both within and beyond Egypt:¹²⁶ in Oxyrhynchus “ticket” oracles of Zeus Helios Sarapis (*i.e.*, written inquiries presenting a god with a positive or negative question from which to choose) issued in the first and second centuries CE have been found;¹²⁷ according to Porphyry in his lost work *On Philosophy from Oracles*, Sarapis sometimes communicated through inspired mediums;¹²⁸ and, the Late Antique

124 The only such use is found in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (Philostr., VA 2.37.2; see pp. 312–313).

125 Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 27 (= *Mor.* 361E) (= Herakleides Pontikos, frag. 125, ed. Schütrumpf). For the term χρηστήριον, see p. 13.

126 This oracular function might also be inferred from the evidence, though limited, for the presence of *prophētai* in his cult, though their potential involvement in divination is unknown: a Greek inscription from Rome by an association of Sarapis worshipers honored one of its members, identifying him as a *prophētēs* (*IGUR* 1 77 (= *RICIS* 501/0118)), while a Greek dedication from Epiphaneia in Cilicia was made by a *prophētēs* of Theos Keraunios Helios Sarapis (*SEG* 54, 1501 (= *RICIS Suppl.* 1, 315/1401)). More ambiguous evidence is to be found in two *ostraka* from Mons Claudianus giving the name of a quarry as Χρησμοσάραπης, which would seem to imply either that the quarry belonged to the local temple of Sarapis and that the god issued oracles there, or that the quarry had been discovered because of an oracle (*O.Claud* IV 657–658). (For the problematic claim of a voice-oracle functioning at Mons Claudianus, see p. 586.)

127 *P.Oxy* VI 923 (= *PGM* LXXIV), VIII 1148 (= *PGM* XXXIb), VIII 1149 (= *PGM* XXXIC), IX 1213 (= *PGM* LXXIII), XLII 3078; cf. *P.Oxy* XXXI 2613 (based on an uncertain restoration of Helios Sarapis's name). *P.Oxy* XLII 3078 is of particular interest, since it concerns an individual who was asking Sarapis whether he should consult a physician at Hermoupolis about an eye ailment, rather than seek a cure from the god. See also *P.Münch* III 117, a Greek oracle question of unknown origin addressed to Isis, the Dioskouroi and Sarapis, and *P.Sarap* 83a, a letter instructing the recipient to consult “the god.” For oracle questions in Egypt, see pp. 96–97n.154; for Sarapis at Oxyrhynchus, see n. 17.

128 Firm. Mat., *Err. prof. rel.* 13.4–5 (= frag. 306, ed. Smith, *Porphyrii philosophi fragmenta*): “In the first part of the book, which is to say in the very beginning, he said: ‘Serapis, having been invoked and drawn into the body of a man, responded with the following’ . . . Your Serapis is invoked by a man and comes, and when he has come immediately upon command is confined within him, and the requirement to speak is perhaps mandated for him unwillingly.” (*In primis enim librorum partibus, id est in ipsis auspiciis positus, dixit: ‘Serapis vocatus et intra corpus hominis conlatus talia respondit.’* [5] . . . *Serapis tuus ab homine*

authors Macrobius and Eusebius preserve two verse oracles issued by Sarapis through an undisclosed medium at an unidentified location.¹²⁹ The medium and location for several other oracles attributed to Sarapis that have come down to us through a range of literary and miscellaneous manuscript sources are likewise unknown, but in at least some cases are unlikely to have been dreams:¹³⁰ an oracle preserved unlabeled among the “Tübingen Theosophical Oracles”;¹³¹ an oracle on a matter of spiritual purity labeled “Oracle of Sarapis for Timainetos”;¹³² an “Oracle of Sarapis” lacking any contextual information;¹³³ and, an oracle found in the works of multiple Byzantine writers that is said to have been given to “King Thoulis,” an Egyptian ruler first discussed in John Malalas’s sixth-century *Chronography* and thought to be a Christian fabrication, and thus is undoubtedly spurious.¹³⁴ A Severan-period dedicatory inscription to Sarapis from his Portus sanctuary identifying two ἱερόφωνοι, the same

vocatur et venit, et cum venerit statim iussus includitur, et loquendi necessitas nolenti forsitan imperatur.)

- 129 Macrobius provides an oracle for the Cypriot king Nikokreon, an ally of Alexander the Great and later Ptolemy I, the authenticity of which has been debated (Macrob., *Sat.* 1.20.16–17 (= *Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 186, ed. Cougny = Merkelbach 2001b, 74–75, §131); see Van den Broek 1978). Although the medium of communication is not specified, it has been suggested that the oracle would have been issued through a dream (see Vidman 1970, 28 and Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 55–56; cf. Fraser 1960, 46, on the oracular sanctuaries possibly consulted). Eusebius also provides a verse oracle attributed to Sarapis, which he copied from Porphyry’s lost work on oracles, but stripped it of historical context (Euseb., *Praep. Ev.* 5.13.1 (= frag. 318, ed. Smith, *Porphyrii philosophi fragmenta*; also published as *Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 189, ed. Cougny)).
- 130 In addition to those listed here, there is an oracle that is generally associated with Apollo but was included among the Sarapis oracles found in the appendix to the *Palatine Anthology* reproducing metrical oracles, perhaps by error (*Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 185, ed. Cougny, re-edited as *Theosophia Tubingensis* 26, p. 17, ed. Erbse (= 23, p. 17, ed. Beatrice 2001)).
- 131 *Theosophia Tubingensis* 25, p. 17, ed. Erbse (= 22, p. 16, ed. Beatrice 2001); also published as *Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 184, ed. Cougny (= Merkelbach 2001b, 84–85, §147). On the *Theosophia*, see Robert (L.) 1968 and Beatrice 2001.
- 132 *Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 183, ed. Cougny (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 61 = Merkelbach 2001b, 85, §148); quoted p. 211n.229.
- 133 *Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 187, ed. Cougny (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 62 = Merkelbach 2001b, 85, §149).
- 134 *Anth.Pal.*, App. 6, No. 188, re-edited as *Thesauri Minores* x₁₅, p. 116, ed. Erbse (= *Theosophia Tubingensis* 49, p. 24, ed. Beatrice 2001); for Thoulis, see Garstad 2014.

term found in the dedicatory inscription from the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, may also be pertinent.¹³⁵

Further evidence for Sarapis's wide repute as an oracular god can be seen in the two alphabet oracles, one found at a sacred grotto of the river god Eurymedon in Tymbria (Pisidia) and the other at a temple of Aphrodite in Soloi, which, without specifying the method for doing so, both instruct, "Demand an oracle from Sarapis, a truthful god" (Σάραπιν αἰτιοῦ χρησμὸν, ἀψευδῆ θεόν), using a term for "oracle" that could be used for dream-oracles but usually was not.¹³⁶ In addition, an astronomical papyrus from Saqqâra found among the papers of the Ptolemaios Archive features the phrases "Oracles (χρησμοί) of Sarapis" and "Oracles of Hermes" written following the names of the zodiacal signs—an apparent forerunner of the later Hermetic astrological works of the Imperial Period and thus unlikely to be linked to dream-oracles.¹³⁷ To these might be added a gemstone of unknown provenience, now lost, that featured Sarapis flanked by Aphrodite and Hermanubis, and was inscribed simply "According to an oracle" (κατὰ χρηματισμόν), presumably in reference to some form of revelation from Sarapis,¹³⁸ as well as an inscription from Stratonikeia that has been restored so that it records a command issued by Sarapis for the city to make an inquiry of Zeus Panamaros ([χρηστήριον Δ]ιδς Πα<ν>ημερίου·

135 *IGPortus* 17 (= *IG* XIV 914 = *RICIS* 503/1211 + Pl. 97). For ἱερόφωνος, see n. 122.

136 Tymbria: *AMNS* 46, l. 18 (= *SEG* 38, 1328 = *RICIS* 312/0201 = Nollé, *Losorakel*, 265–269, "Tim"). Soloi: *SEG* 18, 592, l. 20 (= *RICIS* 401/0603 = Nollé, *ibid.*, 269–276, "Sol"); for Aphrodite at Soloi, see Kleibl 2007*b*, 128–130. See Nollé, *ibid.*, 275 for examples of ἀψευδῆς being used for oracles and oracular gods (including Bes, whose "truthful" nature is discussed in Chapter 9.2).

137 Blass, *Eudoxi ars astronomica*, cols. xxiii, l. 16 and xxiv, l. 5 (Sarapis), col. xxiv, l. 7 (Hermes) (= *P.Paris* 1). See Thompson (D.) 1987, 107–108 and Thompson (D.) 2012, 234–236, and Legras 2011, 244–252 (with discussion of this section and its possible interpretations at pp. 249–251). This papyrus represents the oldest illustrated Greek manuscript, while the treatise itself is attributed to Eudoxos of Knidos by an introductory epigram with an acrostic reading ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΗ, but is not believed to be his work. Given the document's nature, its "oracles" cannot be attributed to a particular sanctuary, though the prominence of Osorapis/Sarapis and Thoth/Hermes Trismegistos at Saqqâra argues for a local origin. For the Ptolemaios Archive, see Chapter 7.1.

138 Veymiers, *Sérapis gemmes*, 339, No. V.BCB 11 + Pl. 57, cf. pp. 155–158 & Veymiers, *Sérapis gemmes, Suppl.* 11, p. 211 (= Mastrocinque, *SGG* 1, 186, No. 60); cf. Mastrocinque 2009, 56. The formula κατὰ χρηματισμόν could be used for any form of revelation, including dreams (as will be discussed in Renberg (in preparation), *a* & *b*). Another gem, this one lacking an inscription, has been thought to indicate Sarapis's oracular powers because, in addition to Isis, he is shown alongside Apollo, though this conclusion is uncertain (Veymiers, *ibid.*, 332, No. V.BBC 5 + Pl. 55, cf. pp. 144–145).

[ἡ πόλις, ὡς ἐκέλευσε] | καὶ Σέ[ρα]πιδι, ἐρωτᾷ...).¹³⁹ Since the evidence that Sarapis did communicate through different oracular media is quite clear and widespread, there should be little doubt that his worshipers at Canopus and Alexandria would seek oracles from him regularly, and that this need not always have been done through dream-divination.¹⁴⁰

Just as the evidence for Sarapis issuing oracles through media other than dreams calls into question the extent to which references to his “oracles” should be read as dream-oracles, Isis likewise appears to have been communicating through multiple media, and therefore, like Sarapis, she cannot be conclusively linked to divinatory incubation at any site where she had an oracular function regardless of the general but limited evidence for her appearing in or sending dreams.¹⁴¹ Despite being long valued for her oracular powers, there is little evidence to support a conclusion that worshipers could engage in divinatory incubation at temples of Isis in Egypt. The Ḥor Archive indicates that at Saqqâra dream-oracles could be solicited from Isis, at least by someone serving her cult,¹⁴² though the clearest example of her communicating with Ḥor in his dreams cannot be demonstrably linked to incubation and describes

139 *I.Stratonikeia* II.1, 1103, ll. 1–2 (= *RICIS* 305/0505).

140 *P.Yale* I 42, a source previously treated as potential evidence for Sarapis’s oracle at Alexandria, can now be excluded: although Fraser and its editors had speculated that a letter from the Leon Archive referred to repeated consultations of “the god” (l. 9), Willy Clarysse has reexamined the papyrus and corrected the reading, which turns out to make no mention of either oracular consultations or Sarapis (Fraser 1972, 11:408–409n.538; Clarysse 2009, 165–166).

141 In addition to the clear reference to Isis’s appearances in therapeutic dreams in Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 1.25.2–5; quoted pp. 360–362), see, e.g., Pausanias’s report about Isis’s worshipers at Tithorea only being able to enter her inner shrine if summoned to do so in a dream (Paus. 10.32.13) and the dedication to her made κατ’ ἑραμα at Delos (*I.Delos* 2114 (= *RICIS* 202/0233)). Isis apparently would also sometimes appear in dreams, or at least communicate through them, in works of fiction: for example, in addition to the dream-epiphanies of Isis in Book 11 of Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* (Apul., *Met.* 3–6, 19.2, 22.2–4, 26.1, 29; see Annequin 1996, 179–188, Hunink 2006, 26–29, and Bradley 2012, 209–211), she is briefly mentioned in the *Dream of Nektanebos* (*UPZ* I 81; see pp. 445–446), and also appears in a pivotal waking vision in the *Life of Aesop* (Anon., *Vit. Aesopi* §§6–7, ed. Perry). For the epigraphical sources recording dreams and divine commands from the Egyptian gods, see Renberg (forthcoming), *b*.

142 *O.Hor* 10; see p. 622n.7. For another *ostrakon* from the archive possibly indicating that Ḥor had engaged in therapeutic incubation on the queen’s behalf, *O.Hor* 28, see p. 445. Whether Isis would have been consulted at her temple complex in the necropolis is uncertain: the apparent reference to an oracle of Thoth at the end of this text (ll. 19–21) raises the possibility that Ḥor might have been at the Ibis Galleries instead.

a dream received while he was serving Isis at his native town of Pi(?)–Thoth in 167/6 BCE rather than Saqqâra.¹⁴³ In neither of these cases is there clear evidence for divinatory incubation, as is also the case with Isis's famous sanctuary at Menouthis.¹⁴⁴ At this site, which some of the Christian sources fancifully describe as having been swallowed up by sand and sea as the result of the Alexandrian bishop Cyril eliminating her worship there,¹⁴⁵ Isis was described as “an impure demon appearing in female form and causing many visions, and seeming to be speaking many oracles possessing no truth, and indicating prescriptions of certain medicines that were utterly useless” (δαίμων ἀκάθαρτος ἐπεφάνετο ἐν εἶδει θηλείας ποιῶν φαντασίας πολλὰς, καὶ μαντείας δοκῶν λέγειν μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπιταγὰς τινῶν φαρμάκων τερατευόμενος, μηδὲν παντάπασιν ὠφελῶν), according to one of these works, the anonymous *1st Life* of the saints Cyrus and John.¹⁴⁶ Though ostensibly evidence for divinatory incubation at the Menouthis *Isieion*, the source, one of the two anonymous *Lives* of the saints John and Cyrus, is too late to be considered reliable. Similarly, another Christian source that possibly represents indirect evidence for therapeutic incubation in Isis's cult at Menouthis may reveal that divinatory incubation was practiced there as well, but since significant questions have been raised regarding the overall reliability of the source, Zacharias Scholasticus's *Life of Severus*, no conclusions about the possibility of obtaining dream-oracles

143 *O.Hor* 9. Damage to the text has rendered some elements of the dream unclear, but it appears to have featured both Harpokrates and Isis, with the latter urging him to relocate to the Memphis area. Ray speculatively suggested that Ὡρ slept in the *mammisi* (i.e., her “birth house”) based on the text's damaged first line (*O.Hor*, p. 46n.b), but in his review of Ray's volume Karl-Theodor Zauzich corrected *n: w'b.t* (“the sanctuaries”) to *n: hrw-5-ḥb* (“the 5 festival days”) (*Enchoria* 8 (1978), 96, on *recto*, ll. 1, 4; cf. *BLDem*, p. 416), eliminating this possibility—but also opening a new possibility, that the dream was yet another example of incubation during a festival (see Appendix xv). For the problems associated with identifying Pi(?)–Thoth, see *O.Hor*, pp. 117–118.

144 For Isis at Menouthis as well as the patristic sources pertaining to her cult's survival into Late Antiquity, see pp. 369–377.

145 Sophr., *Pan.* §29 (see also §24) and Sophr., *Thaum.* 66.1; *PG* 87.3, 3693B–3696C (*1st Life*). According to the first anonymous *Life* of the saints Cyrus and John, by introducing their worship Cyril banished the demon, causing the temple's miraculous destruction (*PG* 87.3, 3696B–C). On this demon, see Gasco 2007, 248, 264.

146 *PG* 87.3, 3693B. Epiphanies of Isis were also referred to as φαντασίαι by two of the other patristic sources for Menouthis: Sophronios does so in his *Panegyric* (Sophr., *Pan.* §29), while the Syriac translation of Zacharias's *Life of Severus* maintains the Greek φαντασία in reference to a demon clearly associated with Isis being expected to appear in response to supplications and sacrifices (Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, p. 21, ed. Kugener 1907).

from Isis at Menouthis should be based on it.¹⁴⁷ Also problematic is that the Oxyrhynchus Isis aretalogy recognizes Isis of Menouthis for her “truthfulness,” which might implicitly reveal that she had an oracular function there through an unspecified medium, though it is also possible that Isis at Menouthis was linked to the Egyptian goddess Maat, who was associated with truth as well as order and balance.¹⁴⁸

Regardless of whether Isis had an oracle at Menouthis, there is good evidence for her issuing oracles—through media other than dreams—elsewhere in Egypt. For example, at an unknown site in the Fayoum Isis was issuing “ticket” oracles during the Roman Period, as is revealed by an inquiry from the second or third century CE regarding whether she had caused her worshiper’s

147 Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, pp. 19–22, ed. Kugener 1907 (see n. 103). The relevant episode in this early-sixth century CE work concerns Paralios, the younger brother of Athanasius and later a participant in that shrine’s destruction around 486 CE after the wife of his associate, the philosopher Asklepiodotos, became pregnant following the latter’s consultation at Menouthis (see pp. 374–377). According to Zacharias, who is the only source for these events, Paralios had once been at Menouthis and received a dream from Isis in which she warned him that a classmate was a “magician.” When his classmate claimed to have received the same dream but that it had named *Paralios* as a magician he decided to interrogate the goddess, and over several days at the Menouthis shrine Paralios made the customary offerings for receiving an oracle, but the reticent goddess failed to appear to him, which became an important factor in his subsequent conversion to Christianity. Although Zacharias does not state it explicitly, it appears that Paralios’s initial dream—and perhaps that of his classmate as well—was received through incubation at Menouthis, as can be inferred from the description of his return to Menouthis to engage in incubation regarding the meaning of the original dream-oracle. If this was so, it would represent a rare instance of two individuals engaging in divinatory incubation for the same purpose. (For another example, albeit involving three men, see the discussion of Hyperides at p. 391; see also n. 155 on the possibly spurious account of Alexander the Great’s generals inquiring of “Sarapis” through incubation regarding how to save their dying commander.) For the life of Paralios, see: Roueché 1989, 85–86, 91; Trombley 1994, 11:4–15 *et pass.*; Haas (C.) 1997, 187–188, 239–240; and Watts 2005 and Watts 2010, 1–16. As noted above, Gascoü has prepared an article questioning the evidence for an oracle of Isis at Menouthis in Late Antiquity (see n. 85).

148 *P.Oxy* XI 1380, l. 63; quoted p. 370. Such language echoes the references to Bes’s characteristic truthfulness in the graffiti from Abydos (τὸν πανταληθῆ . . . θεόν), but since these same graffiti refer to him as both an “oracle-giver” (χρησμοδότης) and “dream-giver” (ὄνειροδότης), showing the same distinction made by Dio Chrysostom regarding Sarapis (Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.12; see pp. 380–381), the aretalogy may well have been alluding to a non-incubatory oracle. (I am grateful to Joachim F. Quack, who points to the reference to Maat as the *ka* (i.e., an abstract force) of Hathor in *Edfou* 1.3, 341, l. 6, for the suggestion that the aretalogy may allude to an association of Isis with Maat rather than an active oracle.)

illness and would restore him or her to health,¹⁴⁹ while an inscribed base from Antinoopolis records the request of two worshippers of Isis Thermouthis that she give them an oracle (χρηματιση),¹⁵⁰ a fragmentary temple account thought to be from the sanctuary that Isis Nepherses shared with Soknopaios at Soknopaiou Nesos records an expenditure apparently related to oracular practices,¹⁵¹ the Oxyrhynchus aretalogy refers to Isis being an “oracle-giver” (χρησµωδός) at Xoïs,¹⁵² and a Demotic letter from early Ptolemaic times was written by an official to a friend at Elephantine asking him to inquire of Isis regarding whom he should marry.¹⁵³ Therefore, it is impossible to be certain that the Menouthis *Isieion* offered dream-oracles as well as therapeutic dreams—or, at least, did so before Late Antiquity—and likewise impossible to point with certainty to a sanctuary of Isis in Egypt that was known primarily for divinatory incubation. It is, of course, certainly plausible that it was being practiced at Menouthis and perhaps other sites as well, and this may have been the meaning of a cryptic line in the Oxyrhynchus aretalogy stating that “The ones who call upon you in faithfulness see you,”¹⁵⁴ but the lack of evidence undermines any conclusion that this was the case.

Outside of Egypt, the evidence for divinatory incubation at sanctuaries of Sarapis and Isis is even more sketchy.¹⁵⁵ The two certainly continued to

149 SB XII 11226: κυρία Εἴσι· εἰ ἔξοῦ (= ἐκ σοῦ) | μοι γέγονεν ὁ | πόνος καὶ θερα|πείαν μοι διδοῖς, | ποίησόν μοι τοῦ|το ἀναχθῆναι. For Sarapis ticket oracles see p. 383, and for Egyptian oracle questions in general, see pp. 96–97n.154.

150 *I.Portes* 3. While the term χρηματιση could refer to a dream-oracle, the fact that two people are involved suggests some other divinatory method as more likely, though it is certainly possible for two or more individuals to seek a dream-oracle on the same matter, as noted just above.

151 *P.Aberdeen* 62, l. 5. See Bricault 1998, 528. On the sanctuary and the evidence for the two divinities healing there, see n. 6.

152 *P.Oxy* XI 1380, ll. 42–43.

153 P.Berlin ÄM P. 13538, ed. Zauzich, *P.BerlDem* 1; translation and commentary *P.ElephEng* C16 (C.J. Martin).

154 *P.Oxy* XI 1380, ll. 152–153 (see n. 67). If the phrase does pertain to incubation it could just as easily apply to seeking therapeutic dreams from the goddess.

155 Perhaps the sketchiest evidence is the story preserved in the works of Arrian and Plutarch regarding the generals of the terminally ill Alexander the Great having engaged in incubation at the temple of “Sarapis” in Babylon in order to learn from the god whether he might be saved by being brought there (Arr., *Anab.* 7.26.2; cf. Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 76.9; cited by Wacht 1997, 199). This episode is obviously anachronistic, since the god did not exist at the time, and while Wilcken may be correct that Marduk was instead intended (*UPZ* 1, pp. 79–82), or perhaps another god was being identified with Sarapis (see Heller 2010,

communicate to their worshipers in foreign lands through dreams, as is indicated by the official presence of dream interpreters at Delos and other sites, but these dreams were not necessarily received through incubation.¹⁵⁶ After all, adherents of the Egyptian cults often thought themselves to have received unsolicited dreams from one or more of these divinities: most famously, the first *Sarapieion* on the island of Delos was established by a priest who received a dream instructing him to do so,¹⁵⁷ and such dreams are also mentioned in literature.¹⁵⁸ A more ambiguous situation, in which dreams may have been solicited from Sarapis, is to be found in the spread of his cult to Opous because an individual from that city named Xenainetos slept at or near Thessalonika's Egyptian sanctuary and received two identical dreams in which the god stated his wish to be received and worshiped at a private house there.¹⁵⁹ Although the details surrounding this episode are unknown because of the bad condition

413–414), the entire affair may well be fictitious. On this episode, see also Quack 2013*b*, 229–230; cf. Boiy 2004, 75. (According to Arrian, the generals—whether just one or all of them is not stated—received an oracle saying that Alexander should not be brought to the temple, and the use of the term φήμη (“oracular utterance”) raises the possibility that despite the apparent reference to incubation (ἐγκοιμηθέντα) some other form of divination was involved, though it is at least as likely that a dream-oracle received by each of the generals was the intended meaning.)

- 156 One ambiguous situation is to be found in Artemidorus's account of a sick man who prayed to Sarapis for a dream indicating whether he would live or die and subsequently envisioned the god together with Cerberus—an account that does not indicate whether the man was in Egypt or not, nor whether his prayer was made before a night of incubation, but since the man was seeking a dream-oracle concerning his illness there is a good chance that he was at a sanctuary (Artem. 5.92; see Barrigón Fuentes 1994, 42–43).
- 157 *IG* XI.4, 1299 (= *RICIS* 202/0101 + Pl. 39). See Engelmann 1975 and Moyer 2008 on the text, and Moyer 2011, 142–207 (with text and translation at pp. 282–286) for the most extensive discussion. Since before establishing the first *Sarapieion* the priest and Sarapis's other followers had worshiped the god at his dwelling it could be argued that this dream of Sarapis was received in the equivalent to a sanctuary, but the fact remains that the dream was received in a private residence, albeit one with a domestic shrine, and thus was different from incubation in at least some respects.
- 158 See especially Aristides's dreams of the Egyptian gods (Aristid., *Or.* 49.45–48). Pausanias's aforementioned reference to dreams received by Isis's worshipers at Tithorea may pertain to unsolicited dreams, though the passage is ambiguous (Paus. 10.32.13). More notably, Artemidorus's study of dreams shows that the Egyptian gods, like their Greek peers, would appear in dreams that for the most part would have been unsolicited (*e.g.*, Artem. 2.39 (p. 228, ed. Harris-McCoy), 5.26, 5.93; see Barrigón Fuentes 1994, especially pp. 40–42, and Prada 2015, 279–282).
- 159 *IG* X.2, 1, 255 + Pl. 10 (= *RICIS* 113/0536 + Pl. 26, cf. *RICIS Suppl.* 11, p. 280), believed to be a Roman-era copy of a Hellenistic original. See Sokolowski 1974, 441–445 and Moyer 2011,

of the marble tablet, it appears unlikely that this man was engaging in incubation, since the partly preserved opening lines indicate that he was in Thessalonika for some sort of embassy and received the dreams while spending the night at an οἶκος, which could refer not only to a small room devoted to incubation, but also a building devoted to visitors' lodgings or the hall in which a religious association would meet.¹⁶⁰ Thus while it is possible that Xenainetos's embassy involved engaging in incubation it may be that his purpose in coming to Thessalonika and the dreams he received were unrelated; on the other hand, just as the three members of the Athenian delegation discussed by Hyperides a century or two earlier had each sought a dream-oracle at the Oropos *Amphiareion* to resolve a dispute,¹⁶¹ it is possible that Xenainetos (and perhaps others accompanying him) had engaged in incubation in order to resolve the unstated dispute with his rival Eurynomos, to whom he was told to deliver a message from Sarapis.¹⁶²

Regardless of Xenainetos's circumstances, there is good evidence from dedicatory inscriptions that visitors could receive oracles through one or more media at both this sanctuary and the three Delian *Sarapieia*. At the Egyptian sanctuary in Thessalonika, 10 out of 40 dedications with complete or nearly complete texts refer to dreams or divine commands, while at Delos this is true of 42 out of 162 dedications—a percentage so high that it can only signal that each site had an oracular function.¹⁶³ Unfortunately, these dedications employ

168–169. For the Thessalonika sanctuary, see Kleibl 2009, 204–207, Cat. No. 8, and Voutiras 2005 on its early history and private status.

160 Those who have associated the episode with incubation include Sokolowski 1974, 442, Bricault 1997, 118 and Bricault 2008b, 52. For the apparent use of οἶκος to refer to an association of *hieraphoroi* at Thessalonika through metonymy with their banqueting hall, see *IG* x.2, 1, 58 (= *RICIS* 113/0530 + Pl. 24, with commentary at p. 147). See also the inscription from Hyampolis in Phokis recording the dedication to the Egyptian gods of a *propylon*, stoas and *oikoi* by a priest (*IG* ix.1, 89 (= *RICIS* 106/0301)). For the use of the term “*oikos*” at Delos, including at the *Sarapieia*, see Hellmann 1992, 298–304 (especially pp. 302–303).

161 Hyperid. 4.14–18. See p. 311.

162 This suggestion is, of course, highly speculative, and partly depends on the *Sarapieion* having had a sufficiently high reputation as an oracular site, and for the people of Opous to have found it acceptable for an official delegation to be sent to a private sanctuary for a consultation.

163 The more than 1300 Greek and Latin dedications made because of a “dream,” “command,” “advice,” and so forth represent 5% of the total number of surviving inscribed dedications, so when 25% of the dedications from a sanctuary employ such language it is a telltale sign that the god or gods issued oracles there in some manner. Other than Delos, the sanctuaries with the highest percentage of such dedications are the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos at Hierapolis (27%), and the *Asklepieia* of Pergamon (18.5%) and Epidauros (13.5%).

formulaic language that makes it impossible to determine whether incubation was involved: the Thessalonika dedications break down evenly between those employing *κατ' ὄναρ* or *κατ' ὄνειρον* and those with *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* or *κατ' ἐπιταγήν*, which suggests a possible link to incubation in at least some cases, but at Delos the more ambiguous formula *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* is used almost exclusively, making it impossible to determine the oracular medium.¹⁶⁴ While there are plenty of other Greek and Latin dedications to the Egyptian gods from throughout the Mediterranean world that employ such formulas, at no other site have enough been preserved for a statistically meaningful analysis, though it is likely that Delos and Thessalonika did not have the only two oracular sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods outside of Egypt.¹⁶⁵ One or more of these may well have served those seeking dream-oracles specifically, but there remains no reliable evidence for this.

6.6 Conclusion

Overall, it is beyond doubt that Sarapis and Isis were believed to communicate regularly through dreams concerning matters unrelated to health both in and outside of Egypt, but it is unclear how often such dreams were received through incubation rather than privately. Similarly, the two were often called upon by the sick for help, and it is likely that therapeutic dreams played a greater and more widespread role in their treatments than the surviving sources reveal.

(This will be explored further in Renberg (forthcoming), *b* and Renberg (in preparation), *a* and *b*.)

164 As discussed above, there is evidence for dream interpreters and possibly priestly incubation at Delos, which makes it seem likely that at least some of the *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* dedications were linked to some form of incubation or else dream-divination that did involve soliciting dreams at a *Sarapieion*.

165 One such site may have been the Egyptian sanctuary at Eretria, where a dedication featuring the formula *κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* was found (IG XII, *Suppl.* 571 (= *RICIS* 104/0103 + Pl. 13)). Since *μαντεία* was not normally used in dedications referring to divine communications such as dreams or omens received by individuals, and in this case was being used for a cult-related matter, it is likely to refer to an oracle issued by Sarapis at the sanctuary. There is no reason to conclude, as Bruneau did, that the inscription alludes to a dream or represents evidence for incubation (Bruneau 1975, 74, 137). (The inscription is somewhat ambiguous, since the oracle in question either designated an individual named Phantias son of Iason, a hereditary priest, or prompted two groups of the god's worshipers to honor this priest: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν | μελανηφόρων | καὶ ὑποστόλων | στεφανοὶ Φανίαν |⁵ Ἰάσονος τὸν ἱερὴ|τεύσαντα ἐγ γένους | κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν | τοῦ θεοῦ. || Ἰσίδωρος ζάκωρος.)

This appears to have been especially true of Sarapis, whose miraculous cures involving dreams were attested not only in Egypt, but also in Varro's treatment of the Athenian *Sarapieion*, and in sources not specifying a sanctuary. The aretalogical tales like those preserved in Aelian and alluded to by other authors make clear that there was a large literature associated with Sarapis's feats circulating by Roman times, but since all but a few tantalizing bits and pieces are lost it is impossible to determine with which cult sites they were associated. Isis, in turn, though clearly a healing and oracular goddess, comes off more poorly in terms of surviving sources for therapeutic incubation, and the evidence for divinatory incubation is even more problematic. This is especially true of the site most associated with incubation in her cult, Menouthis, since the reliability of the oft-cited patristic sources has now been called into question. Therefore, those who suspect that divinatory and therapeutic incubation were commonly practiced at numerous sanctuaries of Sarapis and Isis may be correct, but pending future discoveries it should not be concluded with confidence that this was so.

Saqqâra and the “House of Osiris-Apis”

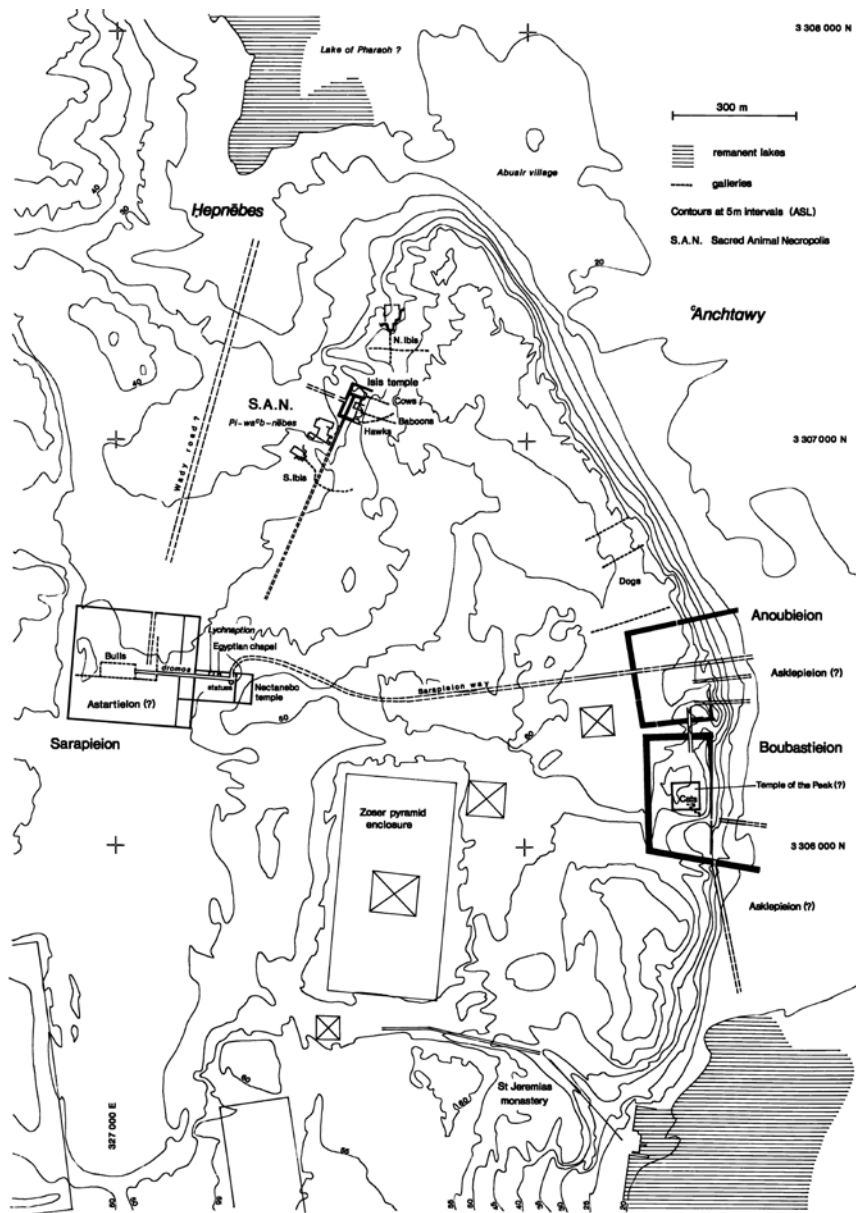
7.1 Introduction to Saqqâra’s Temple Complexes and the Archives of the “Recluse” Ptolemaios and Ḥor of Sebennytos

The most extensive, varied and detailed evidence for incubation of any site in Egypt comes from one of Egypt’s most important religious centers beginning in the Saite Period (664–525 BCE): the group of temple complexes in the Memphite necropolis at Saqqâra that were primarily dedicated to divinized sacred animals and their associated gods and also included an important temple of Imhotep (Plan 15).¹ The most famous of these complexes were Imhotep’s temple, which became a major healing center, and the “Memphis *Sarapieion*,” which was neither in Memphis nor a typical *Sarapieion*, but rather was primarily devoted to the burials of the Osirified (*i.e.*, divinized) Apis bulls venerated in that city.² Situated atop a bluff some distance beyond the Phchêt canal that ran beyond western edge of Memphis, Saqqâra required at least an hour of travel to reach it from the city. In addition to the Djoser Step Pyramid and other funerary monuments from earlier millennia, one who had ascended from the valley and reached the top of the bluff in Ptolemaic or Roman times would not have seen a Greek-style sanctuary of Sarapis like the one at Alexandria, but rather an assortment of traditional Egyptian temple complexes, most of which were associated with catacombs in which millions of sacred animals were entombed.³ The cult of the Osirified bulls, each worshiped as Osorapis

1 An earlier and briefer—and now obsolete—overview of the subjects discussed in this chapter has appeared in the proceedings of the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Papyrology (Renberg 2010a). That article is only cited below when there is a correction necessary. As is indeed necessary for this paragraph: the discussion here regarding how the different complexes and groups of complexes at Saqqâra were referred to in antiquity corrects some of what was mistakenly written in that article, in addition to incorporating more recent scholarship.

2 The sanctuary in Greek sources was usually referred to as either “the *Sarapieion* in Memphis” (τὸ πρὸς Μέμφει Σαραπιεῖον, τὸ ἐν Μέμφει Σαραπιεῖον) or, more often, “the great *Sarapieion* in Memphis” (τὸ πρὸς Μέμφει μεγάλος Σαραπιεῖον, τὸ ἐν Μέμφει μεγάλος Σαραπιεῖον).

3 The main studies of the multiple cult sites at Saqqâra in terms of its topography and physical remains as well as evidence for worship there are: *UPZ* 1, pp. 7–95 (cf. 643–646); Guilmoit 1962; Ray 1972; Smith (H.) 1974, 21–63; *O.Hor*, pp. 146–154 *et pass.*; Kessler 1989, 56–150; Davies/Smith 1997; Nicholson 2005; Thompson (D.) 2012, 17–28, 197–246 *et pass.*; cf. Bottigelli 1941,



PLAN 15 *Saqqâra, showing Sarapieion (Osorapis complex) at left and Sacred Animal Necropolis (ibis, baboon, falcon/hawk and cow catacombs) to the north.*
SOURCE: COURTESY OF DOROTHY J. THOMPSON

(i.e., Osiris-Apis, alternately referred to as Apis-Osiris) upon its death and subsequent entombment, was predominant at Saqqâra—and had been since the New Kingdom—due to the prominence of Apis in Memphis.⁴ Their large complex was thus known as the “House of Osiris-Apis” (*Pr-Wsir-Ḥp*),⁵ and in Greek as the “*Sarapieion*” due to its association with Sarapis, though all indications are that this Hellenized god was of secondary importance to the native Osorapis.⁶ Included in the complex were a temple to the god built by Nektanebos II, a statue-lined *dromos*,⁷ the bull catacombs, and other shrines

21–49 and Smith (H.) 1983. Legras 2011 is primarily focused on the “recluse” phenomenon at Saqqâra, but explores numerous other aspects of religious life there. The catacombs and their associated temple complexes have been the subject of an ongoing series of archaeological reports: Martin (G.) 1981; Jeffreys/Smith 1988; Davies/Smith 2005; Davies 2006; Smith/Davies/Frazer 2006. (To these will be added volumes prepared by Paul Nicholson on the North Ibis Complex and Catacomb and on the Dog Catacomb.) Three recent corpora devoted to the papyri, inscriptions, graffiti and *ostraka* unearthed at Saqqâra also feature essential topographical discussions (*P.DemMemphis*, pp. 47–52; Ray, *Texts*, pp. 6–11, 224–228; Smith/Andrews/Davies, *Mother of Apis Inscriptions*, pp. 3–11), while the fourth and most recent corpus does not have a separate discussion but does contain valuable topographical information (Ray, *Demotic Texts*).

- 4 In Egyptian religion sacred animals that had been mummified were associated with the Underworld god Osiris and thus considered “Osirified,” as was also true for people (see p. 515n.82). On the cult of Apis—both living and dead—see Thompson (D.) 2012, 178–192, and for the development of Osorapis’s cult at Saqqâra see Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 65–69 *et pass.*, Devauchelle 2012, 218–219 *et pass.*, and Quack 2013b (as well as its twin article, Paarmann 2013, 75–77). For the issue of Osiris-Apis and Apis-Osiris being indistinct, see Devauchelle 2010, 51–55.
- 5 The Demotic element *Pr-* (“house, domain”) in this context, as with other animal cult sites for divinized animals, referred to the whole complex and thus both its various aboveground and underground structures, while for catacombs themselves the term ‘wy (n) *ḥtp* (“house-of-rest”) was applied (see *CDD*, s.v. “*pr*” and “‘wy *ḥtp*”).
- 6 For the sources in Demotic and hieratic, see Verreth, *Toponyms*, 581–584, s.v. “Serapeum.” It is certain that the term “House of Osiris-Apis” was used for the complex devoted to the Apis bulls and surrounding settlement, but this name may have applied informally to the other complexes as well, though to what extent remains unknown. Some Demotic texts from the site collectively refer to an associated zone of complexes by the name Ḥepnēbes, which appears to have been largely distinct from the “House of Osiris-Apis,” but its precise extent likewise is unknown (see below). The one Greek instance of *Pr-Wsir-Ḥp*, transliterated as Ποσειδάπι, is in the late-fourth century BCE imprecatory text of a woman named Artemisia (*UPZ* 1 1, l. 7; see n. 29), which predates the establishment of Sarapis’s cult; afterwards, only Σαραπιεῖον appears. For the limited evidence of Sarapis’s worship at Saqqâra, see pp. 406–407.
- 7 See Thompson (D.) 2012, 24–26 *et pass.* and Verreth, *Toponyms*, 574–575, s.v. “Sarapidos Dromos.”

and structures, among them a shrine of the Phoenician goddess Astarte (*i.e.*, Ištar).⁸ Due east, at the opposite end of a road today known as the "Sarapieion Way" that leads from the *dromos*,⁹ were two large temple complexes roughly equal in size, the *Boubastieion* and *Anoubieion* (itself enclosing at least three temple complexes), which were devoted to the living and entombed cats and dogs of Bastet and Anubis, and also, most likely, the as yet undiscovered "Asklepieion" at which Imhotep was worshiped.¹⁰ Part or all of this eastern area was commonly identified not by reference to one or more of the individual complexes, but as the "Peak of Anchtawy" (*Thny n 'nh-t3.wy*), the exact boundaries of which are uncertain, since there are reasons to think either that it bordered upon or that it included one or more of these complexes; moreover, the full range of cults present at "the Peak" is unknown, as is the identification of the "Temple of the Peak of Anchtawy" (*hwt-ntr Thny n 'nh-t3.wy*).¹¹ Northeast of the *Sarapieion* was the Sacred Animal Necropolis, which encompassed multiple complexes that were comprised of temples and associated structures aboveground and sprawling catacombs underground, in which the ibises and baboons sacred to Thoth, falcons and hawks sacred to Horus,¹² and Mother-of-Apis cows associated with Isis were given burial after ritual embalming and divinization.¹³ With the exception of the ibis complexes, which both had their

8 Harry S. Smith has speculated that the reconstruction of the *Sarapieion* by Nektanebos I and Nektanebos II in the mid-fourth century BCE saw its transformation into an incubation and pilgrimage center (Smith (H.) 1983, 417), but as shown below there is insufficient evidence for incubation at the complex.

9 The ancient name for this road is unknown, though it is possible that the term *chefeteh* (*hft-hr*), typically employed for courtyards and ceremonial ways within a temple complex (see pp. 432–433), was also used for the road extending beyond the *Sarapieion*'s walls.

10 *Anoubieion*: see Cannata 2007, *P.DemMemphis*, 47–48 and Verreth, *Toponyms*, 151–153, s.v. "Anoubieion." (Excavators originally misidentified the site as the "Greek *Sarapeum*," a label used in numerous early works about Saqqâra and its finds.) *Boubasteion*: see Verreth, *ibid.*, 204, s.v. "Boubasteion." *Asklepieion*: see Sect. 7.4.

11 See *O.Hor*, pp. 150–151, *P.DemMemphis*, pp. 49–50, and Verreth, *Toponyms*, 142–144, s.v. "Anch-tawi."

12 See Ray, *Texts*, p. 222, noting that rather than falcons alone—the bird typically associated with Horus—there was a mixture of falcons and hawks worshiped and entombed at Saqqâra. For a passage in Aelian that might indicate that one could receive dream-oracles from the divinized birds at such a place, see p. 512n.75.

13 Demotic sources reveal the existence of two Isis cult sites in addition to the Mother-of-Apis complex: one, called P-chenti-Noun (*P3-hnty-Nwn*), that was located atop an unidentified hill within the *Sarapieion* on the north side of the *dromos* (Verreth, *Toponyms*, 465–466, s.v. "P-chenti-Noun"), and another, about which nothing is known, that is mentioned in a single document (*P.DemMemphis* 9, cf. p. 50).

own distinct identities, this zone was collectively called Ḥepnēbes (*Hp-nb=s*), and to the best of our knowledge was distinct from the “House of Osiris-Apis.”¹⁴ In addition, it is known that there was a “House of Osiris of Rutiset” (*Pr-Wsir-n-Rwt-īsw.t*) atop the bluff, revealed by surviving texts to have been a major complex but as yet unrevealed by the sands.¹⁵ Among these cult centers—and in some cases within the complexes themselves—were multiple communities in which those who served or worked at Saqqâra lived, and visitors and pilgrims could find lodging.¹⁶ These complexes also featured numerous small businesses that catered to worshipers who had trekked up the bluff.

The Saqqâra temple complexes are abundantly documented not only through their often extensive archaeological remains, but also through an unparalleled variety of inscriptions, graffiti, papyri and *ostraka* written primarily in Greek, Demotic, hieroglyphics, and Carian, and these documents have both illuminated the religious practices at Saqqâra and the lives of those dwelling there.¹⁷ Among these are the invaluable archives of the so-called “recluse” (ἐγκατοχός) Ptolemaios and scribe Ḥor of Sebennytos, two long-term residents of Saqqâra’s cult sites and devotees of gods worshiped there.¹⁸ The experiences of Ptolemaios during his years living at the *Sarapieion* as well as the activities of his younger brother Apollonios and two young, twin female wards named Taous and Tawe are richly documented by a substantial archive of

14 See O.Hor, p. 147 and Verreth, *Toponyms*, 303–304, s.v. “Hep-nebes.” The complexes for the baboons, falcons and cows would not have had their own names, as they were all within the Central Temple Enclosure; in contrast, the two ibis gallery complexes, one to the south and the other to the north, possibly had their own identities, Per-Thoth (*Pr-Dḥwtj*) and Per-wab-nebes (*Pr-wb-nb=s*) (see Verreth, *ibid.*, 532–533, s.v. “Per-Thoth” and 533–534, s.v. “Per-wab-nebes”).

15 See Devauchelle 1998, 598–600 and Devauchelle 2010, 49–50, *P.DemMemphis*, pp. 48–49, and Verreth, *Toponyms*, 570–572, s.v. “Rout-isout” and 455, s.v. “Osirieion.”

16 For the village settlements at Saqqâra, see Davies/Smith 1997, 120 and Thompson (D.) 2012, 23–24, 155–157; for the settlement at the *Anoubieion* specifically, see Cannata 2007. See also Macramallah 1940, 77, on the structures from the Greco-Roman Period, located in a middle-class cemetery of the 1st Dynasty, that appear to have housed locals or visitors, and presumably both. Among these structures was a large chamber that might have served as a public space or one for hosting pilgrims.

17 In addition to the papyri, *ostraka* and inscriptions that already fill several corpora (see n. 3), hundreds of documents remain unpublished, including more than 700 Demotic papyri and papyrus fragments as well as a small number of Demotic *ostraka*, with editions of a few dozen of the former being prepared for publication in the near future.

18 On the individuals dwelling at sanctuaries who were known as “recluses” (or, more accurately, “detainees”) as well as their possible link to dream interpretation, see pp. 731–733.

papyri written in his own hand or that of Apollonios during 168–152 BCE.¹⁹ These documents, the majority of which are in Greek, include five that record dreams, as well as several more summarizing or alluding to them, one of which even suggests that Ptolemaios’s ongoing presence at Saqqâra was prompted by dreams.²⁰ The documents in the Hôr Archive, which consists of

- 19 The Ptolemaios Archive, which covers most but not all of Ptolemaios’s stay at Saqqâra, received extensive treatment in Ulrich Wilcken’s edition (*UPZ* 1), which remains the most essential work on these documents. Several major studies have since been devoted to the archive or made abundant use of it, most notably Legras 2011 and Thompson (D.) 2012. On Ptolemaios’s life at Saqqâra and the dreamlife he and his contemporaries experienced, see: Delekat 1964, 126–155 *et pass.*; Lewis (N.) 1986, 74–87; Thompson, *ibid.*, 197–246 *et pass.*; Goudriaan 1988, 42–57; Chauveau 1997, 158–173 (pp. 123–124 of 2000 translation); Weber (G.) 1998, 30; Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 72–74; Ray 2002, 130–147 and Ray 2006a; Legras 2005 and Legras 2011, 169–189, 256–259 *et pass.* See also Kidd 2011, considering the language of the dreams and dream interpretation (but reaching a speculative overall conclusion), and Prada 2013, which effectively criticizes this study on a number of issues and undermines its thesis.
- 20 Ptolemaios Archive papyri providing detailed accounts of one or more dreams: *UPZ* 1 77, 78, and 79 (annotated translation in Quack 2008, 374–377, Nos. 4.9.1.3–4.9.1.5), and P.DemBologna 3171 and 3173, eds. Bresciani/Bedini/Paolini/Silvano 1978, cf. *BLDem*, p. 629; annotated and emended translation in Quack, *ibid.*, 373–374, Nos. 4.9.1.1–4.9.1.2). Papyri referring to or summarizing unrecorded dreams: *UPZ* 1 68 (*recto*, ll. 5–6), 69 (*recto*, l. 6), 70 (*recto*, ll. 11, 29–30; quoted n. 70), 80(?). Papyri with language possibly alluding to dreams: *UPZ* 1 18 (l. 30, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπειτάξαντος), 20 (l. 27, κατὰ πρόσταγμα δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ), 71 (ll. 2–4, τὰ παρὰ | τῶν θεῶν κατὰ λόγον σοι χρηματίζεται; see *UPZ* 1, pp. 68–69 and Legras 2011, 254). *UPZ* 1 18 is of particular significance, since this petition to the king written by Taous and Tawe refers to Ptolemaios as being a “recluse” because of the god’s command, suggesting that his long-term stay at Saqqâra had been prompted by a dream attributed to Sarapis, and this appears to be verified by the draft of a petition in which Ptolemaios himself wrote “Thanks to Sarapis I am unable to depart” ([ἐμοῦ δὲ χάρι]ν [τοῦ] Σαράπιος χωρισθῆναι | [οὐ δυναμένον]υ) (*UPZ* 1 4, *verso*, ll. 9–10); thus an oracle or dream-oracle from Sarapis appears to have been responsible for Ptolemaios’s situation. The preoccupation of Ptolemaios and his brother with dreams can also be inferred from the fact that when Apollonios was copying from the fictional *Dream of Nektanebos* (*UPZ* 1 81; see p. 90n.138) he stopped after the description of the pharaoh’s dream, apparently indicating that he did not care about the tale as a whole (see Koenen 1985, 193). For the dream-life of Ptolemaios and his family and associates, see below.

While there has been no mystery regarding the authorship and preparation of the Greek papyri, the Demotic papyri have been the subject of debate, both in terms of whose dreams they record and who wrote them: against Bresciani’s conclusions, especially that P.DemBologna 3173 is not related to the archive, see Goudriaan 1988, 43–46 and Legras 2005, 227–228; for Apollonios as their author, see Legras 2005 and Legras 2007, 259; and, for the handwriting itself likely being that of an Egyptian scribe rather than Apollonios,

just over seventy Demotic and Greek *ostraka* touching on events over a period of twenty-five years ending in 147 BCE, were all composed by Ḥor (Horus in the Greek texts), who originally had served concurrently both Isis as a gate-keeper/*pastophoros* (or in another low-level function) and Thoth's ibis cult in some unknown capacity at a town in the Sebennytyos nome, but who then relocated to Saqqâra in 167/6 BCE and devoted himself to serving Thoth as a scribe or secretary for the rest of his life, attributing this sudden change to dreams in which the god commanded him to do so and the goddess expressed her approval.²¹ Ḥor's dedication of his life to Thoth may be revealed by his preference for a new name that is found in several of the Demotic *ostraka*: Ḥarthoth (*Ḥr-Dḥwtj*), or "Ḥor (of) Thoth."²² The nature of this re-dedication, reflected in Ḥor's permanent residency at Saqqâra and his service at the cult complex known as the "House of Thoth" (*Pr-Dḥwtj*), inevitably has led to speculation that he may also have been one of the so-called "recluses" present

see Legras 2011, 233–234, with a discussion of the bilingualism of both Apollonios and Ptolemaios being strictly oral at pp. 279–280. See also Veisse 2007 for a significant study of Ptolemaios's ethnic self-identity, Legras 2007 for his linguistic milieu (with dream texts discussed at pp. 259–261), and Legras 2011, 231–235 for the issue of bilingualism in the papyri of Ptolemaios and Apollonios (the latter of whom is known to have also had an Egyptian name, Peteharenpi). Finally, five Demotic *ostraka* in the Hermitage Museum collection that record dreams used to be associated with the two Bologna Demotic papyri, but can no longer be linked to the Ptolemaios Archive (see n. 24).

- 21 The archive, consisting of drafts of multiple documents that were to form a petition Ḥor intended to send or present to the king, has received an impressive treatment by John D. Ray (*O.Hor*, supplemented by Ray 1978; cf. *BLDem*, pp. 413–420, 646). For Ḥor's life and career, see: Ray 1978, 117–124; Hoffmann (F.) 2000, 187–194; Quack 2002; Ray 2002, 148–152; Gorre 2009, 232–244, No. 48 (but see Renberg 2014, 2011.12 on problems with Gorre's texts); Thompson (D.) 2012, 26–27, 192–194 *et pass.*; and Smith (M.) 2013 and Renberg, *ibid.*, two complementary studies of Ḥor's writings as evidence for Ptolemaic history (and both providing textual emendations). See also Depauw 2006, 323–332 for Ḥor's documents as examples of Demotic petitions and memoranda. Thoth and Isis dream-oracles: *O.Hor* 8–9 (see pp. 737–738). That Isis would have been perceived to give such approval for Ḥor to shift his focus to Thoth's cult is not surprising in light of the close association between Isis and Thoth/Hermes, who by Roman times was sometimes held to be her father (or her son) (see Stadler 2009, 152–155; cf. Kákosy 1963, 125). For Ḥor's service as a *pastophoros*, see p. 724, and for an overview of the evidence for the administration of the sacred animal cults at Saqqâra, including that of Thoth's ibises, see Davies 2002 and Davies/Smith 1997; cf. Davies/Smith 2005, 59–67 *et pass.*
- 22 See Ray 1978, 115–117. The appearance of two names—Ḥor and Ḥarthoth—initially led Ray to treat these as two different individuals in *O.Hor*, but in this supplementary article he corrected the error.

at Saqqâra's various complexes, with whom he appears to have had much in common.²³ Whether Ḥor was indeed an *enkatochos* of Thoth and thus living at the "House of Thoth" under some sort of legal or religious constraint cannot be determined—though it seems unlikely—but the fact that he repeatedly received dreams from this god, some of which appear to have been unsolicited, certainly shows the prominence of Thoth in his life.

Among the documents from the Ptolemaios and Ḥor archives as well as unrelated texts found at Saqqâra are more than a dozen illustrating the importance of dream-divination to cult officials and private individuals, with several representing evidence for therapeutic or divinatory incubation.²⁴ What makes this group of sources for dreams received at Saqqâra especially noteworthy is that they pertain to multiple distinct cults that were flourishing simultaneously. The gods issuing dreams included Osorapis, Thoth, Imhotep, and Isis, but our knowledge of which gods could be consulted through incubation is very much limited by the nature of our sources: for example, Ḥor was a servant of Thoth who formerly had served Isis as a gate-keeper/*pastophoros*, and thus his extensive record of seeking and receiving dream-oracles provides only incidental information about other divinities (and relatively little about these two). Another problem with these sources is that a number of documents are clear evidence for a belief in the significance of dreams, but cannot be linked to incubation with certainty—a limitation which often goes unrecognized.²⁵

23 For the "House of Thoth," see *O.Hor*, p. 149; for the question of whether Ḥor was an *enkatochos*, see p. 732n.38.

24 In addition to the two archives that include dream texts are the five Demotic *ostraka* recording dreams that were previously thought to be from the Ptolemaios Archive (O.Dem.Hermitage 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1131; see *UPZ* 1, p. 351), but due to the work of Michel Chauveau on O.Dem.Hermitage 1129, *recto* can no longer be linked to Ptolemaios and those close to him (see Chauveau 2010; cf. M. Chauveau, *Livret-annuaire* 21 (2005–06) [2007], 4–5). Therefore, as is now recognized, these dream accounts, which have not all been fully edited, may well be those of others visiting or living at Saqqâra (see Legras 2011, 6n.29, 234). These *ostraka* also cannot be linked to incubation, though since four of them included multiple dreams that are numbered or in a sequence, thus suggesting that they were the subject of a consultation, it is at least possible (see p. 718n.4). For these *ostraka*, see also Ray 2006a, 197–199 (some of which is made obsolete by Chauveau's study).

25 Of the Greek documents recording dream-narratives, only one features internal evidence suggesting incubation: the papyrus from the Ptolemaios Archive recording eight dreams received by his associate Nektembēs (*UPZ* 1 79; see n. 63). Another might have been evidence for the practice, had it been found *in situ*: a recently published Greek graffito originally at least forty-one lines long and written across at least two blocks featured a series dream-narratives comparable to some of the ones preserved on papyri or *ostraka*

Moreover, despite providing ample testimony for both an interest in dream-revelations and the practice of divinatory incubation, the surviving sources from Saqqâra provide little evidence for therapeutic incubation, but this could simply be because the individuals whose archives represent the bulk of this evidence—Ḳor and Ptolemaios—had little to do with the practice, or because pertinent documents once belonging to them were not preserved.²⁶ The sources from Saqqâra also provide relatively little information about structures that were wholly or partly dedicated to incubation—none of which has been found—and it is possible that instead of using the one recorded ἐγκοιμητήριον or other incubation dormitories or shrines many of those living there would have felt themselves to be so close to the local gods that they would have felt no need to go to special buildings to engage in dream-divination.²⁷ Overall,

at Saqqâra, but since the two surviving blocks were reused as building material in the Baboon Galleries it is impossible to know whether the dreams were indeed obtained through incubation, perhaps in the structure in which the blocks originated (Ray, *Texts E1* (= *SEG* 61, 1522, providing further attempts to establish a proper reading)). Among these dreams is one that makes reference to a figure who is not the narrator lying down “on the middle couch” (κατεκίτο | ἐπὶ τῆς μέσης κλίνης), but the text is too damaged to establish whether the context was incubation rather than a *symposium* or some other situation (B, col. i, ll. 11–12).

- 26 Only a single text in the Ḳor Archive appears likely to pertain to therapeutic incubation, an *ostrakon* indicating that Isis had prescribed a remedy for the queen—presumably through Ḳor, though the surviving text gives no indication of his role in this affair—but it might represent a unique situation rather than evidence that such inquiries were routine (*O.Hor* 28; see Sect. 7.7). Moreover, even two dreams possibly received by Ḳor at the *Asklepieion*, a site associated with the practice in a famous papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, are prophetic and unrelated to health matters (*O.Hor* 59; see Sect. 7.4). It is significant, however, that the various dream-related texts of the Ḳor Archive were not randomly preserved, but appear to have comprised background information for a petition to the Ptolemies seeking to emphasize his mantic gifts and remind the sovereigns of his past advice and prophetic warnings (see *ibid.*, p. 123), and therefore it is perhaps not so surprising that no references to unrelated healing miracles are included in the archive. Similarly, the documents of the Ptolemaios Archive do not refer to health matters and therefore provide no evidence for therapeutic incubation, as was long ago noted by Wilcken (*UPZ* 1, pp. 34, 349), but subsequent scholars have occasionally treated the interest of Ptolemaios and his associates in dreams as evidence for incubation in general (e.g., Weber (G.) 1998, 30), even implying a link to therapeutic incubation (e.g., Dunand 2006, 11).
- 27 Just as it is impossible to identify the one ἐγκοιμητήριον referred to in a text (*SEG* 49, 2292; see pp. 411–412), without help from written sources there is no way to know whether the suggestion that one particularly unusual building functioned as one is correct. The building, measuring just under twenty meters in length, stood in the zone between the South Ibis Catacombs and Mother-of-Apis Catacombs, and was identified as a temple by its

then, the extraordinarily rich set of inscriptions, papyri and *ostraka* pertaining to dreams and dreamers at Saqqâra provide a detailed but undoubtedly incomplete picture of the role that incubation played in the religious life there. And ironically, the greatest hole in our knowledge concerns its foremost divinity, Osorapis, as well as his Hellenized counterpart Sarapis.

7.2 Osorapis and Therapeutic Incubation

It has long been taken for granted that dreams could be solicited from “Sarapis” at Saqqâra, but this is problematic for two important reasons: there is no reliable source for incubation at the *Sarapieion* itself, and the very identity of the god referred to by this name is a matter of some complexity. As the sources from Saqqâra and elsewhere reveal, the name “Sarapis,” which might be possible to date as far back as c. 290 BCE,²⁸ was applied to a divinity who was perceived

excavators, who designated it Block 5 (see Martin (G.) 1981, 34–51). Since its layout has several anomalies—of particular note is that the area identified as a shrine is entered by going *down* a flight of steps, in contrast to the Egyptian tradition of elevating sanctuaries above the other areas of a temple complex, and also that some of the rooms have fireplaces—it was suggested by Geoffrey T. Martin that the temple belonged to a foreign cult, which is a reasonable suggestion in light of the multiethnic composition of the visiting worshippers. Martin also tentatively suggested that Block 5 functioned as an incubation shrine serving both divinatory and therapeutic needs, basing this potential identification on the rooms being too large for priestly living quarters but the right size for worshippers who were staying the night (Martin, *ibid.*, 35; cf. Davies/Smith 1997, 122 and Lang 2013, 77). Though impossible to tell for certain whether Martin’s interpretation of this odd structure or his tentative date of the fourth or third century BCE are correct (Martin, *ibid.*, 1), as well as whether D.G. Jeffreys was correct that the building was most likely abandoned by the first half of the second century BCE (*apud* Martin, *ibid.*, 84), the fact that there is so little evidence for incubation during the Late Period argues against such a function for Block 5, or at least argues for a Ptolemaic date if this was the structure’s original and primary purpose.

- 28 The date is based on a fragment of Menander’s lost *Encheiridion* (“The Dagger”), preserved in a sixth-century CE papyrus, that refers to Sarapis as a “revered god” (Σάραπιν διὰ τοῦ ᾧ ὡς ἐν Ἐγχιριδίῳ ὡς σεμνὸς ὁ Σάραπις θεός) (*P.Oxy* xv 1803, ll. 8–10 (= *CGFP* 130, cf. 129, l. 6 *adn.*)), and thus would show that the name was in use by the time of Menander’s death around 290 BCE if the text was accurately transmitted. See Weinreich 1931, 13–15 for the suggestions that Menander’s laudatory reference to Sarapis should be attributed to his relationship with Ptolemy I, who had invited him to visit the royal palace in Alexandria (Plin., *H.N.* 7.30.111; Alciph., *Ep.* 4.18–19), as well as to his friendship with Demetrios of Phaleron, who came to worship Sarapis after his arrival at Alexandria in 298/7 BCE.

differently by native and non-native worshipers, and thus can be viewed as two somewhat distinct gods: the Egyptian Osorapis who developed at Saqqâra as a merging of Osiris and Apis and retained a substantial following among the native population (despite possible foreign influences in this process), and the god whose Hellenization and worship was fostered by the Ptolemies at Alexandria and then—in a thickly-bearded, anthropomorphic form—became popular among the Greek population of Egypt while also spreading throughout the Hellenistic world,²⁹ though he initially appears to have had little

(An oracle of Sarapis received by the Cypriot king Nikokreon is sometimes viewed as another early attestation of Sarapis's name (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.20.16–17; see p. 384), but is likewise questionable evidence because it is only to be found in a Late Antique antiquarian work and therefore may well be spurious.)

- 29 Over the past two decades, there has been a flurry of studies concerning the origins of Sarapis's cult and its diffusion, partly complementing and partly replacing such earlier standard studies as Stambaugh 1972, Fraser 1960 and Fraser 1972, 1:246–276. For the identity of “Sarapis” at Memphis as a version of Osiris merged with Apis under Greek influences and this new god's subsequent establishment in Alexandria, acquisition of Greek iconography and traits, and promotion by the Ptolemies to the rank of universal sovereign, see Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, most notably accepted and expanded upon by Sfameni Gasparro 2003, Paarmann 2013, Quack 2013*b*, and Bricault 2014, 97–101, and also reflected in Malaise 2005, 128–139. See also the article by Stefan Pfeiffer, building on Borgeaud/Volokhine and other studies, that argues for Sarapis having been a “partial *interpretatio Graeca*” (*i.e.*, one that did not assign a traditional Greek god's name, but rather Graecized the Egyptian name), primarily of Osiris rather than Apis, since Ptolemy I needed for the god to maintain his Egyptian functions (Pfeiffer 2008, 389–392; for a more general study of the distinct phenomena of syncretism and a “coexistence” of Greek and Egyptian gods under the same name, see Dunand 1999). Didier Devauchelle, in addition to showing that the name “Sarapis” could apply to any Osiris and not just Osiris-Apis (as can be seen at Abydos (see Sect. 9.2)), has argued against a link to the Apis cult altogether (Devauchelle 2012; see also Devauchelle 2010, 60–61, part of a study on Osiris and Osiris-Apis at Saqqâra), assigning Sarapis's origin to Memphis rather than Saqqâra (at p. 218); similarly, Nicole Belayche has also emphasized the primacy of Osiris, albeit for different reasons, and the essentially Egyptian nature of the god (Belayche 2011). However, the recent article by Quack, though not specifically intended to argue against these studies, effectively undermines them, and demonstrates that Borgeaud and Volokhine were correct regarding the importance of Apis to the development of Osorapis and ultimately Sarapis. (Quack's article also addresses the outdated belief that Sarapis's origin was partly Mesopotamian or Persian; for this issue, see pp. 389–390n.155.) For the view that the Sarapis worshiped in Alexandria was also present at Memphis, though “concealed behind the older figure of Osor-Hapi,” see Fraser 1972, 1:253 (quoted) and Stambaugh, *ibid.* (especially pp. 90–93); *contra*, see Borgeaud/Volokhine, *ibid.*, 71–72, followed by Pfeiffer, *ibid.*, 390–391. For additional bibliography on Sarapis, see p. 329n.2.

appeal to native Egyptians.³⁰ For this reason, the issue of incubation in the cult of “Sarapis” at Saqqâra is no less complex than in the Delta region, though for different reasons.³¹ While there is no evidence clearly linking the Hellenized god Sarapis to either divinatory or therapeutic incubation at Saqqâra, one document does show that dream-oracles could be sought from Osorapis in this manner, though not necessarily within the *Sarapieion* itself: a Demotic *ostrakon* from the Ḥor Archive records this minor cult official of Thoth soliciting a prophetic dream by means of an invocation of Osorapis and Osormnevis, and since the latter, a bull-god from Heliopolis, at the time had no known Hellenized equivalent this argues strongly for the Egyptian Ḥor having had in mind the

The earliest Greek document referring to Osorapis (but spelled Ὁσερᾶπις), a well-known late-fourth century BCE papyrus from Saqqâra preserving the malediction of a woman named Artemisia against her deceased daughter’s father because of a dispute over her burial, invokes the god in his capacity of lord of the Underworld, indicating that in Artemisia’s mind this god was closely associated with Osiris (*UPZ* 1 1 + *add.* pp. 646–647 (= *SB* 1 5103 = *PGM* XL)). For recent treatments of this text, see: Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 68–69, 71; Legras 2007, 263 and Legras 2011, 105–106; Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 187; and Devauchelle 2012, 217; cf. Brashear 1995, 3554 for earlier bibliography. The origin of the name “Sarapis” and its relation to “Osorapis” was a disputed matter both in antiquity and modern times (see Borgeaud/Volokhine, *ibid.*, 71 and Caroli 2007, 329–331). The debate was revived by Martin Bommas, who claimed that the name “Sarapis” cannot derive from “Osorapis” because the initial *W* in *Wsir-Ḥp* would not drop off (Bommas 2005, 25, citing consultation with Antonio Loprieno), and pointed to the study of Gerard Mussies arguing that the Greeks would have thought this ‘O’ sound indicated a vocative or exclamatory use of the god’s name (see Mussies 1978). Pfeiffer has effectively disputed this claim (*ibid.*, 390n.15), also noting that there is no evidence for the accompanying suggestion that the origin of the name “Sarapis” is instead to be found in the Egyptian *sr*, in the sense “Apis declares (an oracle)” (*sr-Ḥp*), which appears to be a false etymology (though one also preferred by Kessler 2000, 189–190 and Schmidt 2005, 291). See now Devauchelle 2012, 216–217n.16, independently disputing Bommas as well, and Quack 2013b, opposing the conclusions of Bommas and Kessler, and also raising doubt about part of Mussies’s conclusion while confirming that the name “Sarapis” was derived from “Osorapis”; see also M. Malaise in *Bibliotheca Isiaca* 1, p. 134n.13 and Bricault 2014, 99n.9, both also disagreeing with Kessler.

30 The main discussion regarding this Hellenized god’s reception among native Egyptians during the early Ptolemaic Period is Fraser 1960, 18–19; more recently, Wily Clarysse and Mario Paganini have demonstrated that the use of personal names derived from “Sarapis” cannot be used to shed light on this issue during the Ptolemaic Period due to the limited number of sources (Clarysse/Paganini 2009, 78–80). On these issues see also Quack 2013b and Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 189–190.

31 For Sarapis at Alexandria and Canopus, see pp. 333–340.

original god rather than the Hellenized one.³² There is, in fact, good reason to believe that at Saqqâra, at least for much of the Ptolemaic Period, Sarapis was a deity of minor importance, worshiped exclusively by Greeks visiting or residing at the site, getting relatively little attention in the papyri and *ostraka*,³³ and

32 *O.Hor* 13 (see p. 622); on Mnevis and Osormnevis, see Chapter 9.6. Three Saqqâra papyri dating a half-century later than the Ḳor Archive pertain to the head of an embalm-ing guild of Osorapis and Osormnevis, but since this individual's name, Petesis son of Chonouphis, betrays Egyptian ethnicity there is no reason to conclude that a Hellenized god is referred to (*UPZ* I 106–108, cf. 109; see Thompson (D.) 2012, 173–175 *et pass.*; cf. Devauchelle 2012, 217). The only document possibly indicating a Hellenized form of Osormnevis is a second-century CE papyrus from Soknopaiou Nesos that mentions a ἱερὸν Σαράπιδος Ὀσορμνήου, though in this particular case Osormnevis appears to have been reduced to an epithet of Sarapis unless this is a case of asyndeton (*P.David* I, col. ii, ll. 1–2 (= *SB* X 10281); see Rübsam 1974, 169–170; cf. Ronchi, *Lex.Theon.* v:982, s.v. Σάραπις Ὀσορμνεύς). Moreover, the Abydos funerary steles that name Sarapis but portray Osiris demonstrate that there can be no certainty about just when seemingly Hellenized divini-ties were being worshiped as the original god, at least by native Egyptians (for the Abydos steles, see p. 485n.2). See also the brief specimen of Demotic *pseudepigrapha* recounting the visit of an unnamed pharaoh to the *Sarapieion*, where he entered the catacombs of the Apis bulls for the purpose of engaging in divinatory incubation—an example of this native Egyptian god who was a forerunner of “Sarapis” being linked with this practice among native Egyptians in early Ptolemaic times (Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. D 1994; quoted p. 415). Based on such varied sources, it seems best to conclude that Ḳor's *ostrakon* con-cerns an invocation of two native gods associated with sacred bulls.

33 Few of the documentary sources found at Saqqâra unambiguously pertain to the Hellenized god, especially during the Ptolemaic Period. The greatest and most varied references are to be found in the voluminous Ptolemaios Archive, since several papyri clearly refer to Sarapis, though mostly in the context of typically formulaic invocations for the recipient's or king's well-being or oaths taken in Sarapis's name, rather than in reference to his worship at Saqqâra (*e.g.*, *UPZ* I 15, col. iii, ll. 42–48; *UPZ* I 16, ll. 30–33; *UPZ* I 20, col. i, l. 3; *UPZ* I 33, l. 9; *UPZ* I 45, l. 13; *UPZ* I 52, ll. 25–27 & *UPZ* I 53, ll. 29–30; *UPZ* I 70, ll. 2–3 (quoted n. 70). In fact, only four papyri name Sarapis in a cultic context: a letter in which Ptolemaios refers to the twins serving Sarapis and Isis (*UPZ* I 32, ll. 7–8), which contrasts with another text in which the ethnically Egyptian twins, who may have had help writing the letter, instead refer to Osorapis in this context (*UPZ* I 19, cited below); the draft of a petition in which Ptolemaios alludes to being an *enkatochos* of Sarapis by means of the phrase [ἐμοῦ δὲ χάρι]ν [το]ῦ Σαράπιος χωρισθῆναι | [οὐ δυναμένο]ν (*UPZ* I 4, verso, ll. 9–10); a petition referring to another *enkatochos* of Sarapis (Δίφιλον δὲ τινα τῶν | παρακατεχομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαράπιος θεραπευτῶν) (*UPZ* I 8, ll. 18–19); and, a dream-narrative in which Ptolemaios invokes Sarapis and Isis (*UPZ* I 78, l. 23). See also *UPZ* I 119, referring to the whole complex as Sarapis's (next note), and *UPZ* I 62, ll. 5–7, in which an official writing to Ptolemaios from Memphis respectfully refers to Ptolemaios's and Apollonios's association with Sarapis. To these can be added two drafts of a petition expressing to its

with no known temple, sculpture, priesthood or festivals of his own.³⁴ The god's relatively low profile there should not be surprising, since Saqqâra appears to

recipient, the Ptolemaic official Sarapion, that Ptolemaios and his kin can only obtain help from the official or Sarapis (οὐθένα ἔχωμεν βοιηθὸν ἀλλ' ἢ σὲ καὶ τὸν Σάραπιν) (UPZ I 52, ll. 8–9; UPZ I 53, l. 9); see also the four documents in which Ptolemaios employed the same language featuring Sarapis and Isis as part of an elaborate wish for the same official's success in the royal court (περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων δοῖ σοι ὁ Σάραπιν καὶ ἡ Εἰς ἐπαφροδίσιαν χάριν μορφήν πρὸς τὸν βασιλεία καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν δι' ἧς ἔχεις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οὐσιότητα) (UPZ I 33, ll. 8–11; UPZ I 34, ll. 5–7; UPZ I 35, ll. 12–15; UPZ I 36, ll. 10–13). The Ptolemaios Archive has some references to the cult of Osorapis as well: a petition to the king by the two twins who were in the care of Ptolemaios, in which they refer to pouring libations to Osorapis on behalf of the royal family (UPZ I 19, l. 3); a financial document by Apollonios referring to the *anagoge* of Osorapis, i.e. the “bringing up” of the Apis bull for burial at Saqqâra (UPZ I 54, l. 22); and, a brief mention by Apollonios of one of Osorapis's cult officials, a βουκόλος (UPZ I 57, l. 7). (UPZ I 54 & 57 are in Apollonios's hand, but Wilcken thought that they were by Ptolemaios; however, Legras 2011, 182 and others have treated them as by Apollonios.) The pattern that emerges in these documents from the Ptolemaios Archive, albeit written by different members of the family, appears to be: when writing to the king or a Ptolemaic official one would invoke Sarapis but never Osorapis; when the Macedonian Ptolemaios was making reference to some aspect of cult activities at or near the *Sarapieion* he would treat the Egyptian Osorapis as Sarapis, especially in reference to his own religious life; and, both the native Egyptian twins and Apollonios would refer to Osorapis by his own name when discussing some aspect of this god's worship.

To the scarce papyrological evidence for the Hellenized god Sarapis at Saqqâra might be added the well-known papyrus sent by an individual named Zoilos to the finance minister Apollonios in 257 BCE to report dreams from Sarapis, if this episode has rightly been linked to the *Sarapieion* (P.CairZen I 59034; see pp. 421–422).

- 34 Despite earlier opinions to the contrary regarding papyri from the Ptolemaios Archive, no shrine of Sarapis is known at the site: the phrase [ἐπὶ] τοῦ δρόμου in relation to εἰς τὸ ἐφημ[ερευτήριον τῶν] | [πα]στοφόρων τὸ πρὸς τῷ ἀγίῳ τοῦ Σαράπ[ιδος] in one of the Ptolemaios papyri has been seen as an indication that there was a small shrine to the god on or near the *dromos* (UPZ I 119, ll. 10–12, cf. p. 528; see Guilmot 1962, 365–366 and Bottigelli 1941, 29–30), but the phrase πρὸς τῷ ἀγίῳ τοῦ Σαράπ[ιδος] is much more likely to refer to the *Sarapieion* in general rather than a structure within its confines. (I am grateful to Dorothy J. Thompson for her insights into this issue, which, according to a personal communication, have changed: thus after having originally indicated (at p. 28n.112 of her book's 1988 first edition) that the papyrus might refer to the structure called the “*lychnaption*” (see pp. 409–411), she removed her reference to this papyrus from her footnote on this building in recognition of the possibility that this structure itself may have been misidentified (Thompson (D.) 2012, 25n.112).) Epigraphical evidence for Sarapis at Saqqâra is considerably more limited than the papyri. Most notably, there are graffiti left by worshipers of Sarapis and Isis on some of the sphinxes lining the *dromos* during the third and second centuries BCE (see n. 47), and one or two undated graffiti

have drawn primarily native Egyptians and assimilated foreigners,³⁵ especially during the first two centuries of the Ptolemies' rule.

Nor should it be surprising, therefore, that therapeutic incubation cannot be detected in the cult of "Sarapis" at Saqqâra: neither Osiris nor Apis had been celebrated as a healing god, and thus when they merged the resulting god likewise was not associated with treating sick worshippers, at least initially.³⁶ Only

from elsewhere in the complex recording *proskynemata* by worshipers of Sarapis (*SEG* 48, 2013A–B). There is also a single fragmentary Imperial-period inscription ending with "Σάραπι" that might have been a dedication to the god (*I.Gr.ÉgLouvre* 130), which would make it one of the few. The complete, or almost complete, lack of dedicatory inscriptions for Sarapis corresponds to the low number of Greek dedications from Saqqâra in general, a small group that includes, *e.g.*, a bronze Apis statuette dedicated by a Greek *c.* 450–400 BCE (*SEG* 52, 1789 (= *BE* 2003, 624)), a late-Ptolemaic dedication to an unknown god (*I.Gr.ÉgLouvre* 23), and possibly an unprovenienced bronze statuette of Osorapis (*i.e.*, an ox-headed mummy) that dates to the Ptolemaic Period (*SEG* 42, 1617). Sculptural evidence for the worship of Sarapis at Saqqâra is similarly lacking. Indeed, there is no known representation of the god: the only sculpted work formerly identified as such, the herm on which the statue identified as that of Demetrios of Phaleron in the *exedra* rests its arm, is no longer thought to show Sarapis, while the figure itself is no longer thought to be Demetrios (see Bergmann 2007, 256, arguing against the viewpoint most notably espoused in Lauer/Picard 1955, 76, 82–84, 123 + Pl. 7–8). However, the Greeks associated Sarapis with Dionysos (see Stambaugh 1972, 55–59), whose imagery *was* present in the form of Dionysiac sculptural works displayed in the *dromos* and thus might represent indirect evidence for Sarapis's presence—but these might be better attributed to the importance of Dionysos to the Ptolemies than to Sarapis himself. (On these groups of statuary and the issues associated with them, see in particular Bergmann, *ibid.* (dating them to the second half of the third century BCE), as well as Hölbl 1994, 256–258 (arguing for a date as late as 76 BCE), Legras 2011, 259–270, and Thompson (D.) 2012, 108–109. The individual works themselves are discussed in Bergmann's article, with Wilcken 1917, 174–200 and Lauer/Picard, *ibid.*, 248–255 *et pass.* still important.) Moreover, none of the evidence for the *Sarapieia* festivals held in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt comes from Memphis or Saqqâra (see Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 129–136).

35 The assimilated foreigners most likely to have visited were Memphis's Carian and Helleno-Memphite populations. (For these and other ethnic groups, see Thompson (D.) 2012, 76–98.)

36 The evidence for Osiris as a healer from the Pharaonic Period is notably limited: see, *e.g.*, the small, 26th-Dynasty (*c.* 664–525 BCE) shrine of Osiris at Karnak's Ptah temple at which the god's epithets included "the one who saves," in part leading Laurent Coulon to identify the structure with healing (Coulon 2012). At Abydos, some of the graffiti of the Ptolemaic Period reveal that Osiris-Sarapis was called upon for restoration of health, but this appears to be a relatively late development in Osiris's cult, and one that occurred under some amount of foreign influence (see pp. 488–490). Also, there is a single dedication from Egypt made as the result of a cure attributed to Osiris: the "Moschion Stele," a

once Osorapis’s cult reached the northern Delta and was exposed to further Greek influences did he, as Sarapis, become a god who healed through incubation, and was widely associated with health matters in general.³⁷ If indeed addressed to him as some have suspected, Sarapis’s involvement in healing at Saqqâra, if not therapeutic incubation, by the early Ptolemaic Period would be revealed by a damaged inscription recording the dedication of a *lychnaption* (i.e., a station for those tending the sacred lamps) by someone who had experienced a medical recovery:

[---]ΛΛΟΣ τὸ λυχνάπτιον ἀνέ[θηκα ---] | [---] ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· κακῶς διακαί-
[μενος ---] | [---]PEIAIS χρώμενος τοῖς ΠΠ[---] | [--- ο]ὔκ ἡδυνάμην ὑγίειας
[τυχεῖν? ---] | [---]Υ.³⁸

[I, ---]los, dedicated(?) the lamp-lighting station [---] by the god. Being poorly disposed [---] consulting the [---] I was not able to become(?) healthy [---].

Due to the severe damage, however, it is impossible to determine how the one who dedicated the *lychnaption* had been healed by the unidentified “*theos*”—a problem not noted by the scholars who have treated it as clear proof of incubation based on questionable restorations of the text.³⁹ Similarly, it has

Greek and Demotic Roman-era inscription from Xoïs in the Delta region featuring complex crosswords and acrostics, which was given by this individual after his foot was miraculously healed (Vleeming, *Short Texts* 1 205, D–E (= *IMetrEg* 108 (Greek text only)); see Butz 2016, 1970–1974). Outside of Egypt, Osiris appears to have been involved in healing a woman at Rhodes, where an unpublished anatomical votive of a breast was dedicated to him (Rhodes Mus. Inv. No. Γ236; see Fantoutsaki 2011, 47n.9 + fig. 2). Osiris’s eventual association with healing is also referred to in one of the Hermetic treatises, which features a passage praising Isis and Osiris for having taught the medical arts to priests, along with magic and philosophy (Stobaeus, *Hermetica*, Excerpt 23.68, eds. Nock/Festugière, p. IV:22). For the cult of Osiris, see especially the collection of articles in Coulon 2010.

37 See Chapter 6.2.

38 *IGrÉgLouvre* 11 + Pl. 10. See Podvin 2011, 170–171 on the nature of such a structure, which would have been used to store torches, lamps, oil, and wicks.

39 Though linked to incubation by the text’s first editor (E. Egger, *CRAI* 1857 [1858], 68–69 and Egger 1860; the earlier publication of the inscription, Heinrich K. Brugsch, *MonatsbBerl* 1853, 727, was not a proper edition), the most influential discussion was penned by Wilcken (*UPZ* 1, pp. 34–35, 51, 643), who associated it with the practice in the cult of Sarapis and was followed by several other scholars (most recently, Wacht 1997, 202). In addition to its being impossible to know which god was involved, earlier restorations of the inscription by Wilcken and others inserting such terms as *θεραπευθεῖς*, *ὑγιασθεῖς*, *ἐξυγιασθεῖς*, *ιατρειαίς*,

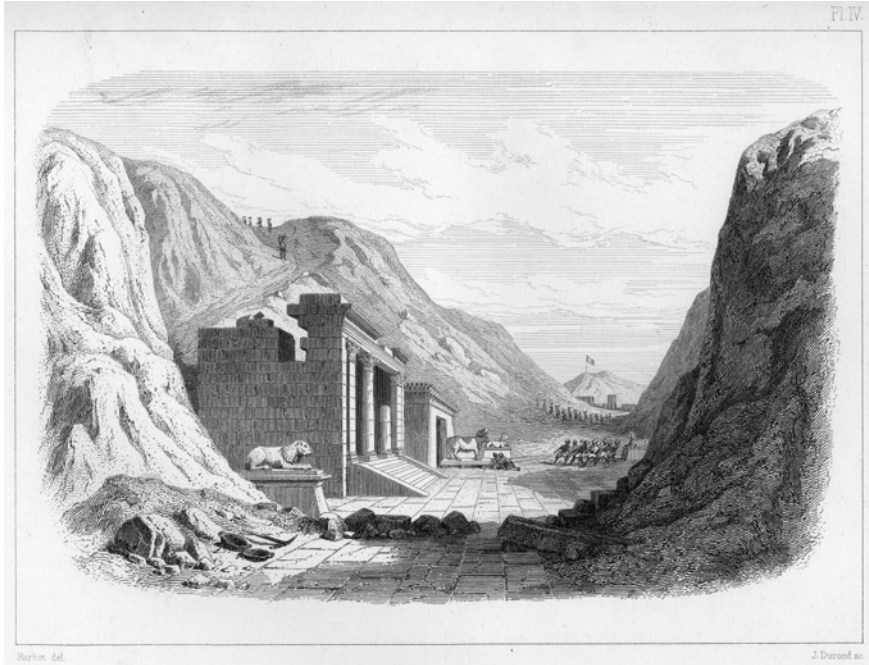


FIGURE 18 Sketch made by Emile P. Barbot of the Saqqâra dromos during the excavations of the mid-nineteenth century, showing the Greek-style shrine long identified as the “lychnaption.”

SOURCE: AUGUSTE MARIETTE, *CHOIX DE MONUMENTS ET DE DESSINS DÉCOUVERTS OU EXÉCUTÉS PENDANT LE DÉBLAIEMENT DU SÉRAPÉUM DE MEMPHIS* (PARIS, 1856), PL. 4

been widely assumed that this god was Sarapis, but this is by no means certain: the primary reason for linking this dedication to Sarapis was its discovery in the small Greek shrine that stood just outside the walls of the *Sarapieion* on the *dromos* leading east (Fig. 18; shown in Plan 15), but since the block was recut and found reused in the shrine’s wall it could have originated in a part of Saqqâra sacred to Imhotep or another god, and therefore the structure has quite likely been misidentified by generations of scholars as the *lychnaption*

ὄνειροις, and παρ’ ἱατροῦ in the *lacunae* have been rightly treated as speculative and relegated to the *apparatus criticus* in Bernard’s edition, and thus this inscription should not be considered evidence for therapeutic incubation or divine dreams—in the cult of Sarapis or any other god. (Bernard’s edition should therefore be considered standard, not Wilcken’s treatment or *SB* I 1934, which presents the restorations of Brugsch, Egger and Philippe Le Bas, the latter included in Egger 1860, 111–112n.1.)

referred to in the inscription.⁴⁰ After all, just as Sarapis was not the only god at Saqqâra who was valued as a healer, he was not the only one whose worshipers employed lamps for nocturnal rites—indeed, Josephus indicates that all over the Greek and non-Greek world people would light lamps, a religious custom that he claims had originated among the Jews—so the fact that this block records a structure devoted to sacred lamps and lamp-lighters cannot be taken as proof that the *lychnaption* was linked to his cult.⁴¹ If this fragmentary text is treated with the caution it deserves then no written source remains that convincingly points to therapeutic incubation at the *Sarapieion*, though this text does remain evidence of a healing miracle being attributed to one of the gods worshiped at Saqqâra and recorded at his sanctuary.⁴²

However, a cryptic Greek text dating to c. 275–225 BCE could pertain to Osorapis/Sarapis’s involvement in therapeutic incubation after all: a graffito on the left forepaw of a stone sphinx from the *Sarapieion’s dromos* states that “There are countless mischievous ones in the incubation chamber” ([ἐ]ν ἐνκομητηρίῳ | μύριοι σινάμ[ωροι]), and while based on etymology the term ἐγκοιμητήριον—as is true for ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι—could be used for either therapeutic or divinatory incubation, it only is found in the context of the

40 See Renberg 2016.

41 Josephus: *Jos.*, *Ap.* 2.39.282. For lamps and Sarapis’s cult, see, e.g., *P.Oxy* XII 1453, a declaration of lamp-lighters at the temples of Sarapis, Isis and Thooris that dates to 30–29 BCE; the other evidence for *λυχνᾶπται* in his cult, such as *IG* II² 4771 (= *RICIS* 101/0221) (see p. 718n.2), is later. At Saqqâra itself has been found a bilingual papyrus that on the *recto* is labeled as a copy of a document concerning lamps (ἀντίγραφον τῶν λύχνων) and on the *verso* features a Demotic text pertaining to oil used in the cults of Imhotep and Astarte, showing that the *lychnaption* could have belonged to either cult (P.Louvre N 2423 (= *UPZ* I 143 (Greek text) + Revillout 1881 (translation and commentary of Demotic text))). For the use of lamps in different cults, see Chaniotis 2009, 14–15, collecting sources from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and Podvin 2011 (especially pp. 167–188) for a full catalog and study of lamps in the cult of Isis and her associates. That the related terms *λυχνασία* and *λυχνοκαΐα*, used in reference to the practice of lighting sacred lamps on a daily basis or for a religious festival, were quite widespread likewise shows that an identification of Sarapis as the god referred to in the Saqqâra inscription should not be assumed. (For the possible significance of the term *λυχνοκαΐα* in an inscription from late-Classical Cyrene that may indicate incubation at the sanctuary of Iatros, see pp. 308–309.)

42 Regardless of whether Sarapis was indeed the *theos*, it is of interest, as Adam Łajtar recognizes, that this text appears to be yet another example of the *topos* of ailing individuals turning to a god and being healed after physicians had failed to cure them (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 398; for other examples, see p. 23).

former, and thus this pattern, combined with the graffito's reference to "countless" individuals, suggests a large structure primarily or exclusively devoted to therapeutic incubation somewhere at Saqqâra.⁴³ Indeed, this graffito is the best evidence for ordinary individuals engaging in incubation at Saqqâra:⁴⁴ not only is it possible or even likely that the phrase "countless mischievous ones" refers to worshipers, but nowhere is the term ἐγκοιμητήριον used for a structure that could only be slept in by priests and cult officials like Ḳor, so this was almost certainly a public structure.⁴⁵ Which god's incubation chamber this was is no less ambiguous: while the fact that the graffito was written on a sphinx from the *Sarapieion's dromos* might be considered evidence of an otherwise undocumented structure associated with Osorapis/Sarapis,⁴⁶ there is no reason why it could not be referring to the incubation chamber of another divinity's temple, most likely that of the nearby temple of Imhotep.⁴⁷

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- 43 *SEG* 49, 2292 (= *SB* XXVI 16619); cf. *EBGR* 1999, 171. For ἐγκοιμητήριον, see p. 15. The related term κοιμητήριον was used by one author for structures devoted to hosting strangers for public messes in Cretan cities (Dosiadas *apud* Ath. 4.143C (= *FGrH* 458 F 2)), and since there are so few instances of either word such a meaning cannot be ruled for the graffito. On the possible meanings of "mischievous ones" as well as this graffito's possible role as evidence for the issue of whether the sexes were kept separate when engaging in incubation—or, at least, were supposed to be separate—see Appendix VII.
- 44 What might have been a complementary source for incubation among the Demotic papyri must now be rejected: according to Davies/Smith 1997, 124, an unpublished accounts list (P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 39) repeatedly refers to "the sick" in the context of their seeking medical aid at one or more shrines or temples and thus suggests "the existence of a sanatorium or of incubation chambers." However, I have been informed by Smith that the word interpreted as "sick" had been misread, and the papyrus is not evidence for suppliants seeking cures from a god or gods (personal communication).
- 45 If Ḳor's reference to receiving a dream possibly linked to the temple of Imhotep does pertain to his engaging in incubation there (*O.Hor* 59; partly quoted p. 432), it would be interesting to know whether as a minor cult official of Thoth he would have mixed with the "*hoi polloi*," or slept in an area intended for those serving Imhotep. However, as noted below, he only vaguely reports having slept in the *chefeteh*, leaving it unclear whether or not he was in a structure.
- 46 It has been claimed that consulting Sarapis through incubation would have occurred in an undiscovered structure at or near the western end of the *dromos*, but the evidence cited is far from reliable: while Wilcken simply made an assumption that this was the case without justifying this claim (Wilcken 1917, 154n.1), Lauer and Picard pointed to the *lychnaption* inscription even though it might not have originated at this end of the *dromos* (Lauer/Picard 1955, 173).
- 47 Admittedly, other graffiti found near this one were left by worshipers of Sarapis and Isis (*SEG* 49, 2260, 2261, 2301, 2313, 2314, 2315 (= *SB* XXVI 16615, 16614, 16613, 16616, 16617, 16618)),

After all, at Saqqâra there is some evidence for ordinary worshipers consulting Imhotep through incubation at the *Asklepieion*,⁴⁸ whereas there is no such evidence for Osorapis/Sarapis being consulted by anyone other than Ḥor, a low-level cult servant of Thoth. Overall, even though there is clear evidence for incubation being practiced within the confines of the vast Saqqâra bluff, not a single source explicitly refers to therapeutic or non-therapeutic dreams being solicited from Osorapis/Sarapis himself at his own temple complex;⁴⁹ and,

which suggests that it was written by a devotee of these two. This, however, does not detract from the possibility that this unknown individual was making a playful reference to certain patterns of behavior at the *Asklepieion*, which is believed to have been located slightly more than a kilometer away. (Nor would the situation be different if, as Devauchelle 2010, 61 indicates, there is reason to associate these graffiti with Egyptians worshiping the native Osorapis and Isis; cf. Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 190n.46, noting the presence of Egyptian names among the graffiti from the area that do not refer to a god, and Devauchelle 2012, 218–219.)

48 See Sect. 7.4.

49 A short letter from the Zenon archive might represent evidence for therapeutic incubation in Sarapis's cult at Saqqâra, but provides too few details for this interpretation to be certain (*P.CairZen* III 59426 (= *SelPap* I 91); translated in Jördens 2010, 348, No. 11.1). Addressed by an associate named Dromon to Zenon, the Carian native who served as a private secretary and commercial agent for the Ptolemaic finance minister Apollonios, lines 5–7 of the papyrus convey his request that Zenon purchase Attic honey that had been prescribed by a god for an eye ailment:

ὡς δ' ἂν ἀναπλήρης ὑγιαίνων, σύνταξον τινὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ | ἀγοράσαι μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ
κοτύλην· χρεῖαν γάρ ἔχω πρὸς | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ.

When you are about to sail up-river in good health, order one of your people to purchase a *kotyle* of Attic honey, since I have need of it for my eyes, according to the god's command.

It is likely that Zenon was in Alexandria, where imported goods of this sort would have been readily available, while Dromon was at Memphis, anticipating his arrival. The identity of the god was assumed by Dromon to be obvious to his recipient, and has been assumed by scholars to have been Sarapis or Asklepios, who at Memphis could be associated with the Egyptian Imhotep (see, e.g., C.C. Edgar in *P.CairZen* and Orrieux 1983, 76, not preferring one possibility to the other, and Hölbl 1993, 32, Dunand 2006, 6n.17, Hirt Raj 2006, 293n.226, Lang 2013, 48, and Bricault 2014, 103, all favoring Sarapis). Either god is a viable candidate because of his prominence at Memphis, so this document appears to be evidence that Dromon had trekked up to Saqqâra and consulted one of them, presumably by means of incubation. There is, however, an alternative explanation: if the wealthy Apollonios had indeed established a sanctuary of Sarapis in the Greek quarter of Memphis as he had been called upon to do in 257 BCE (*P.CairZen* I 59034; see

moreover, the only time that he is named in relation to incubation it was the native god Osorapis rather than the Greco-Egyptian Sarapis who was involved, since the one invoking him in the hope of obtaining a prophetic dream was the Egyptian cult official Ḥor. But if “Sarapis” at Saqqâra did become a healing god during the Ptolemaic Period and cure worshipers engaging in therapeutic incubation, it most likely would have been because of the direct or indirect influence of developments up north in the Delta, where Sarapis had become a healing god early in his cult’s evolution, and not because of the influence of Imhotep.

7.3 Osorapis and Divinatory Incubation

Even though there is some evidence for Osorapis being among those invoked for a prophetic dream, the sources for divinatory incubation in the cult of Osorapis/Sarapis at Saqqâra are no less problematic than those for therapeutic, since the one known instance of Ḥor invoking Osorapis and apparently receiving a dream from him was not set in the *Sarapieion* itself, while the documents pertaining to Osorapis/Sarapis and oracular dreams that are preserved in the archives of Ptolemaios and the third-century BCE estate manager Zenon do not record the manner in which the dream-revelations were obtained. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, the presence of dream interpreters at Saqqâra, one of whom publicized a divine “mandate” from an unnamed god who was presumably Osorapis/Sarapis, can only be taken as proof of a strong interest in dreams, and not that the dreams about which they were consulted were deliberately solicited in a ritual context at the site.⁵⁰ While Osorapis at Saqqâra was indeed an oracular god, the only direct evidence that dreams may have been central to this function is unreliable: a short Demotic text written on a limestone plaque, appearing to be a student’s exercise, that tells of an unnamed pharaoh who went to the Apis bull catacombs to engage

pp. 421–422), it would make sense for a Greek resident of that city to visit this urban site rather than Saqqâra, especially if that individual was a business associate of the man who was the site’s primary patron. Since the Sarapis worshiped at this sanctuary would have been the Hellenized god, he may well have functioned as a healing god there—also giving out prescriptions—even if “Sarapis” at Saqqâra did not. However, it is also possible that, if the *πρόσταγμα* was a dream, it was received in a private context. (Nothing is known of Dromon, who appears in five other papyri of the Zenon Archive, four of which can be dated from 257–243 BCE (see Pestman 1981, 1:321).)

50 *LMetrEg* 112; for dream interpreters at Saqqâra, see Appendix XIV.

in incubation, evidently in a “chamber” or “shrine” (*qnḥ(.t)*),⁵¹ and received an instructive dream from an unidentified figure:

m-s3 nzy ḥpr w' hrw iw Pr-3 qty (n) 't3' qnḥ(.t) (n) Ḥp p3 '...mh-2(?) t3 't(?)...' | *i-ir Pr-3 p(r)y r-r=f (n) rsw(.t) iw w' rmt' '3' mt 'irm=f' d 'in' Pr-3 [...]* | *p3 nt sḡr twy=s mt.(t)-b[n.t(?)]* [.....] *šm=k r t3 'p.t r-iw'=k 'wp' [irm] 'n3 ntr:w' | t3=k 'h' dt (n) pr Wsir nb Dtw šm=k r ḥwt-sr 'n wr' [nb 'Twnw r] 'n wr...'* | *wr nb 'Twnw nt ḥtp n-im=w šm=k r Tp' h(.t)-d(.t)(?)' grp [...]* *iw=w nw 'r...'*⁵²

Afterwards, it came to pass one day that Pharaoh slept in the shrine of Apis, the . . . second(?) the room(?) . . . It was in a dream that Pharaoh saw himself, as a great man was speaking to him in these terms: “Is Pharaoh [...] the one who sleeps? Lo, ev[il(?)] [.....] You shall travel to the sky, sitting in court [with] the gods. You shall erect the *djed*-pillar in the house of Osiris lord of Busiris. You shall travel to the magistrate-mansion of the great one, [lord of Heliopolis, to] see . . . the great one, lord of Heliopolis, who rests there. You shall travel to Tephedjet(?), reveal [...] as they see . . .

As a work of Demotic narrative literature rather than a documentary source, its description of a ruler evidently engaging in dream-divination—the text does not state that this was his purpose, but the circumstances suggest it—cannot be taken as proof that incubation was regularly practiced at these catacombs.⁵³ At best, it does suggest the possibility that royalty might seek dreams there, and if so then priests and cult officials would almost certainly have done so as well, as parallels linking other sacred animal catacombs to priestly incubation suggest, but ordinary individuals may have been unable to do so.⁵⁴

51 See *CDD*, s.v. “*qnḥ.t*” for this term, which typically meant “burial place” or “shrine” but could also indicate a chamber. Though it could be linked to catacombs, the proper term for this form of burial was *wy (n) ḥtp* (“house-of-rest”) (see n. 5), and thus in this text *qnḥ.t* appears to refer to a shrine attached to Saqqâra’s bull catacombs.

52 Strasbourg, *Bibl. Nat. D* 1994, ed. Spiegelberg 1912 (text from TLA, ed. G. Vittmann; trans. L. Prada). See Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 202n.209, 205 for new readings; see also *UPZ* I, pp. 21, 32, Sauneron 1959, 28–29, Kessler 1989, 82, and Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 74. (I am grateful to Luigi Prada for providing a previously unpublished translation of this text and for his explanations of certain textual issues. The text has now been published as Vleeming, *Short Texts* III 2099 (not consulted).)

53 For a parallel in another Demotic tale, see the fragmentary passage in *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyon* that features this king spending the night in close proximity to the lion burials of Mysis at Leontopolis (see Chapter 9.7).

54 See Appendix iv.

While Osorapis was clearly oracular, no other source links his complex at Saqqâra to dreams.⁵⁵ At Memphis, where the living bulls were housed in the Temple of Ptah, Apis had long been an oracular god, and he remained so into Roman times, but his medium of communication was through the Apis bull or possessed individuals, not dreams.⁵⁶ Demotic oracle questions from Saqqâra also show that Osorapis, accompanied by Isis, Mother-of-Apis, had a conventional oracle, presumably at his temple complex.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, despite the lack of direct evidence for incubation in his cult, papyri and *ostraka* do show that Osorapis, like the other major gods of Saqqâra, communicated through dreams, at least some of which appear to have been deliberately solicited. What might be considered the best evidence for incubation in the cult of Osorapis, however, is indirect: one of the *ostraka* in the Ḳor Archive reports that he had once received a dream at the sanctuary of Osormnevis at Heliopolis, and since there were numerous parallels between the cults of the Heliopolitan bull-god Mnevis and the Memphite Apis, and at Saqqâra their divinized incarnations Osormnevis and Osorapis were closely associated, it can be inferred that if incubation was possible at Heliopolis—at least for a cult official like Ḳor—this would also have been the case at the Saqqâra *Sarapieion*.⁵⁸ It is not clear that

55 It was suggested by Wilcken that Osorapis became an oracular god under the influence of Sarapis (*UPZ* 1, p. 32), but this no longer appears likely given the current understanding of their origins.

56 See Courcelle 1951, Kessler 1989, 81–82, and Thompson (D.) 2012, 183, 255.

57 See Smith (H.) 2002, 367–371, citing P.Saq. inv. 71/2-DP 20 (= Smith/Davies 2014, 284–286, No. 11), addressed to “My great lord, O Osiris-Apis, the great god (and) the goddess” (*pꜣi(=y) nb ꜥ i Wsir-Ḳp pꜣ ntr | ꜥ tꜣ ntr.t*); P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 43 (= Smith/Davies, *ibid.*, 281–283, No. 9), to “my great lord” (*pꜣi(=y) nb ꜥ*); P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 372 (= Smith/Davies, *ibid.*, 283–284, No. 10), to “Isis, the Mother of Apis”; and P.Berlin ÄM P. 23544, ed. Zauzich 2000, 8, to “My great Lord, Osiris-Apis.” To the texts originally cited by Smith has been added another oracle question addressing Isis, P.Saq. inv. 71/2-DP 92 (= Smith/Davies, *ibid.*, 286–288, No. 12). The oracle’s location cannot be determined from these papyri, since those designated H5 were found being reused as fill in the Northern Enclosure of Isis’s Mother-of-Apis complex, along with numerous cultic objects clearly originating at the complex, while those inventoried as 71/2 were found in the Sector 7 “West Dump,” which was outside of the Sacred Animal Necropolis: therefore, if all of them were from a single temple it could have belonged to either Isis or Osorapis. Another Demotic text from the site, dating to 161/60 BCE, indicates that Osorapis could communicate through the movements of a sacred scarab beetle interacting with “a man’s dung-ball” (P.Brit.Mus. 10238, ed. Jasnow 1997, cf. Depauw 2006, 309n.894, 354; annotated translation in Quack 2008, 381, No. 4.10). For evidence from the Ḳor Archive further suggesting the presence of an oracle of Osorapis, see below.

58 *O.Hor* 1. For Osormnevis and Heliopolis, see Chapter 9.6.

Ḥor’s dream at Heliopolis was solicited, however, so this evidence for Osorapis at Saqqâra is not only indirect, but also uncertain.

Of the major archives associated with Saqqâra, that of Ḥor provides the most explicit evidence for incubation there, but it does not indicate that he engaged in incubation at the temple of Osorapis itself. This lack of any reference to incubation there is not especially surprising, since Ḥor relocated to Saqqâra at the bidding of Thoth and served this god rather than Osorapis. Moreover, a likely explanation for the lack of such references is that the dream-revelations preserved in this archive were selected for a petition to the king that apparently pertained to Thoth’s ibis cult, so any dreams that Ḥor might have solicited at the *Sarapieion* on other occasions were likely irrelevant. It is perhaps significant that the archive’s one clear reference to Ḥor seeking Osorapis’s guidance regarding the ibis cult, which at Saqqâra was subordinate to the divinized bull cult, states that the god responded to his petition with three “utterances” (*ḥt-mdt*) but provides no dream-narrative and makes no references to a dream—which suggests that these “utterances” were obtained through an oracle or in some other manner, and thus that when consulting Osorapis on ibis-related matters Ḥor engaged in divinatory practices other than incubation.⁵⁹

59 *O.Hor* 33, l. 3. Although in other texts from the archive *ḥt-mdt* is used unambiguously to refer to dream-oracles, it is a general term that could be applied to divine messages regardless of the medium, and thus was not solely used for dreams (see Ray 1987, 86; for the term’s different uses in the Ḥor *ostraka*, see pp. 440–443). Based on the rest of the text, which reads to him “very much like the resolutions of a committee-meeting,” Ray has suggested that this term pertains not to an oracular response but to the pronouncements of cult authorities (*O.Hor*, p. 133), for which parallels, some published only recently, can be found in inscribed *leges sacrae* from throughout the Greek world as well as numerous Anatolian “confession” inscriptions that applied oracular language to what must have been decisions by priests or other officials (for the latter phenomenon, see *ΒΙΛΚ* 5 and Herrmann/Malay, *New Documents* 85, both with commentary). Ray’s interpretation, if correct, would raise the question of whether Ḥor had the option of engaging in incubation as a way of consulting Osorapis but opted against it or was unable to do so (perhaps because he was not serving in the cult of Osorapis), or whether there *was* no incubation being practiced at the Apis bull catacombs.

There is also somewhat unreliable evidence for Osorapis communicating through spoken oracles to be found in the highly fictitious *Alexander Romance*, in which Sarapis issues an oracle to the Egyptians, and the language employed by the author—“he gave an oracle to them, saying . . .” (ἐχρησιμοδότησεν αὐτοῖς εἰπών)—renders a dream unlikely as the medium of communication (Ps.-Call., *Hist. Alex. Magni* 1.3, ed. Kroll; for the related term χρησιμοδότης at Abydos, see p. 495). Even if the episode itself was dreamed up by the unknown author, it may reflect the reality of Sarapis having been recognized as an

The remaining sources from the Ḥor Archive as well as those from the Ptolemaios and Zenon archives give useful insights into the importance of dreams in the worship of Osorapis and Sarapis, but reveal little about incubation at the *Sarapieion*. Even if the *Sarapieion* complex did have a structure or subterranean area designated for incubation, Ḥor appears to have had no need to visit it in order to invoke that god: in one Demotic text he reports having spent two days supplicating not only the divinized ibises of “the House of Thoth,” but also Osorapis and Osormnevis, whom he specifically called upon, and this shows that Ḥor could sleep at another god’s complex but seek to receive a dream from Osorapis and his counterpart Osormnevis.⁶⁰ In general, the gods appearing in Ḥor’s dreams or invocations were the foremost powers of the Saqqâra bluff, especially the Sacred Animal Necropolis: Isis, Imhotep, Osorapis, Osiris, and Thoth.⁶¹ But while Osorapis was among them, none of the surviving texts by Ḥor indicates that he would invoke this god at his own temple in the pursuit of dream-oracles—which may be significant, or may simply be an accident of preservation.

An active dream-life and a profound belief in the significance of those dreams appears to have been a characteristic of at least some of the *Sarapieion*’s “recluses” (*enkatochoi*), as is particularly evident in the dream-related papyri of the Ptolemaios Archive—both the five texts recording dreams received by Ptolemaios himself or else his brother or one of his female wards, and the ones merely referring or alluding to dreams.⁶² Whereas in the case of Ḥor, a contemporary who may well have been known to Ptolemaios and the others, it is absolutely clear that at least some of his own dreams were deliberately solicited through incubation, and there is also circumstantial evidence that an Egyptian

oracular god in Hellenistic times. (Appearing in the earliest recension of the *Romance*, this episode may have been written as early as the third century BCE.)

60 *O.Hor* 13 (see p. 622). For the “House of Thoth,” see Sects. 7.5–6. Ḥor’s account of supplications and invocations there is followed by a dream-narrative, indicating that his prayers asking Osorapis and Osormnevis to “come to me” (*im n-i*) were part of the procedure for engaging in incubation, and perhaps standard language when praying for a dream (see Appendix v).

61 See *O.Hor*, pp. 132–133. For *O.Hor* 10, a text with invocations of Isis that may have been used for incubation, see p. 622n.7. (In Renberg 2010a, 654–655 I treated *O.Hor* 18 as another example of an invocation likely linked to incubation, based on Ray’s reading of *verso*, l. 18 with the phrase “come for a dream” (and his accompanying discussions at pp. 119, 131). However, Quack in a new edition of the *ostrakon* has read the toponym “Rosetau” instead of *rswt* (“dream”), and therefore this document should no longer be associated with incubation (see Quack 2014a, 97–98n.xxx).)

62 See n. 20.

associate of Ptolemaios and possible *enkatochos* named Nektembēs had incubated on two occasions,⁶³ Ptolemaios gives no indication that his own dreams were received in this manner, as is also true of those received by Apollonios and Taous.⁶⁴ There is a strong possibility that the dreams Ptolemaios put his faith in and felt compelled to record had come unbidden to this devout worshiper, who by the very nature of his role of *enkatochos* had a profound obsession with the divine that must have regularly manifested itself in his dreams.⁶⁵ After all, since he lived in the *Sarapieion* over a period of at least sixteen years, Ptolemaios must have received countless dreams in his bedchamber during his residence and ascribed prophetic significance to a number of them, just as Apuleius’s hero Lucius—whose life in the Kenchreai *Isieion*, and then possibly Rome’s *Iseum et Serapeum Campense* as well, mirrors that of an *enkatochos*—received several dreams from Isis and subsequently Osiris without engaging in incubation.⁶⁶ Home to Ptolemaios during this period appears

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- 63 A papyrus in the Ptolemaios Archive preserves eight dreams received by the otherwise unknown Nektembēs and communicated to Ptolemaios, in whose hand they were written, because they were “about the twins [*i.e.*, Taous and Tawe] and myself” (πρεῖ (= περὶ) τοῶν (= τῶν) διδυμῶν καὶ ἐμ’ αὐτοῦ) (*UPZ* I 79, l. 2; cf. ll. 13–14). Since Ptolemaios recorded only the contents of the dreams, no information regarding how and where they were received is preserved, and thus it is possible that they came unbidden (see *UPZ* I, pp. 348–350, expressing skepticism regarding the role incubation played). However, the fact that four were received on the night of May 4, 159 BCE and four more on the night of May 23 might point to incubation, as is to be seen in other Demotic texts recording multiple dreams received the same night (see p. 718). Thus Nektembēs, whose role in the Saqqâra community is not indicated, may have deliberately sought dreams on behalf of Ptolemaios and his associates (as suggested, *e.g.*, in Delekat 1964, 46, 145–146), for which an apparent parallel from more than a half-century earlier exists (see Chapter 9.5). (For the likelihood that Nektembēs had dreamed in Egyptian rather than Greek, see Naether/Renberg 2010, 63–64n.49 and Legras 2011, 234–235; see also Prada 2013, 87–88 on this text.)
- 64 Legras 2005, 233 has briefly noted the difficulty of determining how Apollonios’s dreams were received.
- 65 Thus Ray was likely correct to conclude that at least some of these dream-accounts represent “records of chance experience” rather than dreams received through incubation (*O.Hor.*, p. 132).
- 66 Kenchreai: Apul., *Met.* 11.19.2, 11.20, 11.22.2–4. Rome: Apul., *Met.*, 11.26.1, 11.26.4–27.9, 11.29.1–30.4. For Lucius as *enkatochos*, see *UPZ* I, pp. 72–75, 645. For the evidence provided by Apuleius regarding Egyptian sanctuaries and religion in general, see Griffiths 1975, Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, and Kleibl 2009, 25–28, to which has recently been added Keulen/Tilg/Nicolini/Graverini/Harrison/Panayotakis/van Mal-Maeder 2015. Whereas Lucius is clearly said to have rented a dwelling within the sacred precinct (*aedibusque conductis intra consaeptum templi larem temporarium mihi constituo*) at Kenchreai (Apul., *Met.* 11.19.1; see Keulen *et al.*, *ibid.*, 332–333), there is no such definitive statement regarding

to have been a cell or storeroom within the *pastophorion* of the *Astartieion*, and even though this was most likely located within the *Sarapieion* itself he and his brother were both serving Astarte rather than Osorapis/Sarapis:⁶⁷ so, even though the dreams preserved by Ptolemaios were probably received within the sacred precinct of Osorapis, they would only reflect the results of incubation if the dreamer had engaged in rituals and invocations before going to sleep. Moreover, since Ptolemaios and Apollonios were first and foremost servants of Astarte—even if constrained to remain there by Sarapis—it is an open question whether they would have attributed their dreams to her or Osorapis/Sarapis, though over time there is no reason why they would not have linked dreams to both.⁶⁸ Regardless of which divinity or divinities were associated with their dreams and whether these had been obtained through incubation or without solicitation, the fact that Ptolemaios and Apollonios put great stock in their dreams is demonstrated by their having made the effort to record them, quite possibly consulting a dream interpreter regarding their meaning⁶⁹—not to mention the fact that Ptolemaios, at least, based major life decisions on his dreams, eventually to his brother's great dismay.⁷⁰ Moreover,

his lodgings in Rome, and the fact that he had to inquire about the identity of the *pastophoros* he had seen in a dream suggests that he lived away from the *Iseum et Serapeum Campense* (Apul., *Met.* 11.27.4–8). Perhaps further pointing toward a rented dwelling elsewhere in the city is that Lucius explains his poverty by referring to the “expenses of urban life” (*erogationes urbanae*) and this may pertain at least in part to high rent (Apul., *Met.* 11.28.1). So, while it is clear that Lucius at Kenchreai received dreams while living in the sanctuary, though not necessarily by means of ritual incubation, at Rome it appears that his dreams were received in a secular setting. (For the question of whether incubation was practiced at the Campus Martius *Iseum*, see Renberg 2006, 114–116.)

67 UPZ 1 119, l. 18 ([το]ῦ ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης παστ[οφορίου]), cf. UPZ 1 5, col. i, ll. 8–9 and UPZ 1 6, ll. 3–4, 8. Most recently, see: Legras 2011, 180–181, 142–143 *et pass.*; Thompson (D.) 2012, 202–203; Thomas 2013, 160 *et pass.* and Thomas 2014, 118, 123.

68 One of Ptolemaios's accounts of a dream does mention that he had invoked Sarapis and Isis *within* the dream (UPZ 1 78, ll. 22–28).

69 For the limited evidence that the brothers consulted dream interpreters, see p. 732.

70 In addition to Ptolemaios's evidently having become a “recluse” because of a dream from Sarapis (see n. 20), this is to be seen in UPZ 1 70 (152/151 BCE), in which Apollonios upbraids Ptolemaios for relying on dreams that are ultimately proven false or misleading:

(*recto*) Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμαίῳ | τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. ὁμνύο τὸν Σάραπιν, ἰ μὴ μικρὸν | τι ἐντρέπομαι, οὐκ ἂν με ¹⁵ ἴδες τὸ πρόσωπόν μου | πόποτε, ὅτι ψεύδῃ | πάντα καὶ οἱ παρὰ σέ | θεοὶ ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἐν|βέβληκαν ὑμᾶς (= ἡμᾶς) εἰς ὕλην ¹⁰ μεγάλην καὶ οὐ δυνάμειθα ἀποθανεῖν, κἀν{α} ἰδῆς | ὅτι μέλλομεν σωθῆναι, | τότε βαπτίζωμεθα. | γίνωσκε ὅτι πιράσεται ¹⁵ ὁ δραπέ[τ]ης μὴ ἀφίνα | ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων | ἵνα (= εἶναι), χάριν γὰρ ἡμῶν | ἡζήμισται (= ἐζήμιωται) εἰς χαλκοῦ | (τάλαντα) ιε'. ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀνα²⁰βαίνει αὐρίον εἰς τὸ Σαραπι|ῆν

Apollonios even reported and expressed concern over nightmares that directly pertained to a crisis both were facing.⁷¹

A different situation—though pertinent because of the likelihood that it reveals dreams having been received from Sarapis at Saqqâra, even if not through incubation—is to be found in a letter from the Zenon Archive that is often cited as evidence for the role of dreams in the spread of Sarapis’s cult. In this letter, addressed to Apollonios, the wealthy finance minister (διοικητής) of Ptolemy II whose papers Zenon preserved, an otherwise unknown individual named Zoilos of Aspendos informs Apollonios of a series of dreams sent by Sarapis instructing Apollonios to establish a new *Sarapieion* “in the Greek (marketplace? neighborhood?) near the harbor” (ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ πρὸς

καὶ δύο ἡμέρας ποι|εῖ ἐν τῷ Ἀνουβιεῖω | πίνων. οὐκ ἔστι ἀνακύ|ψαι με πόποτε ἐν τῇ Τριχομίαι
|²⁵ ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς, ἰ καὶ | αὐτοὺς δεδῶκαμεν | καὶ ἀποπεπτώκαμεν | πλανόμενοι ὑπὸ
τῶν | θεῶν καὶ πιστεύοντες |³⁰ τὰ ἐνύπνια. εὐτύχει. | (*verso*) πρὸς τοὺς | τὴν ἀλή|θειαν
λέγοντες. | Πτολεμαί|ωι χαίρει[τ]ν.

(*recto*) Apollonios to his father Ptolemaios [*i.e.*, brother and head of household], greetings. I swear by Sarapis, if I were not feeling some amount of reverence, you would not see my face anymore, because you lie regarding everything, and the gods with you do likewise, because they have hurled us into a great mire where we may even die, and whenever you see [*i.e.*, in a dream] that we are about to be saved, *that's* when we are submerged. Know that the runaway will attempt to have it so that we are not free to be about the place, for because of us he was penalized fifteen bronze talents. The *strategos* comes up to the *Sarapieion* tomorrow and for two days will be banqueting in the *Anoubieion*. It is not possible for me ever to hold my head up high in Trikomia because of the shame, when we have both devoted ourselves and been disappointed, being misled by the gods and trusting dreams. Farewell.

(*verso*) For those speaking “the truth.” Greetings, Ptolemaios.

The “runaway,” named Menedemos, was at the center of a problem both brothers were dealing with, and therefore not surprisingly was showing up in Apollonios’s dreams (see next note).

- 71 As Apollonios wrote Ptolemaios on August 3, 152 BCE, in addition to his waking concerns about his brother and the *epistates* of the *Anoubieion* he had had nightmares of the former being chased by an individual named Menedemos (UPZ I 68), and that same day he wrote the *epistates* and again referred to his nightmares about Menedemos, whom he identifies as a runaway (UPZ I 69). The circumstances surrounding Menedemos and the *epistates*, whose name was also Apollonios, were so disheartening that he wrote his brother the letter lamenting their reliance on dream-oracles at some point that year (see previous note). For the three related letters of Apollonios and what little is known of the aftermath, see Thompson (D.) 2012, 233–234; cf. Legras 2011, 255–256. See also Renberg 2015, 250–251 on this episode.

τῶι λιμέν[ι]) of an unnamed city that was most likely Memphis—a city well known for its Greek quarter and other ethnic communities.⁷² Writing shortly before February 12/13, 257 BCE, Zoilos begins his narrative by reporting that, “It happened to me as I was paying worship to the god Sarapis on behalf of your health and success with King Ptolemy that Sarapis instructed me again and again in my sleep that I should sail over to you and inform you of this oracle” (ἐμοὶ συμβέβηκεν | θεραπεύοντι τὸν θεὸν Σάραπιν περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας καὶ εὐημερίας τῆς | πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Σάραπίμ μοι χρηματ[ί]ζ[ει]ν πλε[ο]ν[ά]κι[ς] |⁵ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, ὅπως ἂν διαπλεύσω πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐμφ[α]νί[σω] σοι τὸνδε τῶ[ν] | χρηματισμόν). Thus Zoilos appears to have been worshiping the Hellenized god on behalf of a fellow Hellene at the *Sarapieion*.⁷³ This papyrus has sometimes been taken as evidence for incubation,⁷⁴ but the circumstances surrounding these dreams are ambiguous, and there is no indication that they were solicited by means of rituals. Zoilos claims to have been making offerings to Sarapis on behalf of Apollonios’s health and prosperity over a period of time, which indicates a somewhat lengthy stay at the sanctuary rather than a quick overnight visit, and thus there is at least as good a chance that these dreams came to him unbidden in his lodgings.⁷⁵ It is also worth considering that Zoilos may have greatly exaggerated the frequency of the dreams and the intensity of the god’s desire for the new sanctuary, or perhaps even fabricated them: after all, Zoilos wrote that it was the god’s wish for Zoilos himself to oversee the site’s construction, so this letter might have been intended, at least in part, to drum up steady employment.⁷⁶ Overall, while it is certainly possible that on one or more occasions Zoilos deliberately sought Sarapis’s advice, this papyrus contains no overt evidence for incubation. Therefore, despite the prominence of dreams in the Ptolemaios Archive, and the role of one or more dreams from

72 *P.CairZen* I 59034 + Pl. 12; see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, with revised edition and commentary. For the convincing identification of the unnamed city as Memphis rather than Alexandria or a Ptolemaic holding outside of Egypt, as had previously been taken for granted, see Rigsby 2001a. The evidence for religion in the Zenon Archive has been surveyed in Hölbl 1993.

73 For the other evidence of ethnic Greeks or Macedonians worshiping the Hellenized god Sarapis by name at the *Sarapieion*, see n. 34. For the likelihood that the *dioikētēs* Apollonios was from Cyprus, see Rigsby 2011.

74 See, e.g., Wilcken *apud* Deissmann 1965, 152n.6; Fraser 1972, 11:408–409n.538; Hölbl 1993, 31–32; and Wacht 1997, 203. Arguing against such a conclusion, see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 195–196.

75 For a possibly similar situation at the Egyptian sanctuary in Thessalonika, see pp. 390–391.

76 For reasons to doubt the veracity of Zoilos’s narrative, see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 194 with n. 61.

Sarapis in the lives of both Ptolemaios and Zoilos, the Ptolemaios and Zenon archives present no evidence for divinatory incubation involving Sarapis at the Memphis *Sarapieion*, while the Ḥor Archive provides relatively little evidence for this native Egyptian invoking Osorapis at Saqqâra, and none of it pertains to the *Sarapieion* proper.

7.4 Imhotep

Whereas neither therapeutic nor divinatory incubation can be assigned with confidence to the cults of Osorapis and his Hellenized counterpart Sarapis at the *Sarapieion* complex, there is clear evidence for the former and inconclusive evidence for the latter at the nearby temple of the divinized royal architect Imhotep. A highly accomplished individual who served in several other capacities during the middle of the twenty-seventh century (3rd Dynasty), Imhotep is most famous for having played an instrumental role in the construction of Djoser's Step Pyramid at Saqqâra.⁷⁷ During the New Kingdom, a millennium after his death, Imhotep had been deified and was being venerated as a patron of scribes and teacher of wisdom,⁷⁸ and by the end of the Late Period he also came to be worshiped as a healing god, leading him to be hailed for his medical prowess in hymns and other types of inscriptions throughout Greco-Roman

77 On Imhotep, see: Wildung 1977a, 31–81; *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 11–15 *et pass.*; Ciampini 2009; Cauville 2010; Thompson (D.) 2012, 194–196 *et pass.*; Pätznick 2012; Quack 2014b; see also *UPZ* 1, pp. 38–41, Dunand 2006, 20–21, and Klotz 2012a, 119–121. The inscriptions and papyri relevant to Imhotep's cult are collected in Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (but see now Ray, *Texts G1*, a new edition with commentary of the so-called “Imhotep Stele,” a Demotic dedication from Saqqâra). For a brief survey of the literary sources for the cult in Late Antiquity, see Schwartz 1994. A highly fictionalized *Life of Imhotep*, a Demotic tale dating to the first or second century CE that was found at the Tebtunis temple library and features a magical duel between Imhotep and a sorceress heading the Assyrian army, will soon be edited for the first time (P. Carlsberg 85; see Ryholt 2004, 500–502, Ryholt 2009, and Quack 2009a, 30–32 and Quack 2014b, 52). (For the rejected identity of a site at Athribis as a sanctuary of Imhotep where incubation was practiced, see Appendix 1.8.8.)

78 There is now evidence for a temple of Imhotep from the 18th Dynasty (1550–1295 BCE), though the reference in an administrative text provides no information regarding location or the nature of the cult at that time (P. Berlin ÄM P. 3029, Text 2, l. 12, ed. Müller 2011, with discussion at 179n.9). Other early evidence of Imhotep's worship is represented by a water basin dedicated to him in the 19th Dynasty by Khaemwaset, the fourth son of Ramesses II (reigned 1279–1213 BCE) and a figure who entered legend as Setna Khaemwaset (see p. 79), that has been linked to Saqqâra (Waseda University, Institute of Egyptology, no inv. no.; see Allen 1999). (I am grateful to Joachim F. Quack for these references.)

Egypt,⁷⁹ as well as in literature.⁸⁰ Imhotep was initially worshiped at a sanctuary near the Step Pyramid, and then alongside other gods at several sites elsewhere in Egypt beginning in Ptolemaic times. As a historical figure who later was honored as a divine healer and the son of the god Ptah, Imhotep naturally

- 79 Among the earlier sources, this can best be observed in three hieroglyphic texts: the mid-third century BCE dedicatory statue from Mendes by a priest thanking Imhotep for a cure (Paris, Musée Rodin 16, ed. De Meulenaere 1966, 42–46 + figs. 2–4 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 129–130, §86 + Pl. 18)); the statue given by a king for curing an individual named Psentaes that dates to the 30th Dynasty (380–343 BCE) and praises Imhotep as one who comes and heals those who call upon him and who also could be invoked by those wishing for children (Vatican 163–164 (= Marucchi, *Museo egizio Vaticano*, 67–69, No. 93 (= Wildung, *ibid.*, 42–44, §20 + Pl. 18, 3–4); trans. Botti, *Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, 41–43, No. 42 + Pls. 34–36); and, another 30th-Dynasty statue given as a dedication (Brook. 86.226.24, formerly L68.10.1 (= Mond/Myers, *Armant* 1:190 + Pl. 18,6 = Wildung, *ibid.*, 44–45, §21 + Pl. 7)). There may also be allusions to Imhotep's healing powers, or even miraculous cures, in two second-century BCE *ostraka* from Saqqâra's Hor Archive that refer to "Imhotep son of Ptah, to whom they call through all lands because of his magic-making(?)" (*ḥy-m-ḥtp sꜣ Ptḥ ḥ-ir-w ꜥ n-f n nꜣ tꜣwy dr-w r-dbꜣ pꜣy-f ḥr-spy*) (O.Hor 16, l. 7 and 17A, ll. 8–10 (trans. Ray, slightly modified); see *ibid.*, pp. 61–62n.g). Several publicly inscribed documents likewise cite Imhotep's healing powers: an inscription from the shrine of the Nubian king Ergamenes at Dakke that dates to roughly 200 BCE stating that Imhotep brings medicine to all the lands in response to those who summon him (*Dakke* I, 205–208, §§465–467 + *Dakke* II, Pl. 81 (= Wildung, *ibid.*, 180–181, §127 + Pl. 43)); a hymn from the temple of Ptah at Karnak that dates to the reign of Tiberius states that Imhotep is honored universally because he heals all, and a hymn to Amenhotep from the same site mentions his healing powers (Firchow, *Urkunden* VIII, 144–145, §§212–213; see pp. 482–483n.99); at Hathor's Dendara temple, Imhotep was honored with a long hymn on the façade of the *pronaos* in Claudian times, in which he was praised as one who knows all prescriptions, heals the sick, and makes the infertile fertile (Wildung, *ibid.*, 137–140, §94 + Pl. 22, located at PM VI, p. 44; see Wildung 1977a, 55–56 and Cauville 2010); and a Domitianic inscription from Latopolis (Greco-Roman Esna) claims that Imhotep could cure any illness (*Esna* II, No. 107 (= Wildung, *ibid.*, 141, §95 + Pl. 23)). In addition, a first-century CE stele from the chapel of Imhotep at the Armant *Bucheion*, bull catacombs sacred to the god Buchis, apparently recognizes the god as a healer, but the second half of the text is too damaged for a proper reading (Brit.Mus. EA 59442 (= Mond/Myers, *Bucheum* II:20, No. 22, cf. p. 52 + III, Pl. 47 = Wildung, *ibid.*, 194–195, §138 + Pl. 46, 2); see Goldbrunner (L.) 2004, 189–190). Much of this language should be taken to refer to the belief that the god heard prayers and healed the sick unseen, rather than that he was curing through incubation.
- 80 See, e.g., P.Philadelphia E 16335, ll. 17–20, ed. Zauzich 2010/11, a Roman-era Demotic fragment likely to come from the beginning of the *Insinger Papyrus*, in which Imhotep is identified as the son of Ptah and linked to healing. In addition, the unpublished *Life of Imhotep* included an episode in which Imhotep provides medicine that cures the pharaoh's blindness (P. Carlsberg 85; see Ryholt 2009, 311).

reminded the Greeks of Apollo's son Asklepios, who in myth had been a mortal physician before joining the ranks of the immortals: thus when Imhotep came to be venerated by some of the Greeks of Egypt, who phonetically rendered the name *Iy-m-ḥtp* into Greek as “Imouthes” (Ἰμούθης), he was understood to be a form of Asklepios.⁸¹ The most famous, and in Greco-Roman times perhaps

- 81 As has not been fully recognized, the sources reveal a somewhat complicated situation regarding how Imhotep was perceived by the Greeks of Egypt, and the extent to which he was worshiped by them beyond the Memphis area. The use of name “Imouthes” is primarily known from the famous “Imouthes Aretalogy” dating to Roman times (*P.Oxy* XI 1381; see below), though it is also to be found in a horoscopal text of 138 CE thought to be from the Theban area, in which “Asklepios” is specifically identified with “Imouthes” (Ἀσκληπιού, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἰμούθου, υἱὸς Ἡφίστου) in the context of having imparted astrological wisdom along with Hermes (*P.Paris* 19, col. i, l. 6 (= Neugebauer/van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* 137c, incorrectly citing *P.Paris* 19bis; see Quack 2014b, 48 on the -ου in Ἰμούθου being from a transliteration of the god's Egyptian epithet *wr*, “the great,” rather than genitive form). Other papyri reveal, however, that Imhotep was often instead referred to as “Asklepios,” as is made especially clear by the magical papyrus calling him “Asklepios of Memphis” rather than “Imouthes,” which is not found in the magical papyri (*PGM* VII.628–642 (see pp. 433–434); for the god at Memphis being called “Asklepios,” see Kießling 1953, 31–33). It is also shown by Manetho's incomplete reference to “Asklepios” having been a renowned healer under Tosorthros (*i.e.*, Djoser) in his list of dynasties and pharaohs (*FGrH* 609 F 2/3a/3b, at pp. 22–23). While there is no evidence that in the Memphis area Greeks would distinguish between Imhotep/Imouthes and Asklepios, elsewhere in Egypt there is at least some indication of Asklepios retaining his Greek identity among Greek worshipers (briefly noted in Lang 2013, 57–58). The clearest example of this is the Deir el-Bahari sanctuary that Imhotep shared with Amenhotep, where hieroglyphic and sculptural evidence refers to and represents the native Egyptian god, but the Greek sources only refer to him as Ἀσκληπιός, and in what appears to have been the opening line of a hymn he is even identified as the “son of Phoibos” (τέκος Φοίβου) (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 100; cf. *I.Deir el-Bahari* 208, l. 1, with commentary). Since Hygieia, who had no known Egyptian counterpart, was also worshiped with the two gods there, it appears that the Greeks visiting this site retained their traditional conception of the Greek god, not the Memphite Imhotep (see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 47). (For this reason, the god worshiped at Deir el-Bahari is referred to in this work as “Imhotep/Asklepios,” instead of just Imhotep.) A comparably problematic situation is to be found at the Philae temple established by Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I soon after their first son was born in 186 BCE (*I.Philae* I 8), since it was dedicated in Greek to Asklepios (not “Imouthes” or “Asklepios of Memphis”), but in contrast to this and another Greek inscription believed to be from the site that likewise uses this name (*SEG* 55, 1840 (= *I.Philae* I 127)), Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs at the complex refer to or represent Imhotep (see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 152–163, §§101, 103–110 + Pls. 27–33; cf. *I.Philae* I, pp. 108–109 and Wildung 1977a, 70–72). None of the sources indicates whether Greek worshipers at Philae would have seen the two as distinct or indistinguishable, but since there is good reason to think that Imhotep was

the only, sanctuary of Imhotep operating in a traditional Egyptian manner was the one at Saqqâra, which replaced his still undiscovered tomb as the central focus of his worship,⁸² and which in Greek documents was referred to as the “*Asklepieion*,”⁸³ but never to our knowledge an “*Imouthieion*.” Like Imhotep’s tomb, the Saqqâra *Asklepieion*’s remains have not been unearthed, but its location is known with a greater degree of certainty, since the papyrological record

being honored by Ptolemy V as a divine architect as well as healing god, which might at least partly explain his presence in the decorative program, it appears that some amount of distinction between Imhotep and Asklepios was assumed, and it is thus possible that the royal family intended to honor both Asklepios and Imhotep, employing Greek for the former and hieroglyphics accompanying an Egyptian decorative scheme for the latter. The dedication of a public sanctuary for Asklepios and Hygieia by the city of Ptolemais during the reign of Nerva, which is recorded in an inscription featuring a *paean* with numerous references to Asklepios’s mythology and family, appears to represent further evidence for the worship of the Greek Asklepios rather than Imhotep at an Egyptian site (*I.MetrEg* 176; annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 285–287, No. 5). Moreover, none of the limited evidence from Alexandria suggests that the public or private worship of Asklepios there was linked to the cult of Imhotep (for the sources, see p. 343n.26). Finally, a more ambiguous situation is to be seen in a letter dating to 257 BCE from a priest of Asklepios named Philonides (*Pros.Ptol.* 111 6544), who may well have been the son of a prominent nome official (*P.ZenPestm* 42, with commentary): the combination of his Greek name and likely status might suggest that he served at an unidentified sanctuary of Asklepios rather than Imhotep, but if he was the same Philonides who wrote a letter referring to a sick person spending time at the Memphis *Asklepieion*, which is certainly possible due to the name’s rarity, there is a chance that he instead served there (*P.Petr* I 30(1); quoted p. 430). Overall, therefore, it is difficult to tell the extent to which the Greek or Egyptian inhabitants of Egypt viewed Asklepios and Imhotep as two facets of the same god, and to what extent they maintained at least a partial distinction between the two. (For the worship of Asklepios in Egypt as well as his association with Imhotep, see *I.Philae* I, pp. 103–109.)

- 82 See Thompson (D.) 2012, 19, 22 *et pass.* Imhotep’s tomb has traditionally been located somewhere in the vicinity of Djoser’s Step Pyramid, which stands south of the midway point between the *Sarapieion* and *Asklepieion*, but it has also been suggested that it was located in the northern part of the Saqqâra bluff. For the possibility that Imhotep’s tomb was located in close proximity to the Ibis Galleries in the Sacred Animal Necropolis—quite speculative, but worth considering, even if the theory seems equally applicable to the nearby Baboon Galleries—see Smith (H.) 1974, 27–29, but also Martin (G.) 1981, 4–5.
- 83 See, e.g., *P.Petr* I 30(1); for additional references, see Bottigelli 1941, 26. (There were other sanctuaries in Egypt likewise referred to as an “*Asklepieion*,” though the one at Saqqâra appears to have been the most famous to go by that name. Only at Philae and possibly Athribis (see Appendix 1.8.8) have remains of sanctuaries of Imhotep/Asklepios been found, in addition to the well-preserved sanctuary of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari into which Imhotep/Asklepios was introduced.)

places it near the *Boubastieion* in the area of the “Temple of the Peak,” at the eastern end of the bluff.⁸⁴ Even without any architectural remains, it is clear that the cult of Imhotep was among the most prominent in the Memphis area beginning in Pharaonic times, and numerous local residents and pilgrims were drawn to the *Asklepieion*.⁸⁵

Several texts reveal the importance of dreams in the worship of Imhotep at Memphis. Most famously, the Imperial-period “Imouthes Aretalogy” found at Oxyrhynchus recounts the experiences of a mother and then later her son engaging in incubation at an unknown site that is likely to have been the Saqqâra *Asklepieion*, describing in detail the visible appearance of the god before the mother’s eyes while her sleeping son was dreaming of the same events:

ἐπεὶ |⁶⁵ δὲ τ[ρ]ι[ε]τῆς πα[ρ]ῳ̃χετ[ο] χρόνος | μ[η]δ[ι]ὲν ἔτι μ[ο]υ κάμνοντος, |
 τρ[ι]ε[τ]ῆς δ[ι]᾽ .. | τῇ μητρὶ ἐπι[σ]χ[ή]ψασα ἄ[θ]εος τεταρταῖα ἢ | φρεῖν αὐτὴν
 ἐστρόβει, ὁψὲ |⁷⁰ μόλις νοήσαντες ἰκέτ[α]ι πα[ρ]ῳ̃μεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν π[ο]τ-
 νιῳ̃μενοι ἄκεσιν ἐπινεύσαι | τῆς νόσου. ὁ δ’ οἶα καὶ πρὸς πάν[τ]ας χρηστὸς
 δι’ ὄνειράτων |⁷⁵ φανείς εὐτελέσιν αὐτὴν | ἀπήλλαξεν βοθηήμασιν | ἡμεῖς δὲ
 [μ]η | τὰς ἐοικυίας | δι[ι]ὰ θυσιῶν τῷ σώσαντι | ἀπεδίδομεν χάριτας, ἐπεὶ |⁸⁰
 δὲ κάμοι μετὰ ταῦτα αἰφνί[δι]ο[ν] ἄλγημα κατὰ δεξιῶν | ἐρύη πλευροῦ, ταχὺς
 ἐπὶ | τὸν βοθητὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ὥ[ρ]μησα φύσεως, |⁸⁵ [καὶ] πάλιν ἐτοιμότε-
 ρος | ὑπακούσας εἰς ἔλεον | [ἐ]νεργέστε[ρ]ον τὴν ἰδίαν | ἀπεδείξατο εὐεργεσίαν,
 | ἣν ἐπαληθειῶ μέλλων |⁹⁰ τὰς αὐτοῦ φρικτὰς θυ[ν]ά[μ]ε[ι]ς ἀπαγγέλλειν. νῦν
 | ἦν ὅτε πᾶν [ἐ]κεκοίμηντο | ζῶον πλὴν τῶν ἀλγ[ο]ύν[τ]ων, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἐνεργέ-
⁹⁵στερον ἐφαίνετο, καὶ με | σφοδρὸς ἐφλεγε πυρ<ε>τος, ἄσθμα[τι] τε καὶ βηκί
 (= βηκί) τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ | πλευρ[οῦ] ἀναγομένη[ς] ὁδύνης ἐσφαδάζον· καρη-
 βα|¹⁰⁰ρηθεὶς [δ]ὲ τοῖς πόνοις {ἀ}λγ[ή]θαργος [ε]ἰς ὕπνον ἐφερόμην· [ἡ] δὲ μήτηρ
 ὥς ἐπὶ | παιδί, καὶ φύ[σ]ει φιλόστοργος | γὰρ ἐστιν, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ὑπερ|¹⁰⁵αλγ-
 [ο]ύσα βασάνους ἐκαθέζετο μηδὲ καθ’ ὀλίγον ὕπνου | μετ[α]λαμβάνουσα. εἴτ’
 ἐξαπ[ι]νῆς ἑώρα—οὗτ’ ὄναρ οὗθ’ ὕπνος, ὁφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν |¹¹⁰ ἀκείνητοι
 διηνοιγμένοι, | βλέποντες μὲν οὐκ ἀκρειβῶς, θεία γὰρ αὐτὴν μετὰ | δέ[ο]υς

84 See Davies/Smith 1997, 125n.16 and Ray, *Texts*, p. 237. The earlier suspicions of B.H. Stricker that the complex identified as the *Anoubieion* was actually the *Asklepieion* have been disproven by more recent excavations (see Stricker 1943; cf. Jeffreys/Smith 1988, 3). For the “Temple of the Peak,” see p. 397.

85 Evidence of the sanctuary’s fame in Roman times can be seen in a comment by Ammianus Marcellinus referring to Memphis as a “city famed for the regular presence of the god Aesculapius” (*urbem praesentia frequenti numinis Aesculapii claram*) (Amm. Marc. 22.14.7).

εἰσῆι φαντασία[ν] | καὶ ἀκό[π]ως κατ[ο]πτεύειν |¹¹⁵ κωλύουσα εἴτε αὐτὸν
 τὸν | θεὸν εἴτε αὐτοῦ θεράπον|τας. πλὴν ἦν τις ὑπερμή|κης μὲν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρω-|
 πον λαμπ[ρ]αῖς ἡμφιεσμῶ|¹²⁰νος ὁθόναις τῇ εὐωνύ|μῳ χειρὶ φέρων βίβλον | ὃς
 μόνον ἀπὸ κεφαλ[ῆ]ς | ἕως ποδῶν δις καὶ τρ[ί]ς | ἐπισκοπήσας με ἀφανῆς |¹²⁵
 ἐγ[έ]νετο. ἡ δὲ ἀνανήψασα | ἔτι τρομώδης ἐγείρειν με | ἐπειράτο. εὐροῦ[σ]α
 δέ με | τοῦ μὲν [π]υρετοῦ ἀπηλ[λ]α|γμένον [ι]δρώτος δέ μοι πολ|¹³⁰λοῦ ἐπα-
 π[ο]λισθάνοντος | τὴν μέ[ν] τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ προσε|κύνησε[ν] ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐ|μέ δὲ
 ἀπ[ο]μάσσουσα ν[η]φιλίωτε[ρο]ν ἐποίησεν. καὶ |¹³⁵ διαλα[λή]σαντί μοι τὴν
 τοῦ | θεοῦ πρ[ο]ε|λομένη μηνύειν ἄρε|τὴν προλαβὼν ἐγὼ πάντα ἀ|πήγγελλ<λ>ον
 αὐτῇ· ὅσα [γ]ὰρ δι[ὰ] τῆς | ὀψεως εἶδεν ταῦτα ἐγ[ώ] δι' ὃ|¹⁴⁰νειράτων ἐφαντα-
 σιώθην. | καὶ τῶνδὲ τῆς πλευρᾶς λωφη|σάντων μοι ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι | μοι μί[α]ν
 δοντὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκε|σώδυνον ἰατρείαν, ἐκῆρυσσον |¹⁴⁵ αὐτοῦ [τ]ὰς εὐεργεσίας.⁸⁶

When a period of three years had passed during which I was no longer working, and for three years an ungodly quartan fever weighed upon my mother, causing her distress, at long last having only just become aware (of the need) we came as suppliants to the god, loudly imploring him to

86 *P.Oxy* XI 1381, ll. 64–145 (= Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 15); edition with commentary of ll. 64–145 alone in Totti-Gemünd 1998; full annotated translation in Jördens 2010, 317–321, No. 1; see also Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 93–98, §60 and Weber (G.) 2005–06, 97–100. The link to Memphis is suggested by the opening, which refers to a procession conducting the god from Heliopolis to Memphis (ll. 15–23), and by various other elements in the partly preserved story framing the account of incubation. The god himself is referred to as both “Imouthes, son of Ptah” and “Asklepios, son of Hephaestos” (ll. 201–202, 228–229), showing clearly that it is the Egyptian Imhotep rather than the Greek Asklepios.

A new edition of this papyrus is being prepared by Franziska Naether, who had been collaborating on the project with Heinz-Josef Thissen before his death. The Greek text quoted here is from this work, and differs from the original edition at several points, with improvements derived both from the suggestions of previous scholars and examination of a photo: ll. 71–72 follow an earlier suggestion of θεὸν π[ο]τνι|ώμενοι rather than θεὸν τῇ <μ>ητρί []|ώμενοι; l. 110 the correct spelling διηνοιγμένοι is read, instead of διηνυγμένοι; l. 112 the reading of θ[ε]ῖα is corrected to θεῖα; l. 129 the preferable [ι]δρώτος is read instead of [ι]δρώτα, as done by two other scholars; l. 136 the nominative absolute πρ[ο]ε|λομένη, which had been suggested as an alternative by an alternative by Grenfell and Hunt is chosen over πρ[ο]ε|λομένη; and, for ll. 137–138 the correct ἀπήγγελλ<λ>ον is preferred over the potential variant ἀπήγγελλον. (I am grateful to both Naether and Thissen for their permission to use their unpublished text. For a brief overview of the project, see Naether/Thissen 2012.)

grant a cure for this disease. The god, being of service through dreams as he is to all, having visibly appeared, delivered her by means of simple remedies, and through sacrifices we gave fitting thanks to the one who had saved her. When later on I, too, had a sudden pain grip my right side I quickly set off towards the helper of humankind, [and] again he, rather readily having given ear and been quite actively moved to mercy, put his beneficence on display—which I will substantiate, intending to report his awesome powers. It was night, when every living being was asleep except for those suffering, but the divine was quite actively made manifest. A violent fever was burning me up, and with pain welling up from my side I was struggling with asthma and coughing. Having become drowsy from my sufferings and lethargic, I was carried off to sleep. And my mother, since it was for her child (for she is affectionate by nature), being pained at my torments, was sitting up and not partaking of sleep even for a little while. Then suddenly she saw—this was neither a dream nor sleep, for her eyes were immovably fixed open, though not seeing precisely, for a divine vision accompanied by fear came to her, with ease preventing her from closely watching either the god himself or his servants. At any rate, there was a certain figure, one exceedingly tall compared to a person, dressed in resplendent garments and in his left hand bearing a book, who after only having examined me from head to feet two or three times disappeared. Having recovered her senses (though still trembling), my mother attempted to awaken me, and finding me to be freed of the fever and there to be much sweat pouring off me, she knelt in prayer to this manifestation of the god, and then, wiping me off, made me less groggy. And when she was intending to reveal to me the god's miraculous power as I was speaking with her, I, anticipating her, announced all that had happened. For everything that she had seen with her power of sight I had envisioned in my dreams. With these pains in my side having abated and the god having given me yet another pain-ending cure, I proclaimed his beneficence.

This account, however, is almost certainly fictional: the man's health crisis and that of his mother are told as part of what appears to be a lengthy narrative, now missing both the opening and the rest of the tale, that served as an introduction for a lost Hermetic text or some other religious tract, in a manner comparable to Ps.-Thessalos's astro-botanical treatise *On the Virtues of Herbs*, which was prefaced with a narrative account of how the author had gained from Asklepios (*i.e.*, Imhotep) himself the Egyptian wisdom that made his treatise

superior to those of others.⁸⁷ Regardless of the Oxyrhynchus tale's doubtful historicity—and what is recounted by the anonymous author is hardly more credible than the narrative of “Thessalos”—the fact that it features incubation at a sanctuary that is most likely the Saqqâra *Asklepieion* does appear to represent evidence for the practice there during the Roman Period.

Despite the repeated claims that this sanctuary was regularly visited by those seeking to engage in therapeutic incubation, there is no other source for this, and little additional evidence for individuals seeking treatment there.⁸⁸ The best evidence for his healing function at Saqqâra, though not necessarily for incubation, is a mid-third-century BCE private letter from a man named Philonides to his father mentioning that an individual named Satyros was recuperating at the *Asklepieion* over a long period ([... γίνωσκε δὲ] | [Σά]τυρον ὄντα ἐν Μέμφει ἀρρωστοῦντα καὶ τ[ὰς δ]ιατρ[ιβαὺς ποιοῦμενον ἐν] | [τ]ῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ).⁸⁹ A later hieroglyphic source reveals that the decorative program within the innermost shrine of the Saqqâra sanctuary was dedicated because of a dream, albeit one that cannot be attributed to incubation with certainty because the dreamer's location was not disclosed:⁹⁰ according to the funerary stele of Taimhotep, the wife of Ptah's high priest Psenptais III, the two had prayed to Imhotep for a son, and the priest subsequently received a

87 There are clear parallels between the “Imouthes Aretalogy” and the brief first-person account of a direct revelation from Asklepios that introduces and legitimizes this text that was formerly attributed to the Neronian-era physician Thessalos of Tralles (Ps.-Thessalos, *De virtutibus herbarum*, Book 1 *prooem.*, ed. Friedrich; see Fowden 1986, 50–52, 147, 162–165, Kákosy 2003, Sfameni Gasparro 2007b and Sfameni Gasparro 2009, Moyer 2003 and Moyer 2011, 208–273), and there is no reason to believe either tale to be authentic. Similarly, another papyrus from Oxyrhynchus that preserves a fragmentary narrative of an Asklepios epiphany appears to be either from a novel or an aretalogical tale, further demonstrating that the story told in the “Imouthes Aretalogy” need not have been based on an actual experience (*P.Oxy* III 416; see Morgan (J.) 1998, 3377–3378).

88 See, e.g., Lewis (N.) 1986, 71 and Chauveau 1997, 160 (p. 125 of 2000 translation), the former making the possibly overstated claim that “streams of invalids” would visit the site to be cured by the god, which primarily would require engaging in incubation.

89 *P.Petr* I 30(1), cf. *BL* VII, 159, ll. 3–5; see *UPZ* I, pp. 40–41 and Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 58–59, §35. The long period of time suggests that Satyros may have had a chronic illness that was not necessarily being addressed by engaging in incubation, or that a prescription obtained through incubation required a long period for treatment and recovery. (See pp. 236–237 for the issue of lengthy stays at Greek *Asklepieia*.)

90 Dunand treats this episode as evidence for incubation, but also notes that there is no indication of where the dream was received (Dunand 2006, 11); Łajtar, however, more cautiously states simply that the inscription omits this information and does not conclude that incubation was involved (*I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 12n.29).

dream in which the god appeared and promised that they would have a son if he would undertake “a great work . . . in the holy of holies,” and soon thereafter a son—appropriately named Imhotep (though subsequently known as Petubastis), and destined to succeed his father as high priest—was born on a feast day of the god in 46 BCE.⁹¹ An undated but roughly contemporary document, a Demotic oracle question or “letter to a god” that on its *verso* records in Demotic and Greek that it was for Imhotep, represents further evidence for individuals seeking medical aid from this god, since in the main text a sick man whose name is lost asks the god directly, “Is there a remedy, which you [will give me] and I shall take?” (*in wn phr.t ʿmtw=kʿ [d̥i.t s n=i] | mtw=i ʿir=s*).⁹² As discussed previously, it was Imhotep’s unsurpassed abilities as a healer that may explain the lack of evidence for therapeutic incubation at the nearby *Sarapieion*: with the Egyptian god of medicine, who had come to be associated with the Greek Asklepios, practicing in the neighborhood, there may not have been a need for Osorapis/Sarapis to duplicate his efforts, whereas in Alexandria and Canopus the cult of Sarapis did develop partly into a healing cult in the absence of a significant presence of Imhotep or Asklepios.⁹³ However, even if Imhotep was the preeminent healing god at Saqqâra, this need not mean that the *Asklepieion* drew endless streams of sick people who remained there until they had received medical attention from the god, as is sometimes claimed:

91 Brit.Mus. EA 147 (1027), Biographical Text, ll. 8–10, ed. Panov 2010 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 68–70, §45 + Pl. 13 = Reymond, *Priestly Family*, 165–77, No. 20); trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 111:59–65, and annotated translation by B. Ockinga in Sternberg-el Hotabi/Kammerzell/Ockinga 1988, 540–544, No. 9). See Quaegebeur 1972, 93–96 *et pass.* and Thompson (D.) 2012, 195. The high priest’s own funerary stele from 41 BCE, likewise in hieroglyphics, refers to Imhotep having given him a son after so many years, but makes no reference to a dream (Brit.Mus. EA 1026 (886), Biographical Text, l. 12 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 65–67, §44 + Pls. 11–12 = Reymond, *ibid.*, 1981, 136–150, No. 18); see also Reymond, *ibid.*, 151–164, No. 19, a Demotic version that is broken and thus missing this section), while the son’s own funerary stele makes no reference to Imhotep’s role in his conception (Brit.Mus. EA 1030 (188) (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 70–73, §46 + Pl. 11 = Reymond, *ibid.*, 214–221, No. 26)). For the career of Psenptais 111 and his son and successor Petubastis 111, see also Herklotz 2007, 294–297 (with some improvements to the latter’s text provided by Quack at nn. 236, 241, 248) and Gorre 2009, 325–342, Nos. 65–66. The theophoric name Taimhotep (“The one of Imhotep” or “The one belonging to Imhotep”) betrays her parents’ affinity for the healing god.

92 P.Cairo CG 50114, ed. Zauzich 2000, 20–21 (annotated and emended translation in Hoffmann/Quack 2010, 314–315, No. 4.12); translation based on Hoffmann/Quack’s. See Naether 2010, 362n.9 for the debate over what type the text is.

93 See p. 343.

unfortunately, our limited sources do not reveal whether the site was indeed an Egyptian Epidauros, or functioned on a smaller scale.

In Imhotep's native region of Memphis his prophetic abilities were also in evidence at his temple on the Saqqâra bluff.⁹⁴ However, while the evidence for the Memphis *Asklepieion* serving an oracular function is definitive, none of the limited sources records a clear instance of divinatory incubation.⁹⁵ The best evidence comes from the Ḥor Archive, but the passages in question are too obscure for any definite conclusions. One document that may pertain to this sanctuary, the opening lines of which are likely missing, begins:

ṛ *dd* ṛ *wšḥ ḥn* ṛ . . . | *ḥw.t-ntr t3 thny(.t) nb(.t)* ṛ *nḥ* ṛ [-*t3.wy*] | *dd=w n=y*
(*n*) *rswy iw=y sdr (n) ḥfḥ* [. . .] | *ḥsp.t 26 3bt 2 pr.t grḥ* ṛ . . . *ḥpr* ṛ [. . .] | *iw=w*
dd . . .⁹⁶

[---] gives answer in the [---] of the temple of the Peak of the Lord of Anch[-tawy] [*i.e.*, Imhotep's temple?]. One said to me in a dream, while I was sleeping in the *chefeteh* [*i.e.*, *dromos* or forecourt] [---] in Year 26, second month of winter [*i.e.*, Mekhir/March, 155 BCE], (the) night [---], in which one said . . .

The account continues, presenting two related dream-narratives, the first of which refers to a priest of Imhotep. Unfortunately, like the Taimhotep stele, this text is vague regarding where Ḥor was sleeping: not only does he use the imprecise term *chefeteh* (*ḥfḥ*), which could represent either a street within a

94 It is unclear to what extent Imhotep's oracular powers were sought at Deir el-Bahari and other sites outside of the Memphis area at which he was worshiped (see Chapter 8).

95 In addition to the evidence discussed here, there is a letter from c. 350–275 that appears to quote an oracle of Imhotep concerning the entombment of dead sacred animals (*n3 ntr:w*), though its editors note the possibility that instead it was quoting the instructions of an individual with a theophoric name (*P.Turner* 15; see Depauw 2006, 46 and Quaegebeur 1984a, 168–169 on *n3 ntr:w* being for animals, not people). The papyrus was originally discussed in Smith (H.) 1974, 16, where it was mistakenly identified as P.Saq. inv. 71/2 138 and given an earlier date (Depauw, *ibid.*, 46; confirmed by Harry S. Smith in personal communication).

96 *O.Hor* 59, ll. 1–5, re-edited in Quack 2002, 248–252; translation based on Quack's. (Among the most significant changes in Quack's text is his reading of *sdr*, "sleeping," rather than Ray's *šms*, "serving," which I followed in Renberg 2010a, 655.) That a servant of Thoth would have solicited dreams from Imhotep is not surprising, given the close association of the two cults (see p. 443n129).

temple precinct or a whole forecourt,⁹⁷ but it is unclear whether he was in an incubation dormitory, some other cult structure, or sleeping out in the open in some restful area.⁹⁸ Thus he may have been in the "*dromos* of Imhotep" that according to an ambiguous Demotic source ran by the large surrounding wall of the Peak—rather than the more famous *dromos* of Osorapis/Sarapis—but instead could have been within the forecourt.⁹⁹ If the text does pertain to soliciting dreams there, this would be the only source clearly linking the *Asklepieion* to prophetic dreams and divinatory incubation, but there may also be an indirect source: another text from the Ḥor archive reveals the presence of a lector-priest (*ḥr-tb*) of Imhotep whom he consulted regarding an "utterance" (*ḥt-mdt*) of Thoth that he had received but could not interpret with confidence, and this oracle is almost certain to have been conveyed in a dream.¹⁰⁰ The fact that an expert at oracular interpretation was available for consultation at the *Asklepieion* indicates that Imhotep at Saqqâra was an oracular god, and if it was the case that Thoth's oracular "utterance" was issued in a dream then it follows that Imhotep may have issued his own oracles through dreams; however, since among ancient civilizations it was common for the meanings of dreams to be checked through other forms of divination it should not be concluded with certainty from this episode that Imhotep's cult was partly devoted to the issuance and interpretation of prophetic dreams.¹⁰¹ Further evidence, albeit circumstantial, for Imhotep's issuing dream-oracles at his Saqqâra *Asklepieion* is to be found in the Greek magical text that describes a ritual for summoning

97 See *P.Ryl.Dem* 9, 11:485–486, note to l. 18. For the known examples of the term in topographical contexts, see Verreth, *Toponyms*, pp. 714–715; for an analysis of its meaning in Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic times, see Cabrol 2001, 88–92.

98 In addition, the fact that this occurred around the time of a festival may be relevant (see Appendix xv).

99 *Dromos* of Imhotep: see Verreth, *Toponyms*, 214, s.v. "Chefeteh-n-Imouthes" and *P.DemMemphis*, 49–50, citing *P.Schreibertrad* 94, l. 4 (re-edited in Pezin 1987). From this text alone it is impossible to know whether the relationship between wall and *dromos* means that this was a street or forecourt within the sanctuary of Imhotep or one that led out from it and hugged the wall for at least a short distance. Only one other source explicitly refers to some sort of religious activity at the *dromos*: a private Demotic letter that mentions a girl having had her amulets, presumably protective or therapeutic in nature, produced there (*P.Saq. inv.* H5-DP 265, eds. Martin/Smith 2010, 88–91, No. 2).

100 *O.Hor* 17A; see p. 725. The oracular "utterance" in question may have been the same one cited in *O.Hor* 22. For this and the other *ostraka* showing a link between the term *ḥt-mdt* and dream-oracles from Thoth, see pp. 440–443.

101 This aspect of Imhotep's cult appears not to have been limited to Saqqâra, since a Demotic *ostrakon* from Thebes may reveal the existence of gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* "explaining (?) dreams" at an unidentified temple of the god, though the reading of this text is uncertain (*O.LeidDem* 365, col. ii, ll. 5–7; see pp. 482–483).

“the Asklepios of Memphis” (τὸν ἐν Μέμφει Ἀσκληπιὸν) in a dream.¹⁰² Although the papyri include similar rituals for summoning divinities that are not known to have been associated with incubation, the example of Bes and the probable connection between the rituals in the magical papyri for invoking him through dream-divination and his incubation oracle at Abydos might represent a parallel.¹⁰³ Overall, it can be concluded that since it appears that therapeutic incubation was practiced at the *Asklepieion*, these ambiguous sources can reasonably be seen as evidence for Imhotep issuing prophetic dream-oracles at the site as well. For these reasons, it may well have been the case that at the Saqqâra *Asklepieion* both therapeutic and divinatory (as well as fertility) incubation were practiced, since even though the individual sources are ambiguous they collectively appear to indicate this.

7.5 Thoth and Divinatory Incubation

Thoth's worship on the Saqqâra bluff was centered at the Sacred Animal Necropolis, which was located at the northern end, and where, among the different animals entombed in subterranean galleries, there were more than two million ibises and hundreds of baboons, animals sacred to Thoth.¹⁰⁴ Incubation in this cult, particularly divinatory incubation, is clearly attested by the chance survival of Ḥor of Sebennytos's archive, and since the archive also presents indirect evidence for Thoth's oracular nature at his main sanctuary, in Hermoupolis Magna, and possibly at a lesser site at Pi-pefêr, it appears that his activities at Saqqâra do not represent an anomaly.¹⁰⁵ During his time at Saqqâra, this servant of Thoth received dreams from multiple divinities, and reports having engaged in incubation at different complexes there.¹⁰⁶ However,

102 PGM VII.628–642 (quoting l. 630).

103 See p. 492.

104 On Thoth in general, see Kákosy 1963, Bleeker 1973, 106–157 and Kurth 1986; see also von den Driesch/Kessler/Steinmann/Bertaux/Peters 2005, a detailed study of ibis remains at the Tuna El-Gebel *Ibiotapheion* and Kessler 2011, a report on that complex's structures, which both serve as important works on the cult, and Smelik 1979 on Thoth's ibis cult in general. The estimates of the ibis population at Saqqâra vary, with the highest being at least four million (*O.Hor*, p. 138).

105 For the Hermoupolis Magna site, see Chapter 9.4; for Pi-pefêr, see below.

106 In addition to the gods other than Thoth who appeared to Ḥor in dreams and are discussed elsewhere in this chapter (Isis, Imhotep), he also sought a dream by invoking Osorapis and Osormnevis (see Chapter 9.6). The variety of gods invoked is noted in *O.Hor*, pp. 132–133.

his solicitation of dreams from Thoth, a god traditionally represented as either an ibis or ibis-headed human, appears to have occurred at a shrine in the Sacred Animal Necropolis where the divinized sacred ibises were entombed, quite possibly the small Ptolemaic shrine at the entrance of the South Ibis Galleries in and around which most of the archive was discovered.¹⁰⁷ This is perhaps indicated by the text of one of these *ostraka*, in which Ḥor states that he had spent two days at the Ibis Galleries supplicating Osorapis, other divinities from the Sacred Animal Necropolis (including quite probably the

107 These ibis catacombs are not clearly associated with oracles, but see Kessler 2010, 268–272, arguing that at Saqqâra there was an oracle of Thoth in the guise of “Thutmosis-the-Ibis.” There is other evidence, albeit circumstantial, supporting the possibility of the ibis cult there having served an oracular function. In addition to ibises, Thoth was also traditionally represented as a dog-headed baboon and his cult associated with sacred baboons, but at Saqqâra it appears that the baboons were primarily associated with the Apis cult and also linked to that of Ptah (see Ray, *Texts*, 38–41, 161). At the Baboon Galleries, which Ḥor does not mention but were close to one of the two ibis catacombs, the sacred baboons would be divinized as “Osiris the Baboon,” though there is evidence in the form of a cult servant bearing the epithet *msdr-sdm* (*mestasytmis*, “the ear that listens”) as a theophoric name that some divinized baboons might have been referred to in this way (see Ray, *Texts* C6, C18, C25, with note at p. 62n.b; see also Quaegebeur/Wagner 1973 on this divine name). Since this epithet was elsewhere applied not just to divinities who heard pleas, but also to those who heard oracular inquiries and delivered responses, it might indicate that the mummified baboons were associated with an oracular function; and, moreover, there is also evidence for living baboons serving an oracular purpose, as well as a chance that the chapel at the entrance to the Baboon Galleries once featured an oracular baboon statue (see Smith (H.) 2002, 369 and Ray, *ibid.*, 39–40; see also Smith/Davies/Frazer 2006, 87n.19 on the chapel as possibly the original site for one of the two baboon statues found nearby (Saq. inv. H5–1313 [3065] and H5–1312 [3064] (= Hastings, *Sculpture*, 48, Nos. 174–175, questioning this possibility); for the issue of voice-oracles at this site and for the Baboon Chapel itself, see p. 588). So, while *Msdr-sdm* might merely be comparable to the Greek epithet ἐπίχοος and refer to a divinity who hears prayers (see p. 352n.40), in the context of this baboon cult there is a chance that it alluded to the issuing of oracles. And, since there is good evidence for Thoth’s oracular powers in general (see Volokhine 2004, 148–150), it is certainly possible that, as appears to have been the case with the Osirified baboons at Saqqâra, the god’s oracular powers could also have been evident in his North and South Ibis Galleries, where Ḥor’s archive was found and Ḥor himself was obviously active.

For the South Ibis Galleries’ Ptolemaic shrine, see Emery 1966, 3–5 and Skeat/Turner 1968, 199, quoting H.S. Smith that the niche in this shrine was “precisely appropriate to an oracular statue”; cf. Smith (H.) 1974, 28 and *O.Hor*, pp. 137–138, 153 (plan showing findspots of Ḥor *ostraka*). Geoffrey T. Martin, on the other hand, sounds a cautionary note regarding the niche’s function (see Martin (G.) 1981, 11). On the archive’s findspot, see also Davies/Smith 1997, 118 and n.33.

divinized ibises themselves), and similar Heliopolitan divinities, as a result of which he appears to have been rewarded with a prophetic dream—and unless he was actually inside the catacombs he would have been in a shrine attached to them.¹⁰⁸ Since the dream narrative, in a portion of the text that is badly mutilated, is introduced by a word, *ḏd-w*, which can be either the plural “they said” or the passive “it was said to me,” it is unclear whether the dream should be attributed to Thoth alone.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it might not even have been sent by Thoth at all: perhaps it was sent only by the gods Osorapis and Osormnevis (*i.e.* the divinized bull god of Heliopolis), who were specifically invoked with the phrase “come to me,” in which case it would represent evidence for their oracular function rather than that of Thoth, albeit at Thoth’s shrine.¹¹⁰

Several other documents in the Ḥor archive clearly refer to dream-oracles sent by Thoth, but either do not specify that they were received through incubation or do not state where incubation had occurred. Two *ostraka*, one of which duplicates part of the main text preserved on the other, almost certainly pertain to incubation, though it is unclear whether Ḥor’s consultation occurred at Saqqâra or a sanctuary of Thoth located at Pi-pefêr, which

108 *O.Hor* 13, cf. p. 131 (partly quoted p. 622); annotated translation in Quack 2013c, 268–269, No. 11.6. Ḥor may also have invoked the spirits of those who were buried in the area of Thoth’s Ibis Galleries, according to Ray’s tentative explanation of the phrase that he translates “together with those who rest upon the sleeping-place (of) the House of Thoth in Memphis” (*irm nꜥ nty ḥtp ḥr tꜥ tꜥ (n) tꜥ štrt Pr-Dḥwtꜥ (n) Mn-nfr*) (*O.Hor*, p. 56n.f; on ll. 5–6). (The term that Ray translated as “sleeping-place,” *štrt*, has been corrected by Quack to *štyt*, “shrine” (Quack 2002, 246; cf. Quack 2013c, 269n.383), but in a personal communication Quack has indicated that “crypt” is preferable, and also that he believes *tꜥ* to have been written for the older *ḫ.t*. Note, too, that Ray’s translation omits “hill” for *tꜥ*.) For parallels, see Ray, *Texts* G1, l. 1 and the accompanying discussion at p. 234n.b for other invocations of divinized sacred animals of the necropolis area. A parallel can also be found in the *Dream of Nektanebos*, in which the king sacrifices and asks “the gods” to reveal “the things that have been appointed” to him (*i.e.*, the future) and then receives a dream (Νεκτοναβῶ | τοῦ βασιλέως καταγινομένου ἐ<μ> Μέρφει καὶ θυσίαν | ποτὲ συντελεσαμένου καὶ ἀξιώσαντος τοῦς | θεοὺς δηλῶσαι αὐτῶι τὰ ἐνεστηκότα, ἔδοξεν | κατ’ ἐνύπν<ι>ον . . .) (*UPZ* I 81, col. ii, ll. 2–6; see p. 90n.138).

109 Lines 8–13. Ray in his edition opted for “they said.” While the surviving traces suggest a plural verb, the reading of *ḏd-w* is uncertain. (I am grateful to Richard Jasnow and Joachim F. Quack for their views on this issue.)

110 According to Ray, it may be that “the ibis-gallery is incidental as a setting,” which would make Thoth’s role marginal (see *O.Hor*, p. 56). This, of course, raises the question of whether at Saqqâra there was significant flexibility in terms of being able to consult the gods of the various temple complexes at any shrine.

was probably in the Delta region.¹¹¹ According to the main text, Ḥor reports that he had been serving Thoth at Pi-pefēr at the god’s request for a five-year period that began in 173/2 BCE,¹¹² during which at one point (December 12, 170 BCE) he consulted Thoth on behalf of an individual whose identity is unclear—either a soldier engaged in fighting the Seleucid incursion into Egypt or an employee of Thoth’s temple in a town named Pi-psīte—and received a prophetic dream which he discussed with a *wab*-priest (*wēb*).¹¹³ While it is clear that Ḥor solicited and received this dream-oracle during the period he was serving at Pi-pefēr, it should not be assumed that he consulted the god there, since other *ostraka* from the archive show that on at least one occasion during that five-year period he traveled to Saqqâra on official business of the ibis cult. Furthermore, Ḥor’s inquiry was about the temple of Thoth at Pi-psīte, and since his archive includes at least one other example of Thoth issuing oracles at Saqqâra that concerned sanctuaries throughout Egypt,¹¹⁴ which attests to Saqqâra’s prominent role in the oversight of the ibis cult, it is perhaps more likely that Ḥor would have consulted Thoth about this other temple at Saqqâra than at the god’s lesser temple in Pi-pefēr. If so, there would be no reason to link the Pi-pefēr site to incubation. The dream itself, which may have mentioned a “fighting man,” was considered to be of interest to the king,¹¹⁵ since

111 *O.Hor* 12–12A, cf. p. 132. Ray represents the town’s name as Pi-peferē (and is followed in this by Verreth, *Toponyms*, 525–526, s.v. “Per-n-paief-iri”), but Quack has noted that the correct vocalization must be Pi-pefēr, since a phonetic form derived from the Middle-Egyptian (Mesokemic) dialect of Coptic is preferable to one from the Coptic plural (personal communication; previously noted in Renberg 2014, 201n.13).

112 *O.Hor* 12, *recto*, ll. 2–3 and *O.Hor* 25. For the likelihood that Thoth’s command to journey to Pi-pefēr was issued in a dream, see pp. 441–442.

113 *O.Hor* 12, *recto*, ll. 4–7; a fragmentary version of the dream appears to be preserved on *O.Hor* 12A. Ray’s reading of Pḥentamūn as the name of the individual has been questioned by Quack (personal communication; previously noted in Renberg 2014, 202n.15). As noted by Ray, who read “the priest who is chosen in the Abaton” (*pꜣ wꜣb nty stp n pꜣ nty wꜣb*), the text is uncertain (*O.Hor*, p. 52n.t), and Quack has suggested that instead of *stp n* it may read *ḥꜣr* (making the full phrase read “the priest who steps up to the sacred area”) (personal communication). For Pi-psīte, see pp. 52n.o, 53n.j, and Verreth, *Toponyms*, 217, s.v. “Cher-aha.”

114 *O.Hor* 16, 17–17A, 22. See *O.Hor*, pp. 120, 144.

115 Undoubtedly Ptolemy VI, not his brother Ptolemy VIII, even though the *ostrakon* dates to around 168 BCE, the first year of their four-year joint reign. For these two rulers, see now Thompson (D.) 2011. (Ḥor would not have been the only one sharing his dreams with a Ptolemaic ruler: see the damaged *ostrakon* from the area of Thebes, perhaps from the sanctuary of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari, that appears to record a dream relevant to Ptolemy II (O.Brit.Mus. 5671; see p. 468n.58).)

the *verso* contains a brief message to him from Ḳor that refers to both the “Pharaoh” and his army’s strength; however, as this message appears to have been written two years after the dream was received, it is unclear whether it was intended to give the king fresh encouragement in the face of the recent or ongoing Seleucid invasion (*i.e.*, the Sixth Syrian War) or to remind him of the value of the Thoth cult as well as Ḳor’s own past service and reliability, perhaps because Ḳor was petitioning him regarding some new cult-related matter.¹¹⁶ The latter motivation is evident in three related *ostraka* written a decade later that sought to obtain a favorable outcome for a petition put before Ptolemy VI by reminding him that during this crisis of 168 BCE Ḳor had conveyed to the Ptolemies—first through their general *Hrynys*/Eirenaïos and then in person at Alexandria—a dream-revelation from Thoth and Isis promising both that the invasion would fail and the queen would bear a son, but Ḳor’s whereabouts when he was dreaming are not known.¹¹⁷

116 For the timing and dates involved, see *O.Hor*, pp. 53n.g, 54–55, as well as Smith (M.) 2013 and Renberg 2014, 201–206 on the dream’s historical context and Ḳor’s archive as a source for the events surrounding this Seleucid invasion, which was the occasion for the so-called “Day of Eleusis,” the famous episode when Rome’s representative Gaius Popillius Laenas drew a circle around Antiochos IV and informed him that he must agree to cease his invasion before stepping out of the circle (Diod. Sic. 31.2; Livy 45.12.1–6; Polyb. 29.27). See also Veisse 2004, 222–223, putting Ḳor’s loyalty in the broader context of relations between the Memphite priestly community and the king during this period of upheaval.

117 *O.Hor* 1–3, cf. pp. 119–120, 126–129 (see Quack 2008, 378–379, Nos. 4.9.2.1–4.9.2.2 for annotated translations of *O.Hor* 1–2, and Smith (M.) 2013, 68–71 for a new edition and translation of *O.Hor* 2; see also Renberg 2014 for further emendations and discussions of textual issues). This petition may also have been accompanied by a document in which Ḳor paraphrased the earlier letter in which *Hrynys*—whose official relationship to Ḳor, if there was one, is unknown, and whose name was evidently a transliteration of “Eirenaïos”—had initially informed the Ptolemies of Ḳor’s dream-revelation (*O.Hor* 4; see Ray 1978, 113–115, Additional Text 66, for what appears to be an earlier version). On Ḳor and *Hrynys*, see Renberg, *ibid.*, arguing that *Hrynys* can be identified with the Ptolemaic official named Eirenaïos, son of Nikias, of Alexandria, who was recorded in Greek inscriptions at Delos and Thera, and possibly Itanos (though not Methana, as previously thought). Ḳor had reported his dream to *Hrynys* on July 16 and been met with skepticism, but when the Syrian army had withdrawn this commander determined that the Ptolemies should be informed of the dream, and Ḳor himself went before them at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* on August 29.

The queen bore Ptolemy VI a son, Ptolemy Eupator, most likely on October 15, 166 BCE (see Ray 1978, 119); a second son, whose name is unknown, was born sometime later. A possible parallel for Ḳor’s prophetic dream about the queen’s bearing a son might be seen in one of the dreams recorded by Ptolemaïos, if Wilcken’s interpretation of an abbreviation is correct: a papyrus preserving six dreams received by Ptolemaïos and one by his

Five other *ostraka* from the Ḥor Archive, two in Greek and three in Demotic, pertain to dreams specifically attributed to Thoth, but none can be linked to incubation with certainty. Of particular note are two *ostraka* from 168–4 BCE bearing evolving drafts of a Greek text recording a prophetic dream about disturbances in the Thebaid—a warning Ḥor wished to share with both Ptolemies (*i.e.*, Ptolemy VI and his brother) and Cleopatra II. Ḥor uses unusual language to signal that he had received this oracle in a dream, referring to “the matters told to me in a dream by Thrice-Greatest Hermes” (τὰ ῥηθ[έντα μοι διὰ] ὀνείρου ὑπὸ | μεγίστου καὶ μεγ[ίστου θεοῦ [μεγάλου] ὑ | Ἑρμοῦ), *i.e.* Thoth.¹¹⁸ It is impossible

female ward Taous has on its *verso* both “Seven dreams” (ἐνύπνια ζ') and “The matters I saw concerning the qu(een)(?)” (ἃ εἶδον περὶ τῆς βα[σιλίσσης?]), and Wilcken, who was himself uncertain of this restoration, suggested that it might have been Ptolemaios's June 2, 158 BCE dream of Ammon helping a cow in labor to give birth that he had in mind, and that this might have pertained to the queen bearing a child (*UPZ* I 77, col. ii, ll. 22–30, with note at p. 357).

- 118 *O.Hor* Texts A–E (= *SB X* 10574A–E = Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* 58); quoting Text B. For these Greek texts on the two *ostraka*, one of which is a small fragment, see: Skeat/Turner 1968; *O.Hor*, pp. 2–3 *et pass.*; Veisse 2004, 42–45, 121–122, 223; and Renberg 2014, 202–203n.21. One of the two is a palimpsest with two obscured Demotic texts which may pertain to an oracular consultation (*O.Hor* Dem. A–B; see *ibid.*, pp. 3–6). On the significance of these Ḥor *ostraka*, which predict that “[The (?)] of the Egyptians will be quickly put to flight and the king is immediately to advance as far as the Thebaid” (τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τραπήσειται ταχέως καὶ εὐθέως | δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα | ἔως τῆς Θηβαίδος) (*O.Hor* Text E, ll. 10–14), for the history of the period, see Veisse 2004, 38, 45. (I am informed by Andreas Blasius that *Antiochos IV Epiphanes und Ägypten: Die Quellen zum 6. Syrischen Krieg außerhalb der großen polybianischen Überlieferung*, a work in preparation, he argues that these *ostraka* pertain not to Ptolemy's need to suppress a revolt, as was claimed by the original editors and followed by scholars including Veisse, but instead call for him to make his presence known in the Thebaid and reassert his control there in the aftermath of Antiochos's advance deep into Egypt.)

The Greek text is also significant because it represents the earliest published reference to Hermes Trismegistos in Greek, though the Demotic equivalent for this Greco-Egyptian god's purely Egyptian forerunner is known to appear as far back as a Demotic stele from the Mother-of-Apis catacombs dating to 254 BCE (Smith/Andrews/Davies, *Mother of Apis Inscriptions* 38, l. 2), and Friedhelm Hoffmann and Dieter Kessler are preparing for publication several hieroglyphic texts on clay vessels from Tuna el-Gebel naming this god, at least one of which is pre-Ptolemaic (personal communication from Hoffmann). Ḥor's Demotic *ostraka* likewise refer to this god, as can be seen in the text composed by him around the same time that names “Thoth the thrice great” (Dḥwty pꜣ ꜥ pꜣ ꜥ pꜣ ꜥ) (*O.Hor* 60), and, based on its relationship to another *ostrakon* preserving a letter to the king, can also be linked to an oracular utterance of Thoth, perhaps delivered in a dream (*O.Hor* 7; for the possibility that *O.Hor* 60 might have been a draft version of *O.Hor* 7, see *O.Hor*,

to determine whether this dream was the result of incubation, since like anyone else priests and cult officials could receive unsolicited dream-oracles, and it is unclear where Ḥor was when he received it, as was the case with the dream preserved in the Demotic text referring to a “fighting man.” Since these *ostraka* most likely postdate the five-year period of Ḥor’s service at Pi-pefēr that began in 173/2 BCE it is likely that this dream was received at Saqqâra, to which he had relocated following a dream-oracle received in 167/6 BCE.¹¹⁹ It is impossible to know whether he was still in some way associated with *Hrynys* at this point and would once again have first informed him of the dream-revelation, or might have first contacted a different intermediary. Likewise, there is no way of knowing whether he would have communicated it in person to the two Ptolemies—whose trust he presumably had gained at their meeting in 168 BCE—either during their visit to Memphis in 164 BCE or at an earlier date.¹²⁰

The three other *ostraka* recording or referring to Ḥor’s dreams, none of which he explicitly links to incubation, are all of particular interest. In one of them two prophetic dreams are detailed, each involving the appearance of a dream-figure who speaks to Ḥor.¹²¹ The first of these dream-narratives is especially noteworthy, since it concerns an appearance of Thoth in the guise of the foreman of a labor crew, whereas the second dream-figure, possibly a ghost, speaks to Ḥor on behalf of Thoth but does not identify himself as the god: thus the *ostrakon* represents one of the best, albeit rather ambiguous, examples in

p. 170 and Renberg 2014, 202n.18). This epithet for Thoth is also found in a recently published hieroglyphic graffito from Saqqâra’s Baboon Galleries that refers to “Seker-Thoth, great, great, great, great one, lord of Hermoupolis” (*Skr Dḥwtj ʿ ʿ ʿ wr nb Ḥmnw*) and is thought to be roughly contemporary to the Ḥor Archive (Ray, *Texts* C12, l. 1; see *ibid.*, p. 70n.e on the unusual epithet, and p. 163 on the date), which shows further evidence for “thrice great” Thoth’s worship there. Also pertinent is the even more recently published hieratic text on an *ostrakon* from Saqqâra that appears to have a double rather than triple ligature, and thus provides the god’s name as “Thoth, the twice(?) great, lord of Hermoupolis” (*Dḥwtj ʿ ʿ (?) nb Ḥmn[w]*), and which Ray believes based on paleography predates the introduction of the god’s triple-epithet (Ray, *Demotic Ostraca* DO 265A). On Hermes Trismegistos, see Fowden 1986 and Quaegebeur 1986, the latter a study of the god’s epithets.

119 *O.Hor* 9; see pp. 386–387.

120 For the visit of Ptolemy VI Philometor and his brother, Ptolemy VIII, to Memphis for the New Year, see Thompson (D.) 2012, 114, 140.

121 *O.Hor* 8; annotated translation in Quack 2008, 379–381, No. 4.9.2.3. For an apparently similar document preserving both a dream-narrative and invocations, see the badly damaged *O.Hor* 11.

the Demotic sources for a god appearing directly to a dreaming worshiper. The fact that these dreams coincided with a festival of Thoth might also be significant, since during such periods of heightened religiosity and divine proximity it appears that god-sent dreams were more common, and more commonly sought.¹²² Two other Demotic *ostraka*, both pertaining to Ḳor's involvement in the administrative reforms of the ibis cult, are of interest because they refer to an "utterance" (*ht-mdt*) or "utterances" of Thoth, suggesting that the god himself had appeared in a dream.¹²³ Despite the fact that the term for "utterance" could be used for oracles issued through other media,¹²⁴ it is clear that the ones in question were communicated through dreams. This is revealed by the fact that one of the two *ostraka* employs a phrase similar to τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι διὰ ὀνείρου of the Greek text, *nty smy hr n: i dd-w p: ntr 3 Dhtwy ht rswt* ("who petitions concerning the (things) which the great god Thoth has said through a dream"),¹²⁵ and from this it can be inferred that the "three utterances" (*t: 3t ht-mdt*) that earlier in the same *ostrakon* Ḳor reports having received from Thoth likewise were received through dreams.¹²⁶ Less clear is the situation

122 On Egyptian festivals and incubation, see Appendix xv.

123 *O.Hor* 22–23. On Ḳor and the ibis cult, see *O.Hor*, pp. 136–146 (with a discussion of Thoth's oracles concerning its oversight at pp. 143–144).

124 The archive's best example of this term used in reference to a decree of Thoth that is unlikely to have been issued through a dream is found in a badly damaged *ostrakon* that appears to concern Thoth's "utterance" regarding the ibis cult, which was being poorly administered by Ḳor and others at the town in the Sebennytos nome where he lived (*O.Hor* 26, *verso*, l. 10), and a text employing the term twice in reference to a cult ordinance is also unlikely to pertain to a dream (*O.Hor* 25, ll. 4–5), while four *ostraka* are so badly damaged that their contexts are difficult to discern (*O.Hor* 24B, l. 2; *O.Hor* 29, l. 10; *O.Hor* 40, l. 5; *O.Hor* 45, l. 4), as is also true of one in which *ht-mdt* has been restored (*O.Hor* 21, *recto*, ll. 3–4). The term is found in another *ostrakon* just after a problematic passage that most likely refers to a declaration of cult officials of Thoth rather than to an oracle attributed to the god (*O.Hor* 19, *recto*, l. 14; see p. 588n.62). In the case of another *ostrakon* the term *ht-mdt* is used ambiguously, but is not likely to have alluded to a dream (*O.Hor* 33, l. 3; see p. 417). For the possibility that there was an oracle of Thoth at his Saqqâra ibis catacombs, see n. 107.

125 *O.Hor* 23, *verso*, l. 16 (trans. Ray). The similarity between the Greek and Demotic was recognized by Ray (*O.Hor*, pp. 2, 90).

126 *O.Hor* 23, *recto*, l. 8; see *O.Hor*, p. 90n.e. The three "utterances" concerned Ibis cult administration, and were passed along by Ḳor to a Ptolemaic official through a lector-priest (*hr-tb*). The term *ht-mdt* appears to have been used for a dream-oracle in *O.Hor* 17A (see p. 725) and, if correctly restored, also in a fragmentary *ostrakon* that preserves part of the dream of Isis and Thoth regarding the Syrian invasion (*O.Hor* 47, l. 7; the dream is found in *O.Hor* 1), and clearly alludes to this same dream in another *ostrakon* (*O.Hor* 2, *verso*,

alluded to in an *ostrakon* that after first using *ḥt-mdt* in reference to an oracle of Thoth pertaining to his own cult subsequently employs both the oracular term *w3ḥ* and language almost identical to that of the previous text except that it does not refer to a dream—*ḥr n3 ḏd.w p3 ntr ʿ Dḥwty* (“by the things which the great god Thoth has said”)—and thus raises the possibility that the journey Ḥor made to Pi-pefēr between 172 BCE and 168 BCE was prompted by a dream-oracle, even if a dream is not specified as Thoth’s medium of communication.¹²⁷ As other evidence from the archive strikingly demonstrates, Ḥor himself did not always feel it necessary to note that he had received a communication in a dream: the two *ostraka* bearing five drafts of a Greek letter for the Ptolemies show that at first Ḥor referred to a dream-oracle from Thoth/Hermes, but in the final surviving version neither the god nor the dream is mentioned, and he simply states that he was “wishing to report to the kings regarding certain benefits (*or*, oracles)” (β[ου]λόμενος περὶ τινων χρησ[ίμων? -μῶν?] | τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἀναγγεῖλαι).¹²⁸ Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether

l. 14; for *O.Hor* 1–3, see above). For a more ambiguous situation, see the badly damaged *ostrakon* pertaining to religious life in the Sebennytyos nome long before Ḥor’s relocation to Saqqâra, in which reference to “two utterances” of Thoth is immediately followed by a command, presumably that of the god, which is quoted verbatim, suggesting the possibility of a dream-oracle (*O.Hor* 31B, ll. 5–6, cf. *DemBL*, p. 420). Likewise, a comparably damaged *ostrakon* apparently pertaining to a medical remedy prescribed to the queen by Isis (see p. 445) employs the term in a passage that cannot be fully reconstructed, but might have attributed the “utterance” to Thoth (*O.Hor* 28, l. 19). On these last two texts, see *O.Hor*, p. 134.

127 *O.Hor* 25. Ray’s reading and translation of this phrase in line 11 were *w3ḥ n3 (ḥ) ḏd-w p3 ntr ʿ Dḥwty* (“(the) oracle which was spoken by the great god Thoth”), but I have followed a reading provided by J.F. Quack (personal communication). The term *w3ḥ* appears in four other *ostraka* from the archive in a context suggesting a dream-oracle, though in all but the first damage to the text makes this uncertain (*O.Hor* 9, *verso*, l. 7; 14, *verso*, l. 8; 20, l. 7; 57, *verso*, l. 2; on these four texts, see p. 725n.20). As numerous texts reveal, *w3ḥ* was a generic term for “oracle,” and as such sometimes could be used for “dream-oracle,” either in combination with a word for “dream” (see, e.g., *Raphia Decree*, Demotic Text, l. 9, ed. Simpson (R.) 1996, *w3ḥ n rsw(.t)*) (“oracle in a dream”) or simply by implication (as can be seen not only in the Ḥor *ostraka* and the Teos *ostrakon* (see pp. 479–481), but also in the unpublished Krakow *ostrakon* (see pp. 497–498)). For Ḥor’s journey to Pi-pefēr, see *O.Hor* 12 (see pp. 436–437).

128 *O.Hor* Text E, ll. 7–9 (see n. 118). See Skeat/Turner 1968, 204–205 and *O.Hor*, p. 3. The restoration of χρησ[ίμων] in both the *editio princeps* of Text E (Skeat/Turner, *ibid.*) and Ray’s corpus is based on its appearance in Text A, l. 4, and is preferable to restoring χρησ[μῶν] in the former and emending the latter with it. Arguing in favor of Ḥor’s having had in mind χρησμοί would be that, as noted by Skeat and Turner, there is a parallel of χρησμοί

Ḥor had received these communications through incubation, though it is a strong possibility.

7.6 Thoth and Therapeutic Incubation

The god Thoth, who like Imhotep and Amenhotep was venerated for his wisdom in a range of fields that included medicine and writing, provided dream-oracles at Saqqâra and possibly other cult sites, but unlike his two junior colleagues the evidence linking him to therapeutic incubation is only circumstantial.¹²⁹ The discovery of several plaster casts of human heads and faces among the debris from the Upper Baboon Gallery and the area of Mastaba 3518, which was linked to the gallery,¹³⁰ might provide evidence for Thoth's cult providing a healing function, but only if these objects of Late Period date have been rightly identified as anatomical dedications and if they pertained

written for χρησμοί to be found in another Saqqâra text (Blass, *Eudoxi ars astronomica*, col. xxiii, l. 16; on this papyrus, see p. 385n.137), which raises the possibility of Ḥor's having employed a spelling variant rather than producing an error; however, since the same text also employs the conventional spelling twice, which Skeat and Turner did not note, the possibility of that χρησμοί being an error is greater (col. xxiv, ll. 5, 7). There is, however, good reason not to change Ḥor's spelling: χρησμος appears to have served as an approximate equivalent to the Demotic term *mdt-nfrt* (“benefit”), which he used repeatedly in other *ostraca* (see *O.Hor*, pp. 187–188, s.v. “*mdt-nfrt*”). From the overall context, either is possible: Ḥor could have wished to specify to his letter's royal recipients that the information he was providing had been conveyed to him by an oracle, or else simply was writing to advise them to expect a successful outcome to a military crisis without indicating the source of his information. (Ray does not argue for χρησμος in this text serving as a translation of *mdt-nfrt*, but does briefly refer to both as vague terms typical of Ḥor (*O.Hor*, p. 3).)

129 The close association of these gods is demonstrated by the identification of Amenhotep and Imhotep as sons of Thoth in Demotic inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari (see Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 112), and by the fact that all three were worshipped at Thoth's Qasr el-Aguz temple (see Appendix 1.8.5). For the theory that Thoth's cult site at Saqqâra was deliberately located near the as yet undiscovered tomb of Imhotep because of their association, see Smith (H.) 1974, 27–29. Most recently, Sylvie Cauville has argued that in certain respects the similarities between Thoth and Imhotep were so strong that the latter was an “avatar” of the former (Cauville 2010). For Imhotep's role in the *Book of Thoth*, see Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth* 1:17–19 (on which see Chapter 9.4).

130 Shown in Plan 19. See Davies 2006, 65 on this area.

to his worship rather than that of another god.¹³¹ While it is impossible to tell whether these dedications were left at Thoth's shrine by worshipers who had been healed through incubation—if incubation was indeed practiced there, rather than healing through other means—it may be that priests or other cult officials had engaged in incubation on their behalf, rather than the sick doing so themselves.¹³² This is suggested by the only written source from Saqqâra potentially linking Thoth to medicine and perhaps even therapeutic incubation: a Demotic *ostrakon* from the archive of Thoth's scribe Ḥor. The surviving portion of this document, which does not mention a dream but nevertheless could be one of the various texts recording dream-oracles Ḥor had received, appears to refer to a consultation of Thoth regarding a sick man who “despised the remedies” (*šḥwr:f nṣ phrt*) he had been given.¹³³ While it cannot be ruled out that this afflicted individual was asking the god for direct treatment, it is more likely that he was dissatisfied with prescriptions received from medical practitioners and thus was seeking the god's more authoritative advice with Ḥor's assistance.¹³⁴ It would not be unexpected for Ḥor to have some amount of medical expertise: several sources, including medical books found at Saqqâra and temples elsewhere, indicate that Egyptian priests and cult officials were trained in medicine, and it follows that their medical knowledge could have been employed both by engaging in incubation on behalf of ailing worshipers and by advising those who had undergone incubation themselves.¹³⁵ Among these sources is a statement by Clement of Alexandria that *pastophoroi* were expected to know medicine, so Ḥor—formerly a *pastophoros* of Isis—may have gained his expertise before entering into the service of Thoth.¹³⁶

131 Saq. inv. H5-1535 [3364], H5-1536 [3365], H5-1537 [3366], H5-1538 [3367] (= Hastings, *Sculpture*, 60–61, Nos. 218–221 + Pl. 58 = Davies 2006, 107, Nos. BCO-123–126). These objects were first identified as anatomical votives by Walter B. Emery, though at least some appear more likely to have been models employed by a sculptor's workshop (see Emery 1970, 8–9, 10–11 and Emery 1971, 3–4; cf. Thompson (D.) 2012, 193, 196 and Davies/Smith 1997, 123–124). For a lone example of a possible anatomical votive unearthed in the area of the *Anoubieion*, Saq. inv. 78/u275, see Jeffreys/Smith 1988, 63. On the question of whether these objects were anatomical votives, for which there are no other known parallels from Egypt, see Lang 2013, 76–78.

132 For priestly incubation, see Appendix IV. For the issue of anatomical votives not representing proof of incubation, see pp. 266–268.

133 *O.Hor* 32, cf. pp. 134–135. For another possible example of Ḥor seeking a remedy for someone else from a dream, see Sect. 7.7.

134 See pp. 23–24n.70 for parallels.

135 For the link between medicine and religion at Egyptian sanctuaries, see p. 75n.103.

136 Clem. Al., *Strom.* 6.4, §37.3, ed. Descourtieux; see pp. 725–726.

Therefore, while Thoth may not have been a healing god on par with Imhotep at Saqqâra—nor was there a need for him to be—it does appear quite possible that the shrine in the Sacred Animal Necropolis where the possible anatomical votives were found was at least occasionally visited by those seeking medical attention, and cult officials like Ḥor evidently were present to consult the god on their behalf and communicate his prescriptions—prescriptions presumably learned from medical books but selected or confirmed by their dreams.

7.7 Isis

Though an important presence at Saqqâra, where she was associated with the Mother-of-Apis cows and worshiped by native Egyptians and Greeks alike, there is little evidence associating Isis with dreams, and no direct evidence for incubation at her temple complex in the Sacred Animal Necropolis.¹³⁷ A single, badly damaged *ostrakon* from the Ḥor Archive reveals that someone, quite possibly her former *pastophoros* Ḥor himself, had received from her a remedy intended for the ailing queen—whether at the queen’s request or on his own initiative is not indicated—and it is likely that Ḥor or a colleague had deliberately solicited this from the goddess through incubation.¹³⁸ The surviving text, however, does not indicate whether Ḥor would have sought and obtained this prescriptive dream at an unknown aboveground shrine of Isis or possibly a different complex altogether.¹³⁹ For these reasons, this document should not be taken as definitive evidence for therapeutic incubation within the Isis cult. Even less certain evidence associating Isis with incubation at Saqqâra is represented by the *Dream of Nektanebos*, the fourth-century BCE tale that begins with Nektanebos II engaging in incubation “in Memphis” and seeing Isis along with other gods in a dream: not only is the story itself fictional, but it is unclear

137 On the Mother-of-Apis complex’s remains and artifacts, see Davies 2006.

138 *O.Hor* 28, ll. 15–17; cf. p. 134. For Ḥor’s earlier service as a *pastophoros* of Isis before relocating to Saqqâra and devoting himself to Thoth, see p. 724. While it may seem improbable for the queen of Egypt to have consulted a mere cult official regarding a health problem, as discussed previously Ḥor had an established record in the royal court as one with the ability to receive prophetic dream-oracles pertaining to state affairs.

139 If such a shrine existed, it evidently was not located just outside the cow catacombs, as at other complexes, since Davies 2006, 31–32 (with figs. 3–4) shows no sign of one either before or after the Mother-of-Apis Gates.

whether the pharaoh had made his offerings and invocations within the city of Memphis or at one of Saqqâra's temple complexes.¹⁴⁰

7.8 Conclusion

As the preceding survey has shown, incubation was undoubtedly practiced at Saqqâra, as has long been apparent, but there are far more issues and complex problems surrounding the phenomenon than has been recognized. Of particular significance are the questions of who was able to engage in incubation, where they would do so, and which god or gods they might invoke. There is indeed some evidence pointing to ordinary worshipers soliciting dreams at Saqqâra, but there is also good reason to think that this was limited to the cult of Imhotep, and that calling upon the gods of the temple complexes associated with the burial of sacred animals might have been limited to priests and cult officials, perhaps in part because they had access to consecrated areas, and perhaps also for the practical reason that if incubation was to take place in a small shrine attached to an animal catacomb there would have been quite limited space.¹⁴¹ Thus an individual serving a god, such as Ḥor, was able to sleep at Thoth's ibis catacombs, but ordinary worshipers may have been forbidden.

140 UPZ I 81; see p. 90n.138. If the setting for the king's incubation was in the city itself, judging from the prominence of Isis in the dream, the tale may have started at Isis's Memphis temple, which according to Herodotus was built by the pharaoh Amasis (reigned 569–526 BCE), and is also known from Heliodorus (Hdt. 2.176.2; Heliod., *Aeth.* 1.18; see Thompson (D.) 2012, 27, 179).

141 It is unlikely that incubation would have been practiced by anyone in the catacombs themselves—which, after all, were occupied by divinities. Moreover, the catacombs are believed to have been closed between burials (see Davies/Smith 2005, 62; see also Ray, *Texts*, p. 7 on the discovery of locking-holes at the doorway leading into the Baboon Galleries). When incubation was practiced at a sacred animal necropolis it is more likely to have been done at a shrine attached to the catacombs, such as the one at which part of the Ḥor Archive was discovered (see p. 435) or the small limestone Baboon Chapel before the Baboon Galleries (for the Baboon Chapel, see p. 588). The combination of the evidence that Ḥor had engaged in incubation at such shrines and the *ostraka* indicating that he had sought dream-oracles on behalf of others raises the possibility that only those serving the gods of the necropolis might have been able to solicit dream-oracles from them (see p. 620), but it cannot be ruled out that ordinary worshipers might have been permitted to do so in this and other necropolis shrines, perhaps during festivals. (For the cultic functions of the entrances to sacred animal necropolises in Egypt both daily and during festivals, as well as the cult personnel known to have been active at them, see Kessler 2011, 223–231.)

Similarly, the chief god of the Saqqâra bluff, Osorapis, might have been consulted in this manner, as is suggested by the indirect evidence of the Demotic school text concerning a pharaoh and perhaps also Ḥor’s once having received a dream at the Heliopolitan sanctuary of Osormnevis, and it is certainly possible that incubation also took place at the sacred necropolises of Isis’s cows, Horus’s hawks and falcons, and other such sites. Overall, then, the picture that emerges—until such time as additional documents are published or come to light—is one of ordinary people being able to consult Imhotep directly, priests and cult officials seeking dream-oracles at the animal catacombs on behalf of themselves or others, and zealous worshipers such as the “recluse” Ptolemaios and untold numbers of unrecorded pilgrims, recluses and permanent residents regularly receiving unsolicited dreams (in addition to any dreams they may have sought on certain occasions). Thus dreams played an important role in the religious life of Saqqâra, but the nature and role of divinatory and therapeutic incubation there is far from fully understood.

For a related piece of evidence from another site, see the Ptolemaic stele from Leontopolis declaring a structure associated with the sacred lions’ galleries, most likely a shrine, to be “sacred”—making it a potential parallel for the shrines at the Saqqâra sacred animal necropolises (*SEG* 55, 1829). This stele, which refers to “The living lion” and the Ptolemaic king in hieroglyphics and in Greek is inscribed οἰκία τῆς ταφῆς τῶν <λ>εόντων (*vacat*) ἱερὰ (“House of the tomb of the lions: (It is) sacred”), must have been posted at the edge of the area that was consecrated to the divinized lions, *i.e.* their catacombs, in order to indicate to the general public what was off limits. Such a stele can easily be imagined at the various Saqqâra catacombs. (Nachtergaele 2005, 9–11, followed by *SEG*, claimed on the basis of three comparanda that the stele was perhaps intended to prevent unauthorized access to an office, but οἰκία τῆς ταφῆς is more likely to pertain to a small shrine, as I argue in Renberg (in preparation), *c.*)

Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari and Thebes

8.1 Introduction

Few Egyptian gods had as much in common as Amenhotep, son of Hapu, and Imhotep, whose shared sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari is among the best documented sites for incubation there, and the one that serves as the best example of a sanctuary at which both therapeutic and oracular dreams were sought. Another famously wise historical figure who had become a god, Amenhotep was often associated with Imhotep, even serving as his colleague at some healing sanctuaries.¹ Whereas Imhotep was posthumously venerated as a patron of scribes, Amenhotep was himself a royal scribe, serving the pharaoh Amenhotep III (reigned 1390–1352 BCE) in this important capacity; Amenhotep also served as chief architect, which had been the historical Imhotep's primary function. Both left behind lasting monuments to the rulers they served: just as Imhotep oversaw construction of Djoser's Step Pyramid, Amenhotep was instrumental in the erection of the two colossal statues of Amenhotep III in front of the pharaoh's mortuary temple, one of which in Greco-Roman times would become known as the "Colossus of Memnon" and attract countless sightseers because of its "singing." Like Imhotep, Amenhotep was initially a divinized mortal—the term "Egyptian saints" has been used to describe both²—who ultimately was worshiped as a god, though not until Ptolemaic times. Amenhotep, however, appears to have played a significant role in his own apotheosis: with the pharaoh's permission, he erected statues of himself at the temple of Amun at Karnak which bore inscriptions proclaiming that he would convey visitors'

1 On Amenhotep, see: Bataille 1950; Varille 1968, 125–142; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (collecting written sources) and Wildung 1977a, 83–110; Sadek 1987, 277–280; and *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 11–15; cf. Dunand 2006, 20–21 (with comment of R. Tybout in *SEG* 56, 1957) and Klotz 2012a, 51–52. Amenhotep, son of Hapu, is not to be confused with another oracular divinity with that name, Amenhotep I, the divinized pharaoh whose oracle at Deir el-Medīna served this workmen's community during the New Kingdom (see McDowell 1990, 107–141, and the two-part study in von Lieven 2000 and von Lieven 2001). For Imhotep, see Chapter 7.4.

2 The phrase comes from Wildung 1977a.

messages to the god in return for a libation and offering, thus establishing himself as a divine herald and intermediary between worshipers and their god during his lifetime.³ After Amenhotep's death, he continued to be venerated at the mortuary temple he had built for himself in the Theban necropolis at Medinet Habu, where his cult was instituted by the pharaoh three years before Amenhotep had died, and it is clear that the cult continued to flourish at least until the end of the 21st Dynasty.⁴ At some point in the Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BCE) or Late Period (664–332 BCE), as his mortuary cult appears to have been declining, Amenhotep also came to be worshiped by the Thebans at an independent shrine located somewhere in western Thebes.⁵

The first indication that Amenhotep was revered as a healer dates more than seven centuries after his death, in the form of an inscribed statue of him that the daughter of Psamtik I dedicated in 628/627 BCE at an unidentified site in the hope that this "good physician" would cure an eye ailment.⁶ After the complete decline of Amenhotep's Medinet Habu mortuary cult at the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period this official cult appears to have relocated to nearby Deir el-Bahari, an area of western Thebes just east of the Valley of the Kings, where Amenhotep was newly established in a rock-cut shrine on the upper terrace of the decaying mortuary temple of the female pharaoh Hatshepsut (reigned 1473–1458 BCE) (Plan 16).⁷ Although the date of this move is unknown, it was most likely sometime around 300 BCE, with the *terminus*

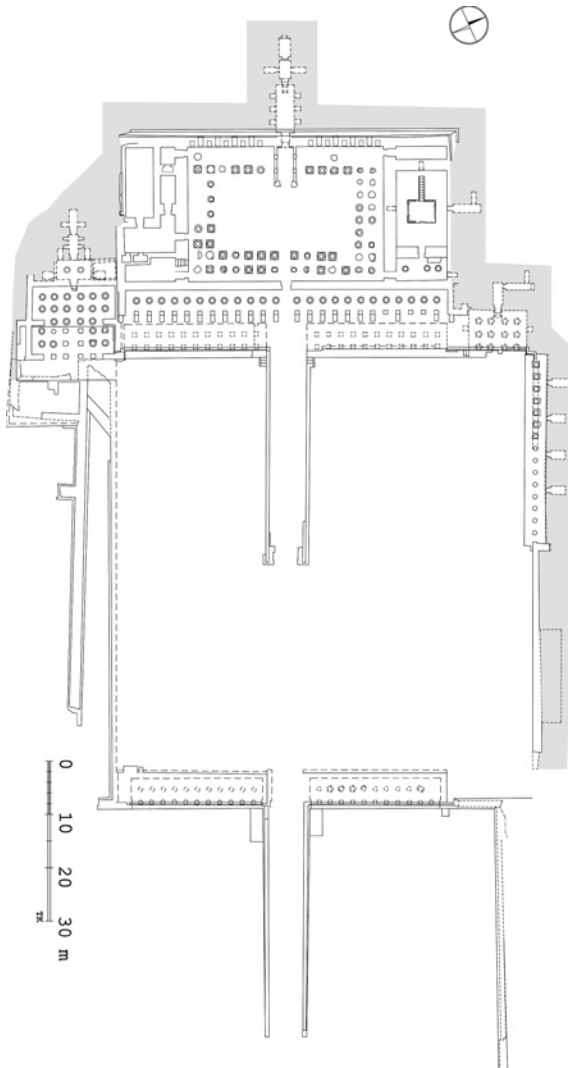
3 See Varille 1968, 140–142 and Wildung 1977a, 87–88.

4 On the remains of the original temple, see Robichon/Varille 1936; cf. *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 22. Amenhotep's actual burial site was in the Valley of the Eagle.

5 See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 14, citing a hieratic papyrus from 635 BCE that refers to a "chapel (*kꜣr*) of Amenhotep" somewhere in the area of Thebes (*P. Choix* I 15, col. i, l. 4, cf. *P. Choix* II, pp. 48–50 (facs.) + Pl. 14 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 278–279, §180)).

6 Brook. 65.47 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 277–278, §179); trans. Wildung 1977a, 92.

7 While the name "Deir el-Bahari" applies to a particular area on the western bank of the Nile River opposite Thebes that played a changing role in the lives of the land's rulers and populace over the centuries, in this study I am using that name only to refer to the sanctuary of Amenhotep located within Hatshepsut's abandoned temple. For the history of this area from the establishment of the funerary temple of the 11th-Dynasty pharaoh Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre through Late Antiquity, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 1–104, as well as Adam Łajtar's shorter overview of the site based on this work (Łajtar 2008; references to this work are not included below, as it is derived from *I. Deir el-Bahari*). Łajtar's work is now the preeminent study of the cult of Amenhotep at this site, but see also: Bataille, *Hatshepsout*; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 220–234, §§147–150 (cf. Wildung 1977a, 63–64, 97); Karkowski/Winnicki 1983; and Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*. To these will be added the work of Amy Bahé, who is preparing a dissertation at Cambridge University entitled *Demotic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahari in the British Museum*, an overview of which can be found in Bahé 2014.



PLAN 16
*Deir el-Bahari temple of
 Hatshepsut, showing
 Ptolemaic-era rock-cut
 sanctuary of Amenhotep and
 Imhotep (Bark Shrine and two
 inner chambers) at far top,
 with Ptolemaic portico in
 front.*

PLAN BY TERESA DZIEDZIC
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 CENTER OF
 MEDITERRANEAN
 ARCHAEOLOGY,
 UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW)

For the official cult's relocation to Deir el-Bahari, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 14, 22–23, 28–31; cf. Karkowski/Winnicki, *ibid.*, 99 and Laskowska-Kusztal, *ibid.*, p. 66. (For the likelihood that the mortuary cult was continued at Deir el-Bahari despite the move away from Amenhotep's Medinet Habu tomb, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 49–50.)

ante quem of 265 BCE being established by an unpublished *ostrakon*.⁸ It was at this shrine, which was the seat of his cult during Ptolemaic and Roman times, that Amenhotep appears to have been deified—a development not accepted by all—and his parents Hapu and Itit became Apis and Hathor (though he was also sometimes identified as the son of Amun).⁹ Showing the popularity of this sanctuary of Amenhotep, whose name was Amenothēs (Ἀμενώθης) in

- 8 The earliest published evidence for Amenhotep's worship at the site is the Polyaratos *ostrakon* (*I.Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1; quoted pp. 461–462), which dates to 261/0 BCE and, as Łajtar points out, demonstrates that the cult and its fame were already well established by then, which suggests an arrival well before this date (*I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 23). For the unpublished *ostrakon* that pushes back the date to 265 BCE, see below. (Three other Demotic texts preserved on *ostraka*, at least one of which was written the same year, might be from Deir el-Bahari: see n. 58.) The Polyaratos *ostrakon*'s original editor, André Bataille, suggested that since Polyaratos did not specify where Amenhotep had been performing the healing miracles that came to Polyaratos's attention it is possible that Amenhotep had earned his reputation as a divine healer at Medinet Habu (Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, pp. xix–xx), in which case the move to Deir el-Bahari need not date as far back as 300 BCE and could have been much closer in time to Polyaratos's visit. Łajtar, however, is most likely correct that Amenhotep was well settled at his new sanctuary before Polyaratos visited.

Evidence for the site's being active around 300 BCE might be indicated by a Demotic inscription from the sanctuary that has been dated to November 28, 304 BCE (E. Bresciani in Karkowski/Winnicki 1983, 103–105). However, problems in the text, which records how many days multiple individuals had served there, appear to undermine this date, possibly pushing it down to the reign of Ptolemy III (246–222 BCE) rather than Ptolemy I: while Bresciani read the ruler's name in lines 1–2 as *Ptlwmjs* | *pꜣ nswt nḥt pꜣ Str*, Quack, using her photo, instead reads *pꜣl* for the first *pꜣ*, finds no sign of the second *pꜣ*, and considers *Str* (i.e., Sôtēr) a doubtful reading that might instead be *Ptr[ms]*, i.e. Ptolemaios (personal communication). If the earlier date were correct, since Amenhotep is not named in the text it would not be possible to rule out that it pertained to an earlier cult preceding Amenhotep's installation; however, if from the reign of Ptolemy III it would clearly be evidence for how his cult functioned, perhaps complementing the sources found elsewhere in western Thebes that possibly identify individuals who had simultaneously held the positions of “prophet, web-priest and gate-keeper” at multiple cult sites, including possibly Amenhotep's sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari (see n. 85). (There is some overlap in the names of the individuals found in this inscription and those papyri, but the names are too common to be considered reliable evidence that these documents from different periods pertained to the same family.)

- 9 On the deification of Amenhotep, see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 14, 24–25, 47; see also Laskowska-Kusztal 1984, arguing that Amenhotep's father retained his identity as a mortal and did not become associated with Apis. The earliest surviving reference to Amenhotep as θεός is the Polyaratos *ostrakon* (see previous note). Evidence from elsewhere in Egypt raises the question of the extent to which his joining the ranks of the gods was recognized beyond Deir el-Bahari, especially among the native Egyptian population, while evidence from both Deir el-Bahari and other sites suggests that Egyptian priests might have persisted in revering

Greek, hundreds of Greek and Demotic documents scratched or painted on the walls, written on *ostraka*, or inscribed on stone have been found there, and while the majority are *proskynema* texts, several reveal him to have functioned as a healing and oracular god.¹⁰ Two are of particular note: a Demotic

Amenhotep as a saintly mortal (*i.e.*, the “Royal Scribe”), despite what individual Greek and Egyptian worshippers had started to believe.

Laskowska-Kusztal’s claim that during the New Kingdom Hathor functioned as a healing goddess at the site is based on Marciniak’s spurious reading of a graffito (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 125; on the graffito, see pp. 76–77n.106).

- 10 All 323 Greek *dipinti* and *graffiti* as well as five Greek *ostraka* and inscriptions on stone have been edited by Łajtar in a single corpus (*I. Deir el-Bahari*), replacing the earlier corpus of Bataille (Bataille, *Hatshepsout*). Roughly seventy Greek *ostraka* unearthed at the site in the 1890’s and early 1900’s and taken to the British Museum but now in the possession of the British Library remain unpublished (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 19n.68). The published Demotic materials are limited to four *ostraka* that were among those acquired during excavations there (O.Brit.Mus. 41258, 50497, 50627, 50601; see Bahé 2014, 12 for summaries and references) and two graffiti (Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* 262, §166 + Pl. 65), though there have also been three *ostraka* and two wooden tablets published that are likely to have originated at the site, or at least concern its cult (O.Brit.Mus. 5671 (see n. 58); U.L.C. Ostrakon Sup. no. 188, *O. Theb* 142, *P. Götterbriefe* 11, and *P. Götterbriefe* 12 (see pp. 479–482)). The overwhelming majority of Demotic texts from the site, including just over two hundred *ostraka* that also ended up in the British Museum a century ago and roughly 180 graffiti and an additional *ostrakon* found more than three decades ago, remain unpublished (see Bahé, *ibid.*, for an overview of the British Museum *ostraka*). The graffiti and this *ostrakon*, a plea by a woman named Senamunis for her infertility to be cured (see n. 98), were being edited by Jan K. Winnicki at the time of his death in 2009 (see Karkowski/Winnicki 1983, 102 for the announcement of the texts’ discovery; cf. *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 18–19, 52, 87). While Winnicki’s death has brought a halt to the publication of the texts on which he was working, the British Museum *ostraka* are beginning to receive some overdue attention, with Amy Bahé editing a group of roughly forty Demotic *ostraka* for her dissertation (*supra*, n. 7). Although Winnicki indicated that the unpublished Demotic graffiti shed no additional light on Amenhotep’s role of healer (personal communication, 3/14/08), as discussed below Bahé has found multiple *ostraka* that will expand our knowledge of divine healing at Deir el-Bahari. (I am grateful to Elisabeth O’Connell of the British Museum for providing information on the collection of Greek and Demotic *ostraka*.)

For an assessment of the number, physical nature and condition of the roughly 500 Greek and Demotic graffiti texts, which may once have numbered close to 1000, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 87–94. The majority of the graffiti were left during the final century of the Ptolemies’ rule and the first two centuries of the Roman Period, revealing that the sanctuary reached the height of its popularity during this period, before it experienced a steep decline in the second half of the second century CE (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 34, 36–37; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28, 80–86 for the shifting ethnicity of visitors, as indicated by their nomencla-

ostrakon that appears to represent the first evidence for divinatory incubation at the site,¹¹ and a Greek *ostrakon* making clear reference to therapeutic incubation undertaken by a worshiper named Polyaratos in 261/0 BCE.¹² The discovery of the latter indicates that incubation was practiced at this shrine well before the major—though unfinished—rebuilding and redecorating of the sanctuary under Ptolemy VIII during the years 142–131 BCE or, more probably, 124–117 BCE.¹³ (To these will be added an unpublished Demotic *ostrakon* in Krakow's National Museum that in completing the narrative of an *ostrakon* in the Brooklyn Museum reveals that its author, an individual named Thotortaios who was serving at Karnak, visited Deir el-Bahari in 265 BCE to consult Amenhotep in the hope of restoring his eyesight and engaged in incubation.¹⁴ The most detailed record of a visit to the site, the *ostrakon* is also the earliest dated text from Amenhotep's sanctuary.¹⁵ The precise nature

ture). Visitors did continue to frequent the site into Late Antiquity, however: beginning around the time that the last datable Greek text addressed to Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios was painted on a wall in 283 CE (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 161), a corporation of iron-workers from nearby Hermonthis would meet periodically at Deir el-Bahari to honor an unidentified cosmic *theos* by holding ritual banquets, drinking beer and sacrificing a donkey (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 244–245). There is also limited evidence for other visitors during this period, though whether they continued the worship of Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios has not been determined.

11 O. Nicholson R. 98 (quoted pp. 467–470).

12 *I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1 (quoted pp. 461–462).

13 As noted by Łajtar, the scale of the rebuilding and the fact that the Ptolemies are named in the hieroglyphic dedicatory inscriptions shows the prominence of Amenhotep's sanctuary by this time (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 34). On the expansion and redecoration of the sanctuary and the attendant circumstances, see Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari* and *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 31–36. Agreeing with Laskowska-Kusztal (*ibid.*, pp. 64–65), Łajtar concludes that the later time frame is more likely because the years after the civil war of 131–124 BCE saw efforts at reconciliation on the part of the king that included his funding construction and reconstruction work on numerous temples. Among the new temples constructed by Ptolemy VIII was the one that Thoth shared with Amenhotep and Imhotep at nearby Qaṣr el-Aguz, which may have been built at the same time and by the same team of workmen as Deir el-Bahari, and possibly left incomplete for the same reason: the king's death in 117 BCE (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 14–15, 34–35; for this temple and the untenable claim that incubation was practiced there, see Appendix 1.8.5).

14 Krakow, M.N. XI 989; see Chapter 9.3. As noted in that discussion, I am grateful to the late Heinz-Josef Thissen for sharing his unpublished text and translation of the *ostrakon*, which has permitted me to build on the work of Łajtar and others who did not have access to the text.

15 A published text also dating to 265 BCE, O.Brit.Mus. 5671, can now be assigned to Deir el-Bahari with greater confidence (see n. 58).

of the document remains unclear, but it bears striking similarities to the Polyaratos *ostrakon*.)

Graffiti and other inscriptions from the site suggest that the cult of Imhotep, who was to be worshiped as “Asklepios” by Greek visitors (never the phonetic rendering “Imouthes” associated with the cult at Saqqâra),¹⁶ was only introduced at Deir el-Bahari during this Ptolemaic expansion, which saw both his formal installation and that of Hygieia, and that previously the local Theban divinity Amenhotep was worshiped there alone (as the Krakow *ostrakon* further indicates).¹⁷ In the Theban area, the association between Amenhotep and Imhotep was mutually beneficial: Amenhotep’s deification was facilitated by his association with the established god, while Imhotep’s worship in and around Thebes would not have been as easily accepted without the link to his junior colleague.¹⁸ This link, at least in the case of Deir el-Bahari, appears to

16 For the exclusive use of the name Ἀσκληπίος rather than Ἴμούθης in the Greek texts at Deir el-Bahari, see p. 425n.81.

17 See Karkowski/Winnicki 1983, 97, 100 and *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 30–31, 35–36. During the Ptolemaic Period Amenhotep and Imhotep came to be worshiped jointly at other gods’ sites in the vicinity of Amenhotep’s native Thebes, such as the temple of Thoth at Qaş el-Aguz (see Sect. 8.5). The evidence of Hygieia’s worship at the site includes both documentary sources that name her and others that possibly refer or allude to her or represent her. Laskowska-Kusztal has suggested that the goddess Ipet-Nut, featured prominently in the sanctuary’s decorative program, may have been identified by Greek worshipers with Hygieia (Laskowska-Kusztal, pp. 77–88, especially p. 88), who is known from three of the graffiti left by worshipers (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 129, 197, 208), and might be represented in a broken dedicatory relief that according to one interpretation shows her and the two gods (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. B2 + fig. 28; see n. 20). The claim by Bataille that the “gods sharing the same altars and the same temple” (θεοὶ σύμβωμοι καὶ συντελεῖς) honored by Polyaratos alongside Amenhotep should be identified as Imhotep and Hygieia can no longer be accepted, based on the evidence that Imhotep—and consequently Hygieia—was only introduced to Deir el-Bahari more than a century later, as Łajtar has noted (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1, l. 29, cited by Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, pp. xiv–xv; see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 25–26, cf. p. 61). Instead, as Łajtar argues based on the work of Nock regarding other Egyptian sites (Nock 1930, 4–21 (pp. 204–218 of 1972 reprint)), these unnamed *theoi* may have been deified members of the Ptolemaic royal house, both living and dead. In contrast, four graffiti that do postdate the introduction of Imhotep/Asklepios and address “gods sharing the same temple” (θεοὶ σύνναοι) along with both Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios (or just one of them) appear to have been referring to Hygieia and other divine family members of the two gods as well as local gods as the “temple-sharers” (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 48, on Nos. 96, 117, 118, 194).

18 For Amenhotep’s close association with Imhotep being linked to his deification, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 14–15, 35–36. As Łajtar notes, Amenhotep was still considered a divinized figure equivalent to a saint and worshiped only in western Thebes by locals who were

have been deliberately encouraged by the priests of Amenhotep during the sanctuary's expansion, as is indicated by the creation of a decorative program that shows the two divine figures as gods of equal stature, and by the suddenness with which Imhotep appears as a divinity fully integrated into the sanctuary's official theology.¹⁹ Despite the balance between Amenhotep and Imhotep in the sanctuary's wall paintings, the epigraphical evidence left by visitors to the site indicates that the Theban Amenhotep continued to be significantly more popular than his counterpart from Memphis—a phenomenon somewhat comparable to Imhotep's greater popularity at Saqqâra, where from the surviving evidence Amenhotep is not even known to have been present, showing that those living there felt no pressing need to worship an imported healing divinity when they were already blessed with one.²⁰ The disparity in the relative popularity of the two at Deir el-Bahari is illustrated by the fact that only thirteen of the forty-four Greek graffiti that name Amenhotep also name "Asklepios," whereas no Greek text names Asklepios alone, and Imhotep is not mentioned at all in any of the Demotic graffiti.²¹ However, it is perhaps significant that two *proskynema* texts refer to Asklepios but not Amenhotep as "the lord god," suggesting that at least some visitors, perhaps because of their

mainly from the lower classes, but once he came to be associated with Imhotep, who was already an established god of the Memphite pantheon, Amenhotep was given entrée into the official theology of the Theban temples on the East Bank, most notably at Karnak's Temple of Ptah (see pp. 482–483n.99).

- 19 See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 35–36, 41–43 and the extensive discussions in Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*. Of particular note is that the walls of the sanctuary had a single decorative scheme, with Amenhotep represented on the north wall and Imhotep on the south wall.
- 20 On the respective popularity of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari and the question of the two gods' equal status there, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 31, 46–48. Łajtar does note a single likely exception to the pattern indicating Amenhotep's primacy: a stele featuring a Greek dedicatory inscription as well as a relief that, according to one of two proposed interpretations of the divine figures, represents Imhotep in a more prominent position than Amenhotep (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. B2, cf. p. 47n.172). The point making a contrast between Deir el-Bahari and Memphis is that of Bataille (Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, p. xv).
- 21 See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 46–48 (Greek graffiti) and Karkowski/Winnicki 1983, 102 (Demotic graffiti). Łajtar notes a single Greek text that names only "Asklepios," but as he points out there is a *lacuna* where Amenhotep may have been named (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 93). (According to Amy Bahé, the unpublished Demotic *ostrakon* O.Brit.Mus. 50492 does name Imhotep and employs an epithet often used for him at Saqqâra, but is too badly damaged for a context to be determined or the question of whether Amenhotep was also named in the text to be resolved, though there is some possibility that it may join O.Brit.Mus. 33374, which does name him (Bahé 2014, 17 and personal communication).)

Greek backgrounds, considered Asklepios to be more important.²² And, in the case of the most well-known text from the site, a Roman soldier's record of an apparent healing miracle, it appears that this worshiper from a distant garrison had primarily sought aid from Asklepios.²³

8.2 Healing and Therapeutic Incubation

Despite the predominance of Amenhotep over Imhotep/Asklepios, both gods played important roles as healers at Deir el-Bahari, as is evident from graffiti that echo aspects of the much lengthier Polyaratos ostrakon.²⁴ Of particular

22 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 129 and 197 (quoted n. 28); see also *I.Deir el-Bahari* 293, which depends on a restoration. Graffiti from the sanctuary also present the opposite situation, with Amenhotep being referred to as "lord" but not Asklepios, while some refer to both as "lords." Such texts can lead to no firm conclusions, but do raise the question of why some worshippers chose different forms of address for the two divinities.

23 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 208 (quoted pp. 458–459).

24 On the sanctuary's healing function, see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 50–56 and Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 106–113, 117–127. In addition to the graffiti and *ostraka*, the general importance of Amenhotep and Imhotep as healers is emphasized in some of the hieroglyphic wall inscriptions belonging to the Ptolemaic sanctuary's reconstruction: Amenhotep is twice referred to as a "good physician" (Laskowska-Kusztal, *ibid.*, Nos. 33, 45) and also is said to drive away the demons that cause illness (*ibid.*, No. 46), while Imhotep is described as a famous physician (*ibid.*, No. 63) and specifically said to be a god "who gives a son to the suppliant" (*ibid.*, No. 23). The only identifiable problems for which help was sought from one or both gods were glandular inflammation, infertility, and fever (see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 51), but undoubtedly visitors came with a range of afflictions comparable to those recorded in the more abundant sources documenting visits to healing sanctuaries beyond Egypt, as well as in the magical papyri and texts of amulets. (This can be seen among the Demotic *ostraka* from the British Museum being edited by Bahé (see n. 7), since one document describes a dream that had been solicited for an eye ailment (O.Brit.Mus. 41260+50599), while another concerns an individual asking for "another remedy" in a dream (O.Brit.Mus. 41255); see Bahé 2014, 17, expressing caution regarding the likely link to incubation because the surviving portions of these texts do not specify that the dream either was received at the sanctuary, or was to be.) Possible evidence for the sanctuary's healing function might also be found in the recorded visits of three physicians, whose motives for coming to Deir el-Bahari might have been no different from those of other visitors, but might have involved a desire to learn more of the healing methods employed there (see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 55, on Nos. 25, 94, 165; for doctors visiting the Abydos *Memnonion* as tourists or pilgrims, see p. 490).

interest are several Greek texts,²⁵ including one by a Macedonian laborer named Andromachos stating that he “had become enfeebled and the god [*i.e.* Amenhotep] had come to his aid the very same day” (ἐμαλλακίσθη και ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ ἐβοήθησε αὐθιμερί),²⁶ a badly deteriorated *proskynema* text addressed to Amenhotep and probably Imhotep/Asklepios that referred to some sort of treatment apparently sought for several family members (παρὰ τῷ κ[υρ]ίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ κ[αὶ] π[α]ρὰ τῷ θεῷ [Ἀσ]κλ[ηπι]ῳ (?) τῇ γ[α]ρ θεραπείαν θέλοντες),²⁷ a shorter *proskynema* text addressed by a single individual to “the lord god Asklepios, Amenotbes and Hygieia” asking them to “remember us and give us treatment” (μνήσθητι ὑμῶν καὶ παράδος ὑμῖν θεραπείαν),²⁸ a severely damaged hexameter epigram that appears to refer to its author being cured by these “physicians” (ιητήρσιν) through their medical knowledge (ἐπιστήμη),²⁹ and a man’s prayer that his son regain his health (αἶθε ὦν [πά]λιν ὑγιᾶναι ἐμόν).³⁰ None of these sources, unfortunately, gives any indication of how the gods were believed to have brought about a recovery or were expected to do so, or the techniques used to seek their aid on these occasions, but there is no reason to conclude that incubation would have been involved each time, especially since at other gods’ healing sanctuaries for which there is better documentation incubation was typically just one option, with ordinary prayer accompanied

25 To these can be added a dedicatory inscription and a *dipinto* with dedicatory language that do not explicitly refer to health or healing, but may represent further evidence for Amenhotep’s role of divine physician (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 322 and No. B1).

26 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 68; cf. *I.Deir el-Bahari* 60.

27 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 112.

28 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 129. A similar *proskynema* text by this individual was found nearby: “The *proskynema* of Eugraphios before the lord god Asklepios, Amenotbes and Hygieia: remember us, our masters, our deliverers” (τὸ προσκύνημα Εὐγράφι[ος] παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ | Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ {αι} Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγίειᾳ | μνήσθητι, ὑμῶν δέσποται, ὑμῶν | σωτήρες) (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 197). The epithet Σωτήρ was often used for Asklepios and other healing gods, though by no means limited to them (see pp. 116–117). (The use of the spellings ὑμῶν/ὑμῖν instead of ἡμῶν/ἡμῖν is a common variant found in a small number of the sanctuary’s graffiti.)

29 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 209. Damage to the text has erased the names of the gods addressed at the beginning, but these were undoubtedly Amenhotep and Imhotep. The term ιητήρ is employed in two other Greek graffiti from the site: Amenhotep is referred to as such in one that is addressed solely to him (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 219 (= SEG 56, 2015)), while another that is addressed to both gods also employs the singular form, and damage to the text makes it impossible to determine which god was referred to in this manner (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 100). For the application of the term for “physician” to these two gods in the sanctuary’s hieroglyphic wall inscriptions, see n. 24.

30 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 50.

by an offering or vow being the simplest and presumably most common.³¹ Indeed, the requests for health and healing appear to be rather generic prayers typical of those found at any healing god's sanctuary. Of these graffiti, only the one left by the laborer who became ill and miraculously recovered "the same day" (αὐθημερί) seems likely to have involved incubation, especially since the Macedonian calendar was lunar and days were defined as evening-to-evening, so that this term might have referred to an overnight stay.³²

Another *dipinto*, much longer than the aforementioned texts and the best known document from the sanctuary, might also reveal the gods' roles as healers and cast light on the practice of incubation at Deir el-Bahari, but the severely damaged condition, flawed syntax, and phonological variants of this unusually difficult text prevent reliable interpretation:

χαίρε, ταίκος Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε, Ἀμενώθη. ἦλθον | ἀπὼ Κοπτοῦ
Ἀθηνόδωρου (= Ἀθηνόδωρος) τεσσεράριω (= τεσσεράριος) ἑπίμα οὐξι-
λατειῶν | εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ | κα[ι] Ἀμενώθη (= Ἀμενώθου). συνέβη
εὐχόμενον παρακαλῶν τῶν (= εὐχόμενον παρακαλοῦντα τὸν) ἀγαθὸν |
Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξόν Ἀμενώθη (= Ἀμενώθην) καὶ τὴν θεάν Ὑγίαν
|⁵ μεγίστην ἀκοῦσαι με αὐτῶν (= αὐτοῦ) ΤΗΞ.ΥΕΧΙΩ τὴν νύκταν αὐτῶν
(= αὐτὸς) | ἐφάνη. αὐτὸς δὲ ΘΕ..Σ[.] (vel δ' ΕΘΕ..Σ[.]) τῇ[ν σημ?]ασίαν
καὶ φανερῶται, ἀνοίξας | τὴν θύραν τῶ (= τὸ) εὐλογοῦμενον ἱερόν (= τοῦ
εὐλογοῦμένου ἱεροῦ) Ἀμενώθην (= Ἀμενώθου? Ἀμενώθης?), ᾧ δὲ ῥέπ[ων?
(καί)] | [ἀπ]αρν<ο>ύμενος (vel [μῆ] ἀρν<ο>ύμενος) ΗΛ..[.]Α[...].[...].ΣΟΝ
ἐπις[τάς] ἔμπροσθεν ἄγ[αλμα] | παρακαλῶν αὐτὸς θείας ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς
(= ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ?) ἀλέξεως [..].ΩΝ[. πρό?] |¹⁰ [τῇ]ς θύρας βαλὼν αὐτὸν
[...].[...]. ἐν φανερῶ [..].[...].[---] | [...].Μ[...].Σ[. c. 6]Κ[...].Ν[---] | [..]
της Ε[.]ΗΛΛ[...].νεῖα δεῖ με θεοῦ ..ΤΩΟ[...].Ι ἀγαθ[ὸς] Ἀμενώθης | [...].Σ
αὐτοῦ ΩΣΘΕΙΣΗΝ `---[...].Σ[...].ΣΩΖ[---]' ἐκ ἐναντίου με καὶ Ε[c. 7]ΝΑΥ[.]
Ε[...].Σ | [...].ΝΑ το[ύς] ἀνθρώπους οὐκ [..].Α..ΕΝ αὐθ[ι]ς(?) [...].[...].Ω[---]
|¹⁵ [...].ΚΗΝ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνγραπτέον ἀγαθ[---].ΝΩΑ[---] | [...].ΟΥ τὴν

31 See Dunand 2006, 17–18, noting the broad range of options available to those seeking divine aid for health matters at Egyptian sanctuaries. Even *Asklepieia* throughout the Greek world did not rely solely on incubation, as seen in Chapter 3, so it is quite likely that at Deir el-Bahari there were alternatives to incubation.

32 See Samuel 1967, 37–51 on the Macedonian calendar. Łajtar, not considering overnight treatment, concludes from the rapid recovery of the laborer Andromachos that there were other healing techniques available besides therapeutic incubation (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 54; cf. Dunand 2006, 12). Mere prayer followed by a presumed miracle, of course, is not out of the question (see p. 214n.237 for examples from the cult of Asklepios).

θεραπίαν καὶ ἐθεράπευσε .[c. 7]ΩΝ[---] | .[...].ΚΡ.ΟΥΗΣΕΡΙΑΘΘ.ΑΠ[---]
 ἔβαλεν | ΚΥΜΗ[---]ΟΣ πρίασθ[αι] | τοῦ φω[---]ΩΝΗΛΕΩΝ.[.. ἐ]φ' ἱερὸν |²⁰
 καὶ ὠλοσώ[ματον]? (= ὀλοσώματον) (vel ὠλος Ω[---] (= ὀλος Ω[---])) ---..ΛΟΙ
 ἱερίς (= ἱερεῖς vel ἱεροῖς) δεδω[κέ]ται | τὸν Ἀσκληπι[ιδόν ---] ποιῆσαι διὰ πολλοῦ
 χρῶ[μενος? -νου?] | [---]--- | [---]. ἀνόσιον (vel ἀνοσίαν) Ἀθην[ό]δωρος ΕΝ[---]
 | [--- οὐ]δὲν ἀπαντᾶν οὐδ'αμ[ῶς? ---] |²⁵ [---]ΟΝ Αμε[νώθη]ν (?) ..[...] | [---]
 Σ[---].³³

Hail, Asklepios, child of Phoibos, and hail, Amenothēs. 1, Athenodoros, *tesserarius* of the first *vexillatio*, came from Koptos to the sanctuary of Asklepios and Amenothēs. It happened that while I was praying and calling upon the good Asklepios together with both the revered Amenothēs and the greatest goddess Hygieia I heard him [---] during the night he appeared. He [---] the sign (?) and becomes manifest, having opened the door to the renowned sanctuary of Amenothēs, inclining(?) towards whom (?) and [not?] refusing [---] I stood before [the statue?] calling for the divine protection (*or*, assistance) of the good Asklepios (?) [---] throwing him (*or*, it?) down (before?) the door [---] plainly [---] it is necessary for me [---] of the god [---] good Amenothēs [---] (of?) him [---] facing me and [---] people not [---] again(?) [---] the matter to be recorded in writing of the good (?) [---] the treatment and he healed [---] he threw [---] to have been bought at the cost of (?) [---] to (?) the sanctuary and a full-length representation (?) [---] the priests to have given (*or*, to have given to the priests), Asklepios [---] to have made for a long time (*or*, being in great need) [---] unholy, Athenodoros [---] not at all (?) to come upon (?) (*or*, happen to) in no way (?) [---] Amenothēs(?) [---].

The text, a detailed narrative recounting the visit of a soldier from the Roman garrison at Koptos forty kilometers to the north during the reign of Hadrian or later,³⁴ clearly refers to his having seen one of the two gods at night and soon thereafter having been cured of an unspecified ailment, but because

33 This text and translation are those of Renberg 2013, a modified version of Łajtar's recent edition (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 208 + fig. 20, cf. pp. 50–61 *et pass.*) and the original (Bataille, *Hatshepsout* 126). See that article for further discussion of the textual issues and other matters associated with the narrative not addressed here, as well as additional references.

34 Michael P. Speidel has suggested that Athenodoros belonged to a unit of Palmyrene archers (*Hadriani Palmyreni Antoniniani sagittarii*) whose presence at Koptos was recorded by an inscription from 216 CE, and who would not have been present before the mid-point of Hadrian's reign (see Speidel 1984; cf. *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 296–297).

of its poor quality it is impossible to tell for certain whether he was undergoing incubation that night, which god he saw and heard, and whether the narrative describes a waking epiphany—as has previously been thought—or instead describes a dream.³⁵ Strong evidence supporting the determination that he engaged in incubation can be found in his statement that while “praying and calling upon” (εὐχόμενον παρακαλῶν) Asklepios, Amenhotep and Hygieia he heard one of these gods—generally assumed to have been Amenhotep, but quite possibly Imhotep/Asklepios instead³⁶—who then appeared in the night (τὴν νύκταν αὐτῶν ἐφάνη) and somehow made himself manifest (φανερῶται). That Athenodoros appears to have recovered his health and been instructed to record his experience (τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνγραφτέον . . . τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν)

35 This text was originally interpreted by André Bataille as the account of a man who had arrived in the hope of being cured of an unknown ailment, which occurred after he had entered the inner sanctum from the Bark Shrine upon hearing a voice from there—perhaps a simulated one—and appealed to Asklepios before the gods’ statues (Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, pp. xxii–xxiii, 88), while Łajtar has more recently suggested that Athenodoros had committed a religious transgression by entering the inner sanctum and became ill because of divine anger, only regaining his health after atoning for this offense (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 296; cf. pp. 51, 54, 60). However, as is argued in Renberg 2013, Athenodoros’s narrative does not discuss his waking actions and experience, but rather a *dream* in which the god invited him into the inner sanctum. (Following publication of my article I found that Cary J. Martin had previously linked this text implicitly to a dream, while also rightly questioning how a hidden speaker simulating the god’s voice could have avoided being seen when Athenodoros entered the 3.55 × 2.17-meter sanctuary adjacent to the Bark Shrine (Martin (C.) 1994, 210). In addition, Philippa Lang suggested a dream as an alternative interpretation the same year that the article appeared (Lang 2013, 93).) The reference to medical treatment (θεραπεία) towards the end of the text (l. 16) suggests that Athenodoros successfully regained his health, and if his divine encounter did occur in a dream then this would mean that his narrative, written as a form of aretology rather than as an Egyptian parallel for one of the Lydian confession inscriptions, pertains to therapeutic incubation at the sanctuary.

On the question of whether the god’s voice could have been simulated by a priest or sanctuary official, as has repeatedly been stated, see pp. 584–585.

36 That the god initially encountered by Athenodoros was Amenhotep has been claimed by several scholars, most recently Łajtar (*Deir el-Bahari*, p. 60). However, in addition to naming “Asklepios” first in the opening hexameter (see next note), Athenodoros states that he was “praying and calling upon the good Asklepios *together with* both the revered Amenotnes and the greatest goddess Hygieia” (emphasis added), which indicates that his primary interest was in Amenhotep’s partner. (This stands in contrast to a Demotic *ostrakon* that, according to one possible interpretation, reveals that an Egyptian visitor’s inquiry about a health matter had been answered by Imhotep on behalf of Amenhotep (U.L.C. Ostrakon Sup. no. 188; quoted pp. 479–480).)

represents further evidence. It is also most likely significant that Athenodoros was primarily worshiping and making requests of “Asklepios” rather than Amenhotep, since as one who almost certainly was not native to Thebes or its surrounding territory—and quite possibly not even from Egypt—Athenodoros might have been more predisposed to turn to this god for a health-related matter than to a native Egyptian healing god.³⁷ Moreover, from the fact that Athenodoros traveled such a distance it appears that he had a problem that required special divine assistance, rather than one easily addressed by the gods at Koptos. Despite these and other reservations that are more textual in nature,³⁸ the evidence does suggest that Athenodoros engaged in incubation, and the references to treatment and healing suggest that this was most likely because of a medical matter rather than in order to obtain a prophetic dream.

In contrast, the other well-known inscription from the site, an *ostrakon* by a man named Polyaratos who was probably a Macedonian Greek living in the area of Thebes, represents unambiguous evidence for therapeutic incubation at Deir el-Bahari, and from a much earlier period. Dating to 261/0 BCE, four years after the Demotic Krakow *ostrakon* that likewise records seeking help from Amenhotep in this manner, this large limestone flake bears what appears to be a fairly complete rough draft of a dedicatory text that would have been inscribed on a stele or some other prominently displayed object (as indicated by the use of ἀνέθηκεν).³⁹ A narrative describing one worshiper’s miraculous recovery after a visitation by Amenhotep, the document was composed to advertise the god’s powers to future visitors:

(Double-bracketed text was written and crossed out by the writer.) [βασιλ-]
 εύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολε|μαίου, ἔτους κε',
 μηνὸς Χοῖαχ· | τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρατος |⁵ ἀρετὴν Ἀμενώτου. συμπεσοῦ|
 σης γάρ μοι ἀρρωστίας μακρᾶς σφόδρα καὶ ἐπικινδύνου ἐφ' ἔτη ὀκτώ, | [συνε-
 σπασμένος τὰ νεῦρα ἀπὸ] | [[τῶ]ν βομβώγων δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος], | [[ἀ-]
 κραιτῆς ὧν κα[ὶ] οὐ τὰς τυχούσας] |^{10a} [[ὀδύ]γας ὑποφέρων] | [---] οὐκ ὀλίγα

37 For a possible parallel, in which Asklepios is named first, see the *proskynema* text asking “the lord god Asklepios, Amenotbes and Hygieia” to provide the worshiper medical treatment (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 129; see p. 457). For the issue of whether Athenodoros revered Asklepios ahead of Amenhotep, see Renberg 2013, 107–108.

38 See Renberg 2013, 112n.33 for the other, somewhat uncertain, clues within the text that Athenodoros was concerned with health matters.

39 *I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1 + fig. 26 (photo), cf. pp. 23–26, 51–53 *et pass.* (with references); annotated translation in Jördens 2010, 322–323, No. 2.1. On the clear signs that this text, which bears multiple corrections and deletions, is a draft, see Lajtar’s commentary (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 393–394).

βουλεύομε[|νος περι σωτ]ερίας καὶ οὐθὲν τὸ πλεῖον | [c. 7–8], ὡς δ' αὐτως δὲ
 πρὸς ἰα[|τρους κα]τέφυγον καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναν¹⁵[το ὑγιή μ]ε ποιῆσαι. ἀκούων δὲ
 πα[ρὰ πολλῶν τὰς τ[οῦ] | Ἀμενώτου ἀρετὰ[ς] | πολλὰς οὔσας, ὄντα αὐτ[ὸν] |
 ἐλεήμονα καὶ πολλ[οὺς] |²⁰ ἀφελπισμένους τ[ετυ]χότας δι' α[ὐτοῦ] | σωτη-
 ρίας π[ορευθεῖς] | | [τ..ετ..---] | καὶ αὐ[τὸς] |^{10b} [ἀ]φελπισμένους κατ[α] [α] [ἐφυ-
 γον[τος δέ μου]] |²⁵ [εἰς τὸ ἰε]ρόν τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ἰκ]έτης [κατὰ ἰκετηρίαν
 ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ί]] | [[γ]ραφα καὶ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου π[αραστάν]] | καὶ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου
 παρα[στάν]τος [καὶ] | θεραπευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φανε[ρῶς (vel -ντος) καὶ γενό-]|
 μενος ὑγιὲς ἡβουλήθην (= ἐβουλήθην) [αὐτῶι] | ἐξ ὧν ἅμα α[ὐτόν] κα[ὶ] τοὺς |
 ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελ[εῖς] |³⁰ [αὐτῶι] ἀναγράψαι
 αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρ[ε] | τὴν πρὸς τοὺς παραγινόμενους εἰς [δ] | [ὑνάμιν ἔκειν' ἵνα εἰδῶ-
 σιν τοῦ] | τὸ τέμενος [τὸ τέμενος] | τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώ[του οἱ] | [θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν]
 ἐχόμενοι ὑ[πὸ] ἀρρωστίας ἥσποτε συγεςπα[σμένοι] |³⁵ [φανερῶς παρισταμ[έ-
 νου]], | ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἰατ[ρ---] .. [---] | [φ]ανερῶς [παρισταμ[ένου]] ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἀγομ[---] | θεοῦ.

(~~Strikethrough~~ in this translation represents only deleted text containing additional content, not Polyaratos's corrections.) In the 25th year of the reign of King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, and his son Ptolemy, in the month of Choiak, Polyaratos erected this (as evidence for) the miraculous power of Amenothēs. Having fallen into a very serious and dangerous illness lasting for eight years—I was suffering from a constriction of the sinews extending from my groin (lit. “glands”) through the whole of my body, and was left invalid and not enduring the pains I was experiencing—[---] for a long time I was deliberating upon a means for deliverance but found(?) nothing worthwhile. Likewise when I took refuge with doctors, they too were unable to make me healthy. But hearing from many about the miraculous feats of Amenothēs, which were numerous, and that he himself was compassionate and that many who were despairing had found deliverance through him, I journeyed [---] and, having myself despaired, fled to the temple of Amenothēs as a suppliant according to the declaration of suppliance upon which the matters are written. And with Amenothēs standing beside me I was visibly cured by him and have become healthy. Because of this I wished to record the miraculous feat of this god, along with the other gods who share his altars and temple, for those arriving at the sanctuary of Amenothēs, those in the grip of some sort of illness by which they are paralyzed so that they will know the miraculous power of the god as he visibly stands by, so that they will know that cures(?) [---] visibly standing by by the god [---].

As is readily apparent, this inscription closely parallels the first- and third-person narratives from the *Asklepieia* at Epidauros, Lebena, Pergamon and Rome, as well as literary sources for the cult of Asklepios, since it records similar elements:⁴⁰ a long-suffering individual's decision to come to a healing sanctuary and put himself in the god's hands instead of those of mortal physicians;⁴¹ the god appearing to him, undoubtedly while he was engaging in incubation, and curing his affliction, which is believed to have been an inflammation of the lymphatic glands;⁴² and, his decision to leave an inscribed record of his miraculous recovery, perhaps at the god's or a priest's prompting.⁴³ This inscription, which employs the term ἀρετή three times (not to mention the term δύναμις appearing twice in a partly deleted passage) in reference to Amenhotep's miraculous powers or his miraculous cure of Polyaratos specifically, also is similar to the group of aretalogical texts that—as appears to have been the case with the Athenodoros *dipinto*—served as a form of religious propaganda publicizing the powers and wondrous feats of certain gods.⁴⁴

While the Polyaratos *ostrakon* neither specifies that he engaged in incubation nor refers to a dream, as do several of the comparable documents from the cult of Asklepios, his reference to Amenhotep “standing beside” him and curing him of his chronic disease does not easily lend itself to another interpretation.⁴⁵ The inscription is also silent on where he would have slept

40 This document is the earliest first-person inscribed account of being cured at a healing sanctuary—a fact not previously noted—and among inscribed healing accounts in general is only predicated by the fourth-century BCE steles from Epidauros that feature third-person testimonies.

41 For parallels, see pp. 23–24n.70. See Hirt Raj 2006, 102–162 for the places in which public, private, and military medical experts were to be found in Egypt; cf. Draycott 2012, 20–32.

42 See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 23, 398 on this diagnosis.

43 For this practice in the cult of Asklepios, see p. 266.

44 Examples from the cult of Sarapis are discussed at pp. 341–343; the texts from Sarapis and other Greco-Egyptian cults are collected in Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte*. For the importance of the term *aretē* beginning in the Hellenistic Period, see Versnel 2011, 289–290 *et pass*. While the impetus for preparing aretalogical inscriptions generally appears to have come from priests or other cult officials, as was also the case with the Epidauros “miracle” inscriptions, Łajtar may well be correct in stating that Polyaratos, being a Greek and thus familiar with the mentality behind such inscriptions as well as the approach shown elsewhere, decided himself on the form by which he shared his experiences (see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 23–24); the same motivation may lie behind what appears to be a reference to Athenodoros's having recorded his own experience (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 208, l. 15).

45 This interpretation of the Polyaratos text has been commonly accepted, most recently in Lang 2013, 91; see also *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 52–53.

while awaiting the god's ministrations, what rituals and other activities were associated with the practice, and what role priests or cult officials might have played.⁴⁶ Like the Polyaratos *ostrakon*, the other published documents from Deir el-Bahari are silent on all further matters related to the cult site's therapeutic functions—not just where these took place, but also the nature of the rituals involved and the role of priests and others serving there in an official capacity.⁴⁷ However, Polyaratos's account of his visit does contain an important clue: in one of the passages deleted from his draft, he awkwardly alluded to a written document that he had composed detailing the reasons for his suppiancy (κατὰ ἰκετηρίαν ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ί][γ]ραφα), and, when viewed in light of the two surviving Demotic letters to Amenhotep by worshipers seeking help for fertility problems, it becomes apparent that the native Egyptian tradition of writing "Letters to the Gods" was being perpetuated at Deir el-Bahari.⁴⁸ While intended for a divine audience, such letters would also have given the priests and others serving at the site important information regarding the worshipers' ailments, which would have aided in determining both a diagnosis and treatment on the occasions when they played a direct role in the therapeutic process.⁴⁹ After they had been cured, either through incubation or a simpler combination of prayers and rituals, worshipers may routinely have left a

46 See Sect. 8.4 for the issue of where visitors to the sanctuary might sleep.

47 For what is known of the personnel serving at the sanctuary, see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 69–76; for the possible role of *pastophoroi* in interpreting dreams there, see pp. 720–721n.9. The unpublished Krakow *ostrakon*, however, does provide some additional information regarding the locus of incubation and also provides an example of prayers associated with incubation.

48 *I.Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1, ll. 25–26. For the Demotic "Letters to the Gods," see P.Götterbriefe, Depauw 2006, 307–313, and Endreffy 2009 (focusing on letters to Thoth). This likely association of Polyaratos's ἀντίγραφα with the custom that dates back to the New Kingdom was first suggested by Łajtar (*ibid.*, p. 52), citing as examples Wentz, *Letters*, Nos. 354–355.

49 See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 52, cf. p. 61, following the traditional interpretation of the Teos *ostrakon* (U.L.C. Ostrakon Sup. no. 188; quoted pp. 479–480), according to which a priest named Imhotep was involved in the procedure, though the alternative interpretation discussed below would change the *ostrakon*'s value as evidence for priestly involvement. In the case of Polyaratos, a significant level of involvement by priests or officials might not have been necessary, if his account of being cured by the god simply standing over him and working a miracle does not omit any pertinent aspects of his experience. However, as is indicated by Bahé's brief discussion of the unpublished O.Brit.Mus. 41257, which she describes as a list of "primarily animal and botanical products which are known to have been used in Egyptian medicine," there was an interest in medicinal substances among those serving at the sanctuary, and it is quite possible that these would be prescribed at least sometimes "independent of therapeutic dream experience" (see Bahé 2014, 17–18).

record of their experience, either inscribed on a stele as Polyaratos appears to have done, or written as a graffito on the wall as the Macedonian laborer Andromachos and apparently Athenodoros had done.⁵⁰ And on such occasions, sanctuary officials may well have played a role in helping these worshipers decide to record their miraculous recoveries, just as evidently occurred at healing shrines elsewhere.⁵¹

The evidence for divine healing at this site has led some to conclude that, like many other sanctuaries where therapeutic incubation occurred, Deir el-Bahari served as a *sanatorium*.⁵² However, there is no epigraphical evidence that ailing worshipers could or would stay at the site for long periods, and the physical remains do not include dormitories or other facilities for those requiring prolonged periods of treatment and convalescence.⁵³ Moreover, the limited evidence for stays lasting longer than a day—a *dipinto* recording that a family was feasting in the *temenos* over a period of three days, two *proskynema* texts that seem to be linked to a two-night stay at an unspecified oracle that appears to have been Deir el-Bahari recorded by the *strategos* Celer elsewhere in western Thebes, and the Demotic *ostrakon* recording dreams received over two or more nights at the *ml*-sanctuary of Amenhotep—only indicates short-term visits, and in two out of three cases appears to pertain to oracular

Such a list, therefore, is likely to have been used by those serving the gods there, but there also would have been visitors like Polyaratos who did not require such ministrations.

50 See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 24, 55–56. Lajtar has suggested that the first of the two rooms of the sanctuary beyond the Bark Shrine may have served as an archive for petitions, like the one evidently presented by Polyaratos soon after arriving at the sanctuary (*i.e.*, the ἀντίγραφα), as well as records of healing miracles and other divine feats of Amenhotep and Imhotep (*ibid.*, pp. 41, 74); elsewhere, he proposes that “All the secret paraphernalia needed for healing and oracular activity could have been hidden in the two last rooms of the amphilade to avoid the possibility that they would be seen by some unauthorized person” (*ibid.*, p. 22), but the ideas are not mutually exclusive. (If the Krakow *ostrakon* was such a written appeal to Amenhotep rather than a record of a successful visit—the condition of the text makes it difficult to identify the nature of this document—then it might have once belonged to the archive.)

51 Given the problem with literacy in antiquity, they may also have assisted in composing these records.

52 J. Grafton Milne was the first to apply the term “*sanatorium*” to the site (Milne 1914), and this has been echoed by others, most recently in Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 109–113.

53 The notion of Deir el-Bahari functioning as a *sanatorium* has previously been challenged in *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 56; cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 264. More generally, see Lang 2013, 99, calling into question the notion of “*sanatoria*” in Egypt.

consultation.⁵⁴ Therefore, while it is clear that visiting Deir el-Bahari for more than a single day did indeed occur, for both therapeutic and non-therapeutic purposes, there is no reason to conclude that worshipers would remain for long periods in order to receive treatment from the gods or their human representatives.⁵⁵ Similarly, the small size of the chamber generally viewed as the place where incubation was practiced, the Bark Shrine, stands in marked contrast to the large incubation dormitories of Asklepios and Amphiaraos, suggesting that if individuals in need of healing or medical prescriptions did sleep there they may not have been able to do so night after night (Fig. 19).⁵⁶ Thus there is no reason to conclude that long-term stays were typical for those coming to Deir el-Bahari for reasons of health, as they were at conventional Greek healing sanctuaries.

54 *Dipinto*: *I.Deir el-Bahari* 117. *Proskynema* texts: *I.Deir el-Bahari* 199, 201 (see p. 471). *Ostrakon*: O.Nicholson R. 98 (quoted pp. 467–470). To these will soon be added an unpublished text partly preserved on two *ostraka* in the British Museum, which records a dream received by an individual with an eye ailment after four days, though it is unclear from the text whether he spent the whole time at the sanctuary and also whether he sought a dream each night (O.Brit.Mus. 41260+50599; see Bahé 2014, 17). As noted in Renberg 2013, 110n.24, the language used by Athenodoros in his *dipinto* might allude to multiple days and nights of prayer before his divine encounter: συνέβη εὐχόμενον παρακαλῶν τῶν (= εὐχόμενον παρακαλοῦντα τὸν) ἀγαθὸν | Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξον Ἀμενώθη (= Ἀμενώθην) καὶ τὴν θεάν Ὑγίαν | μεγίστην (“It happened that while I was praying and calling upon the good Asklepios together with both the revered Amenotnes and the greatest goddess Hygieia . . .”) (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 208, ll. 3–5; see pp. 458–461). Such a reading can be supported by the unpublished Krakow *ostrakon*, which shows Thotortaios engaging in therapeutic incubation on two successive nights in different parts of Deir el-Bahari (and leaves open the possibility of more time having been spent there).

55 Those staying overnight but not engaging in incubation probably would have slept in the mortuary chapel of Hatshepsut and its vestibule, which were among the largest spaces at Deir el-Bahari and also had the greatest number of graffiti attesting to visits by individuals and families, including the family that had stayed for three days, though other open areas or rooms might have been available as well (see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 43, 201). (As a forthcoming study by Ritner will show, the significant amount of Demotic graffiti in the Tomb of Nespakashuty, located in the area of Deir el-Bahari, may represent evidence for visitors finding ways to spend their time during visits to the sanctuary: see R.K. Ritner “Graffiti and Ostraca in the Tomb of Nespakashuty,” in E. Pischikova (ed.), *The Tomb of Nespakashuty* (New York; forthcoming); personal communication.)

56 On the Bark Shrine as the likely locus for incubation, see Sect. 8.4.



FIGURE 19 *Deir el-Bahari sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep, interior of Bark Shrine, showing the doorway leading into the sanctuary and above it the window that in Pharaonic times was used to let in sunlight, but was later blocked by insertion of an architrave.*
 PHOTO: WALDEMAR JERKE (COURTESY OF POLISH CENTER OF MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW)

8.3 Divinatory Incubation

Since the site's discovery, there has been direct evidence only for therapeutic incubation, but a Demotic document published relatively recently appears to represent the first reliable evidence for divinatory incubation at Deir

el-Bahari.⁵⁷ Written on a damaged limestone *ostrakon* in a hand dating to the middle of the Ptolemaic Period, this document is of unknown provenience but has been assigned to Deir el-Bahari from paleographical, textual and physical evidence.⁵⁸ Despite the considerable damage to the *ostrakon*, which is missing the beginning as well as an unknown amount of text following the surviving portion, it is apparent that the document was a letter or some sort of memorandum by an individual who had gone to a sanctuary of Amenhotep and spent two or more consecutive nights there, during which he received at least three oracular dreams that he recorded (and, in the case of the first, already had interpreted, as is indicated by the reference to one dream-element's "meaning"):

(Introductory letter-formula) ... [---]-hb pꜣ ḥry swtꜣf tw-ỉ ḥr nꜣy-k smꜣꜣ.w
m-bꜣḥ sh-nsw 'Imn[-ḥtp] | [pꜣ ntr] ꜣ wr mrt nty ḥwꜣf(r) dīḥ ḥpr shn-nfr nb
n-īm-k tw-ỉ ḥw r pꜣy m[l] | [sh-ns]w 'Imn-ḥtp tw-s nꜣ rswꜣ.w r-pry-ỉ wp-st grḥ

57 Laskowska-Kusztal was notably prescient in attributing to Amenhotep an oracle at Deir el-Bahari based on circumstantial evidence within the sanctuary's decorative program, fifteen years before this document was published (see Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 106–108, 113, 118–127). However, her accompanying conclusion regarding Imhotep's oracular role there, also based on this program, has not been verified and may be incorrect (see p. 473). The oracular aspects of the site are now discussed in *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 56–61.

Bataille's suggestion that Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari was a successor to Meret Seger in providing dream-oracles at the Theban necropolis should be rejected, since it cannot be demonstrated that the goddess communicated in this manner (Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, p. xxiv; see p. 76n.106).

58 O. Nicholson R. 98, edited in Ray 1999 (with plate) and Ray 2006b, 216–218, No. 3 + Pl. 40b, the latter without commentary; cf. *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 19, 59–60, 74. Ray has noted that this *ostrakon* "bears some resemblance, palaeographically as well as substantially," to an unprovenienced and badly damaged Demotic *ostrakon* in the British Museum dating to 265 BCE that appears to record a dream somehow relevant to Ptolemy II (O.Brit.Mus. 5671, edited in Ray 1988; see Ray 1999, 247). If the British Museum *ostrakon* did indeed originate at the same site as the one in the Nicholson Museum, even if this was not Deir el-Bahari, it would suggest that this cryptic text—which features part of a narrative about an unidentified "power" being present around a dam or dyke that the narrator subsequently shows to the king—belongs more to a religious than a literary context. (The provenience of these *ostraka* as Deir el-Bahari can now be considered even more likely, since Bahé has identified two related *ostraka* in the British Museum that are known to have been found at the site itself as having been written in the same hand (O.Brit.Mus. 41260+50599; see Bahé 2014, 17–18).)

sw 23 r sw 24 | [w'w]hr (?) p3i-nw-i r.r:f iw:fpte m-s3 w' hb r-dd iw-y (r) di.t hpr
[nkt] |⁵ [st].y r:f (r) nhm-s n-drt:f [[bn-pw.i... f]] n r3:f |

T3 mh-2t n sw 24 r sw 25 'Imn-htp s3 Pa-t3wy (?) irm 'Imn-htp [s3] Pa-hy [n3
i.ir iy (?)] | n-i nw-i r-w iw-w hms n-f (n) hft'h Pth iw P3-hr-Hnsw s3 Ns-[B3-
nb-Dd] | hms wb3-w iw-w wnm hyn 'q.w hr w' iwš '3 [---] | š-w wb3-i dd t3y n-k
t3y r-db3 p3... [---] |¹⁰ r-tw-i n-k r (?) P3-hr-Hnsw s3 Ns-B3-nb-Dd wn[m? ---] |
šspf m-s3-w

T3 mh-2t [---] | [---].⁵⁹

(*A communication from*) ... [---]-hb the chief of deliveries (?). I make salu-
tations for you before the Royal Scribe Amen[hotep the] great [god],
great of love, who will create all good fortune for you. I came to this
m[l-sanctuary of the royal scri]be Amenhotep. Here are the dreams
which I saw, specifically on the night of the 23rd through to the 24th.
It was [a d]og (?) that I saw, which was running after an ibis, meaning:
"I will acquire [property]." I [betook myself (?)] to it in order to rescue it
from him. [[But I could not (release) it]]from [his] mouth (?) [---].

59 Text and translation from Ray 2006b, both modified based on suggestions from Joachim F. Quack (personal communication); and, in addition, Ray's *mr* in line 2 has been replaced with *ml*, for reasons discussed below (see Sect. 8.4). The changes to the text, based on Quack's reading, are:

- in line 1 *swt:f* is preferable to Ray's *swt*, since the final slanting stroke looks like an *f*, even if its function is unclear;
- in line 2 *iw:f(r)* is provided instead of Ray's *iw:f*;
- at the end of line 4 Ray's *iw-i r di.t hpr* [---] has been replaced with *iw-y (r) di.t hpr [nkt]*, which includes a proposed restoration of "property" in the *lacuna*;
- at the beginning of line 5 Ray's *[nw]-i* ("I saw") has been replaced with *[st].y* ("betook myself");
- in line 6 the spelling of the name *Pa-hy* has been changed from *P3-hy*, and the uncertainty of the reading of the name *Pa-t3wy* has been indicated;
- the *lacuna* at the end of line 6 has been restored [*n3 i.ir iy* (?)] ("came"), and Ray's *di.t* at the beginning of line 7 has been replaced with *n-i*;
- later in line 7 Ray's *hm-nt'r Pr-Pth* ("priest of the temple of Ptah") has been read as *hft'h Pth* ("dromos of Ptah");
- in line 9 Ray's tentative reading of *hrw* ("day") has been removed since it is paleographically doubtful, though a better possibility does not present itself;
- in line 10 *r* (?) has been added;
- and, in line 11 *dr:f* has been replaced with *šspf* ("receive") following a suggestion originally made by Ray in his first treatment of the *ostrakon* (Ray 1999, 244n.u), and the translation changed accordingly.

The second (dream); the 24th through to the 25th. Amenhotep son of Patou (?) and Amenhotep son of Pahy [came?] to me. I saw them taking their seat in the *dromos* of Ptah with Pakhelkhons son of Es[mende] sitting opposite them, while they were eating some loaves with a great quantity of gruel [---]. They called out to me, saying, “Take this for yourself because of [---] which I gave to you while Pakhelkhons son of Esmende ate, [and you will ---] receive it after them.”

The third (dream) [---] . . .

The two surviving dream-accounts both recount symbolic dreams that may have had religious significance—the ibis of the first dream was a sacred bird, while the setting of the second dream was a sacred meal—but neither seems suggestive of a medical problem, and thus this document apparently reveals an oracular consultation.⁶⁰ Moreover, due to their symbolism and the fact that the dreams are numbered, it is likely that this individual, who was either himself the “chief of deliveries” referred to in the first line or was writing to someone bearing that title, consulted a priest or cult official regarding their meanings.⁶¹

Other evidence further indicates that Amenhotep—a divinity who, like Imhotep, in Pharaonic times was valued for his wisdom long before he was associated with healing⁶²—was consulted on matters unrelated to medicine, and

60 For the symbolism of the two dreams, see Ray 1999, 246 and Ray 2006b, 217. An intriguing connection between the dates in this text and a *dipinto* at Deir el-Bahari, possibly indicating incubation during a festival, has been made by Łajtar (see pp. 739–740).

61 For the numbering of the dreams in this text, see Ray 1999, 245–246; for other texts with numbered dreams, see p. 718n.4.

62 In addition to the Pharaonic sources, rather unusual evidence from Ptolemaic times indicating Amenhotep's perceived wisdom is to be found in a fragmentary text of certain “Precepts of Amenotnes” (Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι) written in the third century BCE on a limestone flake excavated at an unrecorded location in the area of Deir el-Bahari (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. A2 + Pl. 27 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 258–259, §161); see also Quack 2009a, 143–144). These “precepts” were a series of aphorisms, ten of which survive, such as “Honor the gods as well as your parents” (ὁμοίως θεοὺς σέβου [καί] | γονέας) and “Plan over time, but accomplish your goal quickly” (βουλεύου μὲν χρόν[ω], | συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἂν πράττ[ῃς, τα]|χέως). Though attributed to Amenhotep, they represent pieces of wisdom and ethical advice adopted from among the numerous Greek maxims that were circulating as far back as the Archaic Period. The “Precepts of Amenotnes” thus appears to represent an attempt—perhaps by cult officials—to popularize the native god Amenhotep among the Greeks by attributing to him a Hellenic philosophy as well as representing him as a source of divine wisdom. (For the circulation of Greek maxims and their importance for contextualizing the “Precepts of Amenotnes,” see *I. Deir el-Bahari*,

thus venerated as an oracular god.⁶³ This evidence, however, makes no reference to dreams, and is ultimately inconclusive with regard to incubation. Most significantly, a broken *ostrakon*, found at Deir el-Bahari's mortuary temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre but likely to have originated at Amenhotep's shrine in the first or second century CE, appears to be either an oracular response from or question addressed to "Lord Amenothēs, the greatest god" (τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου).⁶⁴ The existence of an oracle at Deir el-Bahari can also be inferred from an apparent link between two *proskynema* texts written on the Ptolemaic portico outside the Bark Shrine by a *strategos* named Celer and a short Greek epigram inscribed on the "singing" colossal statue of Memnon by a *strategos* of the same name that refers to consulting an unidentified oracle in the area during his visit to the Memnoneia in 123 CE.⁶⁵ Since the epigram records that Celer had stayed at the oracular site for two nights, it is quite possible that he was engaging in incubation; however, if the site housed

pp. 26–28, 401–403; cf. Fraser 1972, 1:684–685 and Lazaridis 2007, 41n.135. On Amenhotep as a god valued for his wisdom in Greco-Roman times, see also the reference to it in a four-line hymn found at Deir el-Bahari (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 219, l. 2 (with commentary) (= *SEG* 56, 2015, No. 3)). Another short collection of aphorisms from there preserved on a late-Ptolemaic or early-Roman Demotic *ostrakon* cannot be linked to Amenhotep's cult, and appears likely to have been a schoolboy's text (O.Brit.Mus. 50627 (= Williams 1977, 270–271, No. 3); trans. Lichtheim, *Wisdom Literature*, pp. 103–104; cf. Quack 2009a, 143).)

63 To the evidence for Amenhotep's oracular nature discussed here might be added Quaegebeur's contention that the epithet of Amenhotep most often found in the Greek texts at Deir el-Bahari, κύριος, was a translation of the Egyptian *nb*, which was commonly used to designate oracular gods and appears in a Demotic letter addressed to this god (Quaegebeur 1974, 50 and Quaegebeur 1977a, 142, citing *P.Götterbriefe* 12, l. 9 (see p. 482)). Putting aside the fact that *nb* was the most common way for designating an Egyptian god as "lord," including in phrases such as *pꜣyꜣy nb* ' ("my high lord"), the Greek evidence does not support this. As Łajtar rightly notes, κύριος was an epithet regularly employed by the Greeks for a number of gods, both oracular and non-oracular, so the possible connection between the two terms in the context of oracular cults cannot be proven (see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 47n.174). In favor of Łajtar's point is that the theologically similar δεσπότης, which likewise was used for different gods, also appears in one text (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 197; on the significance of these two epithets in Greek religion, see Pleket 1981). The use of such language as "ruler of mortals" (κόρπανος φωτῶν) and "master" (ἄναξ) in a hymn-like metrical text addressing Amenhotep (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 219 (= *SEG* 56, 2015, No. 3)) further undermines Quaegebeur's suggestion that Amenhotep's epithet alludes to an oracular nature.

64 *I.Deir el-Bahari*, No. A3, cf. p. 57.

65 *I.Deir el-Bahari* 199, 201; *I.ColMemnon* 23. For the arguments linking these documents from different sites, see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 57–58, 287.

a conventional oracle, the length of his stay may simply have been dictated by the time frame within which a consultation was possible.⁶⁶ Ultimately neither the *ostrakon* from another part of Deir el-Bahari nor the *strategos*'s reference to an oracle somewhere in western Thebes can even be linked to Amenhotep's sanctuary with certainty—and, moreover, they are silent regarding the method of the inquiries—so they cannot be taken as secure evidence for that god's oracular abilities.

With only one piece of evidence for the existence of an oracle of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari linking it to dream-oracles, it is possible that Amenhotep's oracles, like those of certain other gods, could be obtained through both dreams and some other form of divination.⁶⁷ The manner in which this would have been done, however, is impossible to determine. For a long time it was believed that priests or other temple officials may have simulated a divine voice coming from within the sanctuary speaking to those making inquiries, but this possibility now appears completely untenable.⁶⁸ Since inquiries and requests were at least sometimes put in writing by worshipers, no doubt to be opened and perused by those serving at the sanctuary, it stands to reason that written responses were issued by the oracle;⁶⁹ however, it is possible that this might only have been done in the case of those making inquiries by proxy instead of visiting the site themselves.⁷⁰

Another problem associated with divinatory incubation at Amenhotep's sanctuary concerns whether Imhotep/Asklepios also functioned as an oracular

66 While simply attributing Celer's visit to an oracular consultation elsewhere in his study (see previous note), in discussing the evidence for incubation at Deir el-Bahari Lajtar cites the fact that Celer stayed there for two nights as a sign that he probably engaged in this practice (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 53, 60), later treating this as more certain (*ibid.*, p. 201). This conclusion is supported by the Krakow *ostrakon*'s reference to Thotortaioi having engaged in incubation over two nights.

67 For the known examples, see p. 28n.77.

68 See next section.

69 In addition to the *ostrakon* found at the nearby temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre that might preserve an oracular inquiry (*I. Deir el-Bahari* No. A3), other *ostraka* linked to Deir el-Bahari show more reliably the practice of addressing Amenhotep in writing, though about medical issues (see p. 464).

70 See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 61, basing this suggestion on the Teos *ostrakon* (U.L.C. Ostrakon Sup. no. 188; quoted in Sect. 8.5) and the likelihood that the *ostrakon* from Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre's temple concerned an oracular consultation on behalf of the visitor's father. On proxy inquiries, see Appendix IV.

god, as has been claimed based on Greek, Demotic and hieroglyphic sources.⁷¹ While the hieroglyphic inscriptions associated with the decorative program created when Imhotep was installed at Deir el-Bahari do recognize Imhotep's prophetic powers in general,⁷² the written evidence for oracular consultations and divinatory incubation discussed above names only Amenhotep and gives no indication that Imhotep received and responded to oracular inquiries there. Since Imhotep is known to have issued oracles in his native Memphis,⁷³ it is certainly possible that he would have continued doing so after joining Amenhotep in western Thebes. However, there is good reason to think that this was not the case: not only does the Demotic evidence from Deir el-Bahari show little interest in Imhotep among native Egyptian worshipers, but as noted above the Greek evidence indicates that Greeks and Macedonians visiting the sanctuary perceived him as their own Asklepios rather than the Memphite god Imhotep. And while at *Asklepieia* in Greece and Asia Minor the god may have been consulted occasionally about matters unrelated to health, this does not appear to have been an important factor in Asklepios's worship at those sites.⁷⁴ Therefore, while it is impossible to rule out that Imhotep/Asklepios joined with Amenhotep in issuing oracles at Deir el-Bahari—either separately or jointly⁷⁵—there is insufficient reason to conclude that he did so, and the hieroglyphics in the sanctuary may represent official theology more than actual practice.

71 Lajtar has stated that both Imhotep and Amenhotep “imparted oracles in their temple in Deir el-Bahari” (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 57), but with the exception of a Demotic *ostrakon* from somewhere in or near Thebes that possibly refers to either six or fifty-six *pastophoroi* “explaining (?) dreams” at a sanctuary of Imhotep during the Ptolemaic Period (*O. LeidDem* 365, col. ii, ll. 5–7; see pp. 482–483) all of the evidence for Imhotep issuing oracles that Lajtar cites comes from the area of Memphis and thus may not accurately reflect the nature of the cult at Deir el-Bahari. Similarly, he appears to have based this conclusion on the possibility that the soldier Athenodoros was visiting Deir el-Bahari and invoking the two gods (along with Hygieia) for the purpose of consulting their oracle (*ibid.*, p. 58, on *I. Deir el-Bahari* 208; quoted pp. 458–459), but as argued in Sect. 8.2 the purpose of his visit was more likely therapeutic incubation.

72 See n. 57.

73 See Chapter 7.4.

74 See pp. 116–117n.2.

75 The majority of oracles operating in Greco-Roman Egypt belonged to a single divinity, invariably the temple's main divinity, but at certain sites—such as Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtunis—surviving oracle tickets reveal that worshipers would address their question to a temple's main god as well as his associates. (I am grateful to Franziska Naether for this point.)

8.4 The Locus for Incubation at Deir el-Bahari

Multiple sources from Deir el-Bahari help to illuminate the question of where visitors to the sanctuary would engage in incubation, though only to a limited extent. Polyaratos himself referred both to a “sanctuary” (ἱερόν) and a “sacred precinct” (τέμενος),⁷⁶ and archaeological and epigraphical evidence shows that the latter refers to a large portion of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut complex as well as part of the lower terrace, while the former specifically applied to the two chambers that could be reached only by going through the Bark Shrine (which had been the first room of Amun’s sanctuary when the site was devoted to Hatshepsut).⁷⁷ Whereas the Bark Shrine has several dozen graffiti written on its walls, the two rooms of the sanctuary have none, which indicates that they were off-limits to the public.⁷⁸ Partly for this reason, as well as its isolated nature and the presence of a particular architectural feature, it is the Bark Shrine that has been identified as the locus for incubation; the architectural evidence, however, has now been recognized as pre-Ptolemaic and thus unrelated.⁷⁹ Even so, the Bark Shrine is a leading candidate, but the identification of this chamber as the locus for incubation is not without other problems. Perhaps the most important is its size: measuring 3.5×9 meters (with four small niches of roughly 1.2×0.8 meters, so that at its widest points it was just under

76 *I.Deir el-Bahari*, No. A1, ll. 25, 32 (quoted pp. 461–462).

77 See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 37–45 (especially pp. 44–45), 344–345.

78 See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 39–41, 66–67 and Plan 7 (showing distribution of graffiti). Elsewhere, however, there is limited evidence for worshipers entering an inner sanctum. For example, this can be seen at Aîn Labakha in the sanctuary of the divinized mortal Piyrîs (see Appendix 1.8.4), whose later (or north) sanctuary consisted of a court, two antechambers and the chapel, arranged on an east-west axis (not unlike the three rooms of Amenhotep’s sanctuary). Only two of the nineteen surviving Greek graffiti and at least one of the four Demotic graffiti were found in the chapel, suggesting that it was off-limits to all but a few worshipers or that worshipers occasionally were allowed to enter, and perhaps even ascend to this god’s burial chambers (see Hussein 2000, 15, 108 and Wagner 2000, 69).

79 See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 53; cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 234 and Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 123–124. Bataille suggested that the window-like aperture in the wall between the Bark Shrine and the sanctuary’s second room was used by priests hidden within the inner sanctum to simulate divine voices uttering oracles for inquirers in the Bark Shrine, and he was followed by others, but more recent archaeological work has shown that this aperture was sealed during Ptolemaic and Roman times, ruling out the possibility of voice-oracles (see pp. 584–585). Thus one of the primary reasons for identifying the Bark Shrine with the site’s oracular function can no longer be accepted, though this, of course, does not mean that it did not serve this purpose.

six meters wide),⁸⁰ it certainly could not have hosted more than a few sleeping worshipers at a time, which means that if the Bark Shrine was indeed used for incubation either there was relatively little overall demand for engaging in this ritual, or there was a system in place for limiting who would be permitted to consult the god there.⁸¹ The association of the Bark Shrine with incubation has also been based in part on the lacunose *dipinto* left by the soldier Athenodoros on the Ptolemaic portico leading into this chamber, but this is also problematic. According to the traditional interpretation of Athenodoros's account, he was invoking Asklepios, Amenhotep and Hygieia when one of the two gods appeared to him at night, which somehow prompted Athenodoros to open "the door to the renowned sanctuary" (τὴν θύραν τῷ εὐλογουμένον ἱερὸν) and enter within, and this can only refer to a door leading from the Bark Shrine to the first room of the inner sanctum.⁸² However, if the interpretation discussed above is correct, Athenodoros would have *dreamed* that he was in the Bark Shrine and need not have been physically present there as he slept, though of course he could have dreamed of being in the Bark Shrine while sleeping there. Therefore, while the Bark Shrine is a plausible candidate for incubation chamber, it cannot be conclusively associated with the practice, and it is possible that another room, such as the Hatshepsut chapel, might have served this function.

Hieroglyphic and Demotic sources from Deir el-Bahari and elsewhere in western Thebes also have a bearing on the question of where at the site incubation was practiced, but linguistic ambiguities render this evidence inconclusive as well. One or two hieroglyphic texts inscribed on the north and south walls of the third and innermost room of the sanctuary during the Ptolemaic reconstruction employ the multifaceted term *mꜣrw*, which would apply to a particular type of shrine affording worshipers close contact with a god or gods (*i.e.*, their cult images), and thus could signify a shrine at which oracles or divine aid might be solicited, especially by means of divine epiphanies.⁸³

80 I am grateful to Jadwiga Iwaszczuk and Adam Łajtar for providing me a plan showing the room's precise dimensions. (The next room, *i.e.* the first of the Ptolemaic sanctuary, measures 3.55 × 2.17 meters (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 20; *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 41), and thus would have been even less suitable.)

81 See below for the likelihood that there were two places in which incubation was practiced, which would have lessened demand for the Bark Shrine.

82 *I. Deir el-Bahari* 208, ll. 6–7 (with commentary at p. 297), cf. pp. 60–61; quoted pp. 458–459.

83 Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 44 and 62, cf. pp. 66–68, 124. (The reading of the term in No. 62 is uncertain, but secure in No. 44.) See also *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 29–31, 66. For a detailed study of the term *mꜣrw* in Pharaonic sources, see Konrad 2006, 117–154; see also Gundacker 2011, 58–59. (In addition to the more traditional views, Quack 2003a,

However, it appears that *m̄rw* could be used both for a sanctuary in its entirety and the part of a sanctuary where—at least during processions—worshippers would gain close proximity to the gods, so the word's meaning in the two Deir el-Bahari wall inscriptions is unclear.⁸⁴ A similar difficulty is encountered in the related Demotic term *ml* (not *mr*, as is sometimes written), which was used in certain Theban documents that most likely pertain to Deir el-Bahari. This term is employed in four second-century BCE Demotic papyri from western Thebes that are believed to refer to Amenhotep's Deir el-Bahari shrine,⁸⁵ but of greater significance is its use in the Demotic *ostrakon* that might represent

118–119 *et pass.* suggests that *m̄rw* was an area linked to sacred animals and appropriate vegetation, displaying them together as an example of the natural world: “Im Lichte der Belege für *m̄rw* im Zusammenhang mit heiligen Tieren wäre zu erwägen, inwieweit es sich um Stätten handelt, an denen bewußt Pflanzen- und Tierwelt im Tempelbereich gehalten wurden, um darin sinnfällig das Wirken der Gottheit zu zeigen—konzeptionell vergleichbar etwa der bekannten Weltenkammer im Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre” (quoting p. 118). This, however, would not apply to Amenhotep's Ptolemaic sanctuary, as it was rock-cut and neither associated with a sacred animal nor a suitable place for plant life.)

- 84 See Ray 1999, 245n.d. On close encounters with sacred images during festivals, see p. 736.
- 85 Papyri: *P.BritMusReich* 10226, *recto*, col. iii, l. 3 and 10230, *recto*, col. iv, l. 1 (= *P.Ackerpacht* §2.1); *P.TorBotti* 21, *recto*, l. 11 and 24, *recto*, l. 14 (corrected by Zauzich 1972, 90, 92 from *šl* to *ml*). See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 20–21 (with references), 44–45 and *P.Recueil* 11:78–80. In addition, *ml* has been supplemented in the translations of two other papyri, *P.Recueil* 8, *recto*, A, l. 3 and B, l. 5, and 9, *recto*, ll. 3, 4, based on similarly formulaic language in *P.BritMusReich* 10230 (see *P.Recueil*, 11:85n.i, 96n.h; cf. *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 71). The references to a *ml* in these papyri are all to be found as part of the titulature of specific individuals who were serving in multiple cults in western Thebes, including that of Amenhotep: for example, a leasing agreement of 176 BCE links a man with the theophoric name Amenhotep son of Horus to nearby ibis and falcon cults as well as the shrine of Amenhotep, identifying him as “prophet, web-priest and gate-keeper, every *šw.t*-office and *šhn*-appointment of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon on the necropolis of Djeme and of the *ml*-shrine of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the great god” (*h̄m-n̄tr w̄b ỉr-ʿ šw.t nb šhn nb | p; ʿwi-htp ʿp; Hb p; Bik nti hr t; ʿhs.t Dm; p; ml n sh-ns̄w Imn-htp s; Hp p; ntr*) (*P.BritMusReich* 10230, *recto*, cols. iii, l. 3–iv, l. 1, modified; translation based on H. Felber's), and other papyri of the same year refer to him in a nearly identical manner (*P.BerlDem* 11 311, *verso*, l. 2 and 3141, *verso*, l. 3; *P.Recueil* 9, *recto*, l. 4). On the likelihood that *ml* in these documents pertains to Deir el-Bahari, see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 28–30, and pp. 69–80 using them as evidence for the cult hierarchy and operations at the site. The only viable alternatives would be his original mortuary temple, if it was still active, or the otherwise unknown shrine of Amenhotep somewhere in western Thebes indicated by a single papyrus from centuries earlier (*P.Choix* 1 15; see p. 449).

evidence for divinatory incubation there, since this document specifies that the dreams were received in a “*m*[*l*-sanctuary of the royal scri]be Amenhotep.”⁸⁶ As with the hieroglyphic texts and *mꜣrw*, this *ostrakon*’s use of the term *ml* is ambiguous, since the individual might have been referring not to a specific area devoted to incubation, but to the sanctuary as a whole—as seems indicated by his statement that he “came to” the site (*tw. i iw r ꜣꜣy m*[*l*]). Further complicating matters is the reference in two of the papyri to an “upper *ml*” as well as a “lower *ml*” of Amenhotep—perhaps to be identified as the chapel constructed during the reign of Ptolemy VIII on the lower terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (Figs. 20–21)—along with the fact that the unpublished Krakow *ostrakon* refers to Thotortaios having slept first in Amenhotep’s lower *mrr* and then the upper *mrr* (a spelling variant of *ml*), which again raises the issue of whether the term would be referring to a single room or a larger area.⁸⁷ The only reliable conclusion that can be drawn from the linguistic evidence in these documents, then, is that the Deir el-Bahari sanctuary afforded worshipers the opportunity to gain especially close proximity to its gods. If the hieroglyphic texts, and perhaps the *ostrakon* as well, were intended to refer to a particular room, it is possible that the Bark Shrine was one place where such close encounters occurred, while other written evidence indicates the presence of another room or area in a lower part of the complex that was also utilized for this purpose (*i.e.*, the “lower *ml*”). Combined, these sources suggest some form of hierarchy between the upper and lower locations—perhaps the latter was the main incubation structure or chamber and the former was only used for more special cases

86 O.Nicholson R. 98, ll. 2–3 (quoted pp. 467–470). See Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 67.

87 *P.TorBotti* 21 and 24 (see previous note). The spelling variant *mrr* was identified by Thissen in his unpublished commentary on the Krakow *ostrakon*, which features the only example that he knew of (personal communication). For the Ptolemaic chapel, see *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 44 and PM II², p. 343. This structure, located in front of the Punt Portico (*i.e.*, the lower terrace’s southern portico), was identified by its excavator as a “shrine of Aesculapius” from the time of Ptolemy III, but instead was constructed under Ptolemy VIII and, as Łajtar suggests, may have been the lower shrine devoted to Amenhotep. If so, it would not have been the one referred to by Thotortaios, whose *ostrakon* dates to 265 BCE, but may have replaced it. (I have been informed by Łajtar, whose source is Janusz Karkowski, that this chapel, which was disassembled by those restoring the Hatshepsut temple, was built from blocks reused from ruined areas of the complex, and that when it was constructed the decorations preserved on some blocks were crudely extended onto adjacent ones that had not previously been decorated. Little more is known about the structure.)



FIGURE 20 *Deir el-Bahari, so-called "shrine of Aesculapius" built under Ptolemy VIII on the lower terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut and possibly devoted to Amenhotep's cult; photographed by Mission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920's before structure's disassembly.*

PHOTO: THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART,
DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ART ARCHIVES



FIGURE 21
Deir el-Bahari, so-called "shrine of Aesculapius" (detail).

PHOTO: THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
OF ART, DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ART
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(possibly including the need to spend a second night incubating), or else only certain worshipers could use it.⁸⁸

8.5 Sources for Amenhotep and Imhotep from Elsewhere in Theban Territory

The Deir el-Bahari sanctuary is the only site at which Amenhotep is known to have communicated through dreams during the Ptolemaic Period, but the god was venerated at additional sites in and around Thebes by the mid-second century BCE.⁸⁹ Thus two Theban *ostraka* and two wooden tablets pertaining to the cult of Amenhotep that are of unknown provenience need not all have originated at Deir el-Bahari, although all four can be plausibly linked to the site, and it is likely that one of them resulted from a visit to this site. The *ostrakon* indicating a visit features an oracular response in Demotic and provides further documentation of Amenhotep's importance as a healer in this region, if not his role as provider of health-related dream-oracles. As recorded in this second-century BCE document, a man named Ḥor sought advice from Amenhotep regarding the health of another man named Teos, whose relationship to Ḥor is unknown:

Iy-m-ḥtp p; nti dd n Hr s; Ns-[...] | w;h=y šn p; ntr ' Imn-ḥtp w;h=f dd n=i w;h dd: wn | hmm n he.t f n Dd-ḥr (s;) P;šr-Imn w;h=f di.t n=f qnt Hr | mtw=w thb=w hr mw n rhwy r twy | 2 mtw=w I=w (n) di.t st mtw=w t; i p; i=w mw mtw=w di.t s r-ḥr | w' hm hm; 'q iw=f p qe mtw=w th=w mtw=f swr(?) | n; y mtw=f ir=w n hrw 4 w;h=f di.t n=f w'.t [...] | irm w' syt n bnyp r mr=w | r dnh mn d; n.im=s | sh.⁹⁰

88 It may be pertinent that in the Krakow *ostrakon* Thotortaios specifically refers to engaging in incubation “alone” on the second night, which would have been spent in the Bark Shrine if that was indeed the locus for incubation, but does not do so for the first night, which was spent in the god's lower shrine—which might indicate that he was one of a number of suppliants seeking dreams. The Pergamon *Asklepieion* appears to represent a parallel phenomenon, since the “small” and “great” incubation structures appear to have had different ritual roles or served different clientele, with the smaller one more specialized (see p. 146).

89 See Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 251–279, §§157–180 and Kákosy 1995, 2973–2979. For his worship at Qaṣr el-Aguz, see Appendix 1.8.5.

90 U.L.C. Ostrakon Sup. no. 188, ed. Thompson (H.) 1913 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 263–264, §169); annotated translation in Hoffmann/Quack 2010, 310–311, No. 4.7. On this *ostrakon*, see Thissen 2002a, 83–84 and *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 20, 54–55 *et pass.* I have chosen to reproduce the unpublished Demotic text of Thissen, which he generously

Imhotep says to Ḥor [*i.e.*, Horus], son of Nes[---]: I have made inquiry of the great god Amenhotep; he has answered me: “There is fever in the body of Teos, son of Psenamunis.” He [*i.e.*, Amenhotep] has given him two Syrian figs which one is to sprinkle with water from evening until dawn, and whereupon one should stop giving them (water), and take their juice and give it to him on a little bit of salt and bread that has been crumbled, and one should then mix it and he is to drink it; he should do this for four days. He [*i.e.*, Amenhotep] has given him a [---] and a serpent of iron that is to be bound about the forearm. There is no error in this. Signed.

According to the traditional interpretation, an inquiry of Amenhotep was undertaken not by Ḥor, but by an individual bearing the theophoric name Imhotep, who must have been a priest or else some other cult official, perhaps one responsible for preparing written oracles.⁹¹ However, it is also possible that “Imhotep” here refers to the god, despite the lack of an expected epithet, and that when Ḥor made his inquiry, addressing it either to Imhotep or Amenhotep or else both gods, he received a response from Imhotep on behalf of his senior colleague.⁹² Either way, according to this figure, Amenhotep had informed him that Teos was suffering from fever and should be treated with a concoction prepared from Syrian figs over the course of four days and also should wear (as an amulet) an iron armband fashioned in the shape of a serpent.⁹³ The phrase

provided me, along with an adapted version of his published German translation, instead of Thompson’s original text and translation. Hoffmann/Quack present a different reading of lines 5–7, slightly altering the prescription, as well as the number of days from four to three; at Thissen’s suggestion, I have included their reading of “a little bit of salt” (*w’ ḥm ḥmz*) in line 6. (Both Thissen and Hoffmann/Quack partly based their texts on the corrections in Jasnow 1984, 12–13.)

91 See, *e.g.*, *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 73.

92 If the “Imhotep” addressing Ḥor was divine then this *ostrakon* necessarily would postdate the god’s installation at Deir el-Bahari, but if a person then the date cannot be further narrowed down, as a search of the Trismegistos People database (TMPeople) reveals that the theophoric name was already reasonably common in the area of Thebes before the second century BCE. Even so, this individual may not have been native to Thebes, but instead could have come from the main center of Imhotep’s cult at Memphis, perhaps in connection with the cult’s establishment at Deir el-Bahari. (I am grateful to Robert K. Ritner for his tentative suggestion of this intriguing alternative regarding the identity of “Imhotep” (personal communication).)

93 Serpents were associated not only with Imhotep/Asklepios (for a likely example, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, No. B2), but also with Meret Seger and Renenet (or Renenutet), goddesses with cobra forms who had formerly been worshiped in the area of the Theban necropolis dur-

“he has given him” is ambiguous regarding whether the iron serpent and some other object were made available along with the oracle or were simply prescribed, as would have been the case with the two Syrian figs that were also “given him,” though the serpent, at least, is likely to have been given as a gift. If Ḥor was indeed given the figs and, more importantly, the serpent amulet, it would reinforce the standard reading of Imhotep having been serving at the site, and not a god. Since the text refers to an oracular response but does not specify the medium through which it was communicated, it is impossible to be certain that the *ostrakon* pertains to a dream, especially since the term *w3ḥ* was employed for oracular responses issued through a range of media, and not just dreams.⁹⁴ If Imhotep was the god rather than a person, it is considerably more likely that this text would be recording a dream that featured an epiphany, which in turn would make it more likely to have been the result of incubation. In contrast, if Imhotep was a person serving in the cult this *ostrakon* would most likely preserve an example of priestly incubation, and if it did originate at Deir el-Bahari it would show that when Ḥor visited he did not engage in proxy incubation in order to make a direct inquiry of the god on behalf of Teos, but rather sought expert help.⁹⁵

ing the New Kingdom (on Meret Seger, see p. 76n.106; on Renenet, see Sadek 1987, 121–125 and Beinlich-Seeber 1984). The use of iron appears to be significant, since the metal was believed to have apotropaic powers, including the power to ward off demons causing illness, and therefore may have been intended to protect Teos against the fever-bringing demon (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 54–55, to which can be added Ritner 1993, 166, on Seth’s having used an iron weapon against Apophis). Figs were commonly used in medical prescriptions, as is attested in both Egyptian and Greek sources, the former dating as far back as the New Kingdom (see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 54), which suggests that some of those serving at this sanctuary must have had knowledge of traditional Egyptian medicine (*ibid.*, p. 76; see p. 75n.103).

94 For *w3ḥ*, see p. 442n.127.

95 For priestly and proxy incubation, see Appendix IV. If Imhotep was a priest or other cult official it would raise the question of why, with ordinary individuals such as Polyaratos evidently able to engage in incubation themselves, Ḥor would have relied on him to consult the god. This could add weight either to the suggestion that Imhotep was indeed the god and was seen in a dream, or to the possibility that this oracular consultation involved some divinatory medium other than dreams. Other explanations, however, are no less likely, including that the sanctuary’s popularity and the small size of the incubation chamber might have necessitated that those serving at the site, including the Imhotep named in this *ostrakon*, be the ones to seek dream-oracles: even though the Krakow *ostrakon* clearly shows that Thotortaioi engaged in incubation himself in 265 BCE, it is possible that there was a change implemented when the sanctuary was reconstructed in the second century BCE, or even before that as its popularity grew.

The second *ostrakon*, a Greek text listing members of a *synodos* of Amenhotep's worshipers and recording their individual contributions of wine, was found somewhere in Thebes, and while no cult site is identified it is reasonable to assume that the association held at least some of its meetings at Deir el-Bahari.⁹⁶ Similarly, a wooden tablet from Thebes that has been broken and has little legible text remaining appears to be a letter addressed to Amenhotep, and therefore is likely to have been prepared for a ritual performed at Deir el-Bahari.⁹⁷ And, another wooden tablet bearing a Demotic letter in which a cult official from the temple of Amun at Karnak named Osoroeris vowed a sum of silver to Amenhotep if a woman—most likely his wife—would become pregnant, and an equal amount if she also successfully gave birth, is of unknown provenience but is likely to have been submitted to the god at Deir el-Bahari.⁹⁸ In contrast to the sources naming Amenhotep, the one possible source for dream-divination in the cult of Imhotep in or near Thebes is an undated Ptolemaic *ostrakon* that cannot be linked to Deir el-Bahari, and instead is likely to have come from an unknown temple of Imhotep, perhaps at or near Karnak.⁹⁹ Its text, however, is problematic: according to its editor, the *ostrakon*

96 *O.Theb* 142; cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 266, §172. See *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 69.

97 *P.Götterbriefe* 11.

98 *P.Götterbriefe* 12 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 255–256, §158); annotated translation in Hoffmann/Quack 2010, 315, No. 4.13; see Malinine 1962, *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 20, 52, 78–79, and Endreffy 2010, 49. This votive prayer, from somewhere in the vicinity of Thebes and dated tentatively to May 7 of 219 BCE, has been linked to the god's oracular healing methods by its initial editor (Malinine, *ibid.*, 41), but there is nothing in the text to suggest that Osoroeris was seeking direct contact through incubation. Citing this text as evidence for one of the sanctuary's income streams, Łajtar has noted that a *deben* of silver had the purchasing power of 7–8 *artabas* of wheat, which was enough for an adult to live on for more than a year and a half—and this individual was offering Amenhotep one *deben* for conception and another for birth (*ibid.*, 78–79).

Strengthening the attribution of this document to Deir el-Bahari is the discovery in the Bark Shrine of a limestone flake bearing a similar text of the third century BCE, still unpublished (and now apparently missing), in which a woman named Senamunis asked “the master, the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu” to cure her infertility (see J.K. Winnicki in Karkowski/Winnicki 1983, 102), representing further evidence of Amenhotep's help being sought by those with fertility concerns.

99 For Imhotep and Ptah at Karnak, see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 188–191, §§131–132 + Pls. 45–46; see also Quack 1998, postulating an otherwise unknown temple of Imhotep at Karnak based on a Roman-era copy of a ritual text (P.Louvre N 3176(S)), and Moyer 2011, 251. Even if the *ostrakon* came from Karnak, it should not be viewed as evidence to support László Kákósy's claim that Imhotep and Amenhotep had a “sanatorium” at

refers to “the *pastophoroi* of the *Asklepieion* [*i.e.*, House of Imhotep], 56 in all, explaining (?) dreams” (*n3 wnw n Pr-Iy-m-ḥtp | mḥ-56 iw.w ḏd rswt*),¹⁰⁰ but the number ‘56’ may be a misreading of ‘6,’ and the word *rswt* (“dream”) may also have been incorrectly read.¹⁰¹ Amenhotep’s sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari can be ruled out as the site in question because it would not have been referred to as a “House of Imhotep” (*Pr-Iy-m-ḥtp*). The presence of cult servants skilled in dream interpretation—if the text has been correctly interpreted—does suggest the strong possibility of incubation at this “House of Imhotep,” wherever it was located, which would point to there having been two cult sites in the area of Thebes at which dreams could have been sought from Imhotep.

Ptah’s temple, a conclusion drawn from a hieroglyphic hymn to Imhotep at the site that praises Imhotep as a healer but gives no indication that he healed people on the spot (Firchow, *Urkunden* VIII, 145, §213 (= Wildung, *ibid.*, 207–209, §143.1); see Kákossy 2003, citing Sauneron 1965, 76, 85; cf. Dunand 2006, 21). A hymn to Amenhotep facing this one likewise presents no evidence for healing at the site (Firchow, *Urkunden* VIII, 144, §212 (= Wildung, *ibid.*, 209–211, §143.2 + Pl. 53)). The notion that Imhotep and Amenhotep healed at Karnak, rather than being divinities of relatively minor importance, was challenged by Wildung (*ibid.*, 209). While it appears that they were both worshiped in a wooden shrine built against the Temple of Ptah’s back wall (*i.e.*, a *contra* shrine), as is indicated by figures of these two as well as Ptah and Hathor surrounded by beam holes that could have supported a wooden structure (PM II², p. 201(35) (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 201–206, §142 + Pl. 49–52); see Brand 2007, 60n.106), there is no reason to conclude that this shrine was employed for incubation or on-site healing, and such shrines do not appear to have been constructed for such a purpose (see Arnold, *Lexikon*, 91, s.v. “Gegenkapelle”). Moreover, the unpublished continuation of the Brooklyn *ostrakon* reveals that the ailing Thotortaios was advised by Amonrasonter to seek medical aid from Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari—advice that would seem odd if this god and Imhotep were healing the sick right there at Karnak, where Thotortaios was serving. (For a source previously cited as evidence for incubation at Karnak, see Appendix 1.8.9.)

100 *O.LeidDem* 365, col. ii, ll. 5–7, cf. Ray 1987, 91 (with corrections).

101 Personal communication from Joachim F. Quack, who notes that the published facsimile does not correspond to *rswt*, and that instead it might be possible to read for the last three words *iw=w ḏd r.r=s* (“while they said concerning it”), and also that the text instead of ‘56’ could feature only the number ‘6,’ with what was read as ‘50’ instead being a word for “men.” In addition, it appears that *iri-ḥ.w* (“gate-keepers”) should be read instead of *wnw* (*pastophoroi*), though this would not change the text’s meaning (see p. 720n.9).

Other Egyptian Cults

9.1 Introduction

The temples of Sarapis at Alexandria and Canopus, the *Asklepieion* and other cult sites of the Saqqâra bluff, and the rock-cut sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari are the sites in Egypt for which there is the best documentation of incubation having been a prominent element of worship, but the practice was not limited to those four cult centers. In addition, there is clear evidence for incubation in the cult of Bes at Abydos (and possibly Osiris-Sarapis), and somewhat problematic evidence for the cults of Amun, Antinous, Miysis, Thoth, Osormnevis at Heliopolis, and an unidentified divinity—possibly Shai/Psais or Hathor/Aphrodite—associated with a fragmentary Greco-Demotic letter concerning dream-divination.¹ With the exception of Antinous, who had an emperor promoting his cult, these gods are not known to have been worshiped at their own sanctuaries beyond Egypt; and, with the exceptions of Amun, Antinous and Thoth they did not have multiple cult sites within Egypt. More significantly, each of these divinities other than Bes is linked to incubation by the chance survival of just one or two documents, which suggests the possibility that incubation was practiced at various other Egyptian sanctuaries of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; conversely, however, it cannot be ignored that numerous sites have produced large quantities of Greek and Demotic texts in which not even an allusion to incubation or dream-divination is to be found. So while incubation undoubtedly was practiced at additional sites it would be ill-advised to conclude that it was an especially common religious phenomenon—there simply is not enough evidence for a clear determination on this matter. Moreover, since much of the pertinent evidence for incubation in Egypt comes from the Roman Period there is a chance that the practice grew in popularity, but this may simply be a function of the sources that survive for religion in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

1 The evidence for incubation in the cults of Hathor at Dendara, Piyris in the Kharga Oasis, Thoth at Qaṣr el-Aguz, Espemet at Elephantine, Khnum at Esna, and Mandoulis at Talmis, among others, is too suspect or uncertain for inclusion in this list (see Appendix 1.8).

9.2 Osiris-Sarapis (?) and Bes at the Abydos *Memnonion*

Of all the sites in antiquity at which incubation is known to have been practiced, only at Abydos is there evidence for one god replacing another as the divinity from whom dream-oracles could be sought, with Osiris—who in Ptolemaic times came to be referred to commonly as Sarapis²—being

- 2 On the shift from “Osiris” to “Sarapis”—or, more accurately, to “Osiris-Sarapis,” since the Pharaonic god gained elements of the Ptolemaic one—at Abydos, see Frankfurter 1998, 169–170, and for the link between the two evident in Greek graffiti from the site see Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, pp. xiv–xix. Only a single inscription from Abydos, by addressing the god as Σάραπης Ὁσίρις μέγιστος σωτήρ, shows the identification of Osiris as “Sarapis,” and thus the worship of “Osiris-Sarapis” (*SEG* 18, 699 (= *SB* I 169); see Petrie 1902 and Fraser 1960, 5–6n.6, the latter arguing for a Roman date). However, with the exception of a funerary stele that portrays Sarapis-Agathodaimon in serpentine form but no longer bears a text (Abdalla, *Funerary Stelae* 59), demonstrable evidence that the “Sarapis” of Abydos was closely identified with Osiris is provided by some funerary steles that name Sarapis in Greek but represent Osiris, whose relative popularity is further demonstrated by the steles that do not name a god but feature paintings of Osiris. (See Abdalla, *ibid.*, pp. 113, 119 (with No. 189 re-edited in both Moje 2008, 65–69, No. 1 and Nachtergaele 2010, 55–56, No. 7). In addition to the steles in Abdalla’s corpus, there is one dating to the first-century CE and believed to be from Abydos that represents Osiris but includes in the epitaph a prayer to “Sarapis” for the deceased to triumph over his enemies, showing that Sarapis was playing the type of role in funerary cult traditionally associated with Osiris (*J.GrÉgLouvre* 92; see Koemoth 2001 and *BE* 2002, 521).)

This “Sarapis” should be recognized as related to, but nonetheless distinct from, both the Memphite Osorapis and the Hellenized “Sarapis” whose worship developed in Alexandria: such a conclusion is clearly supported by the fact that the Demotic texts on these funerary steles refer to the god only as Osiris, or a form of Osiris such as Osiris-sokar or Osiris-Onnophris, but never as Osorapis (see Abdalla, *ibid.*, p. 122 for the god’s Demotic identity; for Osorapis at Saqqâra, see Chapter 7.2–3). Furthermore, as Devauchelle has recently shown using an offering table dedicated to “Osiris of Koptos” (*Wsir Kbt*) in Demotic but “Sarapis [---] the great god” (Σαράπιδι [---] θεῶι μεγάλῳι) in Greek as an example, the name “Sarapis” could correspond to any Osiris, even if most often this was Osiris-Apis of Memphis (*i.e.*, Osorapis) (Devauchelle 2012, 222–223, citing Berlin, *ÄM* 2304 (= Vleeming, *Short Texts* I 250); re-edited in Moje 2012–13). Therefore, rather than representing an *interpretatio graeca* of Osiris (as suggested by J. Bingen, *BE* 2002, 521), “Sarapis” at Abydos appears to represent the application of an existing Greco-Egyptian god’s name to an Egyptian god whose characteristics and identity appear to have remained unchanged and unassimilated. (For a comparable but somewhat different situation, see the evidence of a “coexistence des images” of Sarapis, Osiris and Apis in the Imperial-period temple of Osiris and Isis at Dush—*i.e.*, ancient Kysis, on the Kharga, or “Great,” Oasis—outlined in Dunand 1999, 105–112; but see Hölbl 2004, 606, arguing for Sarapis’s replacement of Osiris.) Despite the increased prominence of “Sarapis” at the Abydos site, Osiris’s connection to it remained throughout antiquity, as is indicated by two magical papyri of the fourth and third centuries CE, respectively, referring to Osiris’s oracular

succeeded by the dwarf-god Bes at some point during the Roman era, quite possibly after a period of co-existence.³ The locus of this apparent shift was the *Memnonion*, the 19th-Dynasty funerary temple of Sety I where Osiris, the Egyptian funerary god who was himself believed to be buried at Abydos, was worshipped (Figs. 22–23).⁴ The availability of both Osiris-Sarapis and subsequently

function there (*PGM* IV.11–12 and *PDM* xiv.628 (= col. xxi, l. 2) (quoted p. 492)). These are considered by Frankfurter to be “an anachronism only understandable in terms of priestly preservation” (Frankfurter 2005a, 242), whereas Andreas Effland treats them and other sources as evidence for Osiris’s continued presence, albeit syncretized with other divinities (Effland 2014, 198–203, noting that references to “Alchah” and “Oupōke” in *PGM* IV.123 must be linked to Osiris’s burial place at Abydos): either way, it is clear that Osiris was not wholly eclipsed by—or wholly subsumed into—Sarapis at Abydos.

- 3 The two primary literary sources for Abydos give no indication of an overlap: Strabo only notes the worship of Osiris (Strabo 17.1.44), whereas centuries later Ammianus Marcellinus referred only to Bes and his oracle’s reputation (Amm. Marc. 19.12.3–4; quoted pp. 493–494). However, it is the more than 650 Greek graffiti published by Paul Perdrizet and Gustave Lefebvre (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*), as well as those written in Demotic, Carian, Aramaic, Phoenician and Coptic (and still mostly unpublished) that provide the greatest insight into the sanctuary’s history and function. The possibility that the two cults overlapped was suggested by Dunand (Dunand 1997, 69; cf. Rutherford 2003, 185), while Effland has proposed a cult of Osiris-Helios-Bes (Effland 2014, 198–199), though it is unclear that there was a widespread belief in such a fusion. Despite the ambiguous nature of the evidence for this, caused in large part by the lack of a clear chronology for the graffiti from the site, it seems likely that the two cults did indeed coexist for a time: see the *proskynema* text addressed to Bes and unidentified *theoi* (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 580) and the two graffiti by a pilgrim who in 147 CE was asking unnamed *theoi* for health and other blessings (ἀγαθά) (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 630 + Pl. 8 (= *LMetrEg* 133), 631 + Pl. 8 (= *LMetrEg* 134); quoted n. 8), the first most likely applying *theoi* to Osiris-Sarapis, Isis and Horus since there are no obvious alternatives and they are well attested in the graffiti of Abydos, and the second potentially using this generic term to refer to Bes, whose graffiti are common in this area, along with Osiris-Sarapis and his two associates. However, while the cults of Osiris-Sarapis and Bes may have overlapped, it is possible that the oracular function of Osiris-Sarapis had already become defunct by the Imperial Period and thus there were not rival oracles at the site (despite the brief references in the magical papyri to Osiris’s oracular powers at Abydos discussed in the previous note). (For the joint worship of Osiris-Sarapis and Isis at Abydos, see Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *ibid.*, p. xv and Nos. 74 + Pl. 5, 181, 535, as well as Nos. 545 and 546 for unnamed *theoi*; see also Abdalla, *Funerary Stelae*, p. 111, for funerary steles from the site representing Osiris and Isis together.)
- 4 There are different explanations for the origin of the name “*Memnonion*,” but it is thought most likely to have originated in Sety’s throne name *Men-Maat-Re* (“Remain the truth of the sun”), also coming to be applied to the nearby mortuary temple of Ramesses II. (For the ancient traditions concerning the toponym, see Haeny 1966.) New excavations at Umm el-Qaab, roughly 1.5 kilometers from the *Memnonion*, have been expanding our knowledge

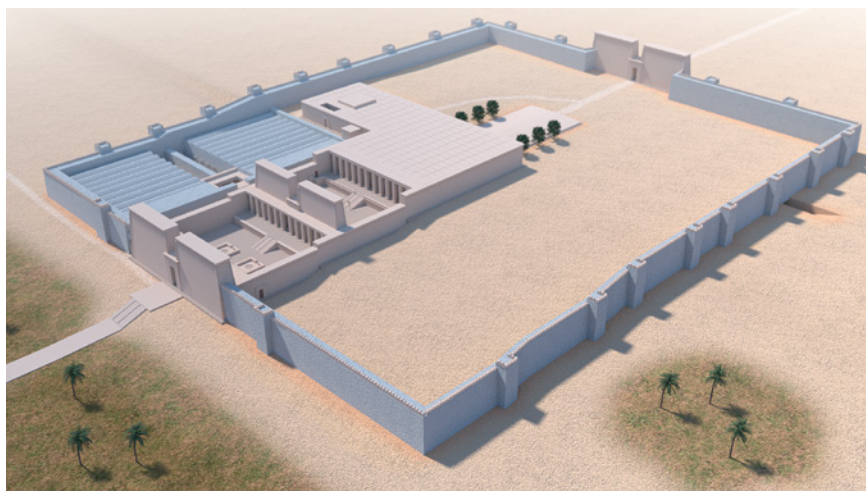


FIGURE 22 *Abydos Memnonion, the 19th-Dynasty funerary temple of Sety I, reconstructed view from the north.*

SOURCE: JAN-PETER GRAEFF / HAMBURG

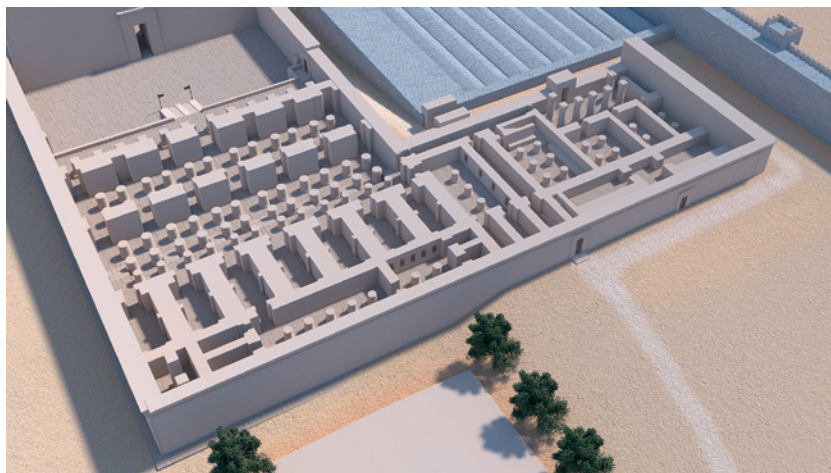


FIGURE 23 *Abydos Memnonion, cutaway view from the west showing the series of rectangular shrines of Osiris, Isis and five other gods to the left, and to the right the small Room E, located just inside the entranceway on the right, which due to the concentration of graffiti on the outer wall as well as inside the chamber itself is thought to have been the location of Bes's dream-oracle.*

SOURCE: JAN-PETER GRAEFF / HAMBURG

Bes to those wishing to engage in incubation is documented in a number of graffiti written on the temple's walls, although the evidence for seeking dream-oracles from Bes at the site is significantly stronger, and the fame of Bes's oracle—though not his medium of communication—is even discussed by the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus. As these sources reveal, incubation at Abydos was divinatory rather than therapeutic in nature: even though some scholars have interpreted certain graffiti as evidence for therapeutic incubation, Osiris (and thus Osiris-Sarapis) and Bes were not healing gods, and there is no reason to associate them with the practice; conversely, Isis and Horus, who were worshiped alongside Osiris and later Osiris-Sarapis at the *Memnonion*, were often associated with healing in Egypt, but at Abydos neither is clearly linked to dream-oracles by the graffiti.⁵ So, while it cannot be ruled out that worshipers occasionally solicited dreams regarding health concerns, there is no reason to conclude that Abydos ever functioned like the Saqqâra *Asklepieion*, the Canopus *Sarapieion*, Deir el-Bahari, or other sites at which therapeutic incubation was prominent or predominant.

The belief that therapeutic incubation was practiced at Abydos is based on the assumption that graffiti referring to matters of health reveal that there was a healing cult there, as there was at certain sanctuaries of Sarapis elsewhere.⁶ Among these graffiti at the *Memnonion* complex are two indicating desire for the restoration of health: in the Shrine of Sety (identified as

of the cults of both Osiris and Bes in the area, including at the temple itself: see Effland/Budka/Effland 2010 for a preliminary report (with additional references), and more recently Effland 2013a, Effland 2013b, Effland/Effland 2013, 120–131, and Effland 2014. (To these has just been added another article on Abydos by A. Effland, "... *Die Sonnenbarke anzuhalten und die Glieder des Osiris zu verstreuen für Typhon* ...": Theologische und theurgische Ausdeutung solar-osirianischer Ritualaspekte in Abydos," in A.H. Pries (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition: Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten; Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 25.–28. November 2012 in Heidelberg* (OLA 240; Leuven, Paris & Bristol, Conn., 2016), 201–226, which appeared too late to consult.) For a general overview of worship at the site throughout its history, see Rutherford 2003 and Effland/Effland, *ibid.*; see also David (A.) 1981, on the temple's layout and function in Pharaonic times, and O'Connor 2009 for Abydos in general during this period; see also Manniche 2015, 229–231, part of a larger study of Bes.

- 5 One graffito does attribute a divine command to Isis (κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ἰσιος), but whether this was received through incubation or in another manner is not indicated (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 419). For the limited evidence linking Osiris to healing, see pp. 408–409n.36, and for Isis and Horus as healers see p. 361n.57.
- 6 See Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, pp. xv–xvi; see also Dunand 2006, 12–13, probably reading too much into the sources for Osiris-Sarapis and also suggesting without sufficient evidence, "Nul doute que Bès, protecteur du sommeil, était tout désigné pour devenir un dieu de l'incubation guérisseuse."

Osiris's shrine in certain works), a worshiper scrawled a prayer to "the gods"—undoubtedly Osiris-Sarapis and Isis, and possibly Horus—"that he might be healthy" (ἵνα ὑγιαίνῃ), while the adjacent Shrine of Horus featured a similar prayer of "Give health to me" (δός μου ὑγίαν).⁷ Other graffiti reflect requests for the god to preserve health in the future⁸ or to "save" (σῶζε) someone,⁹ whereas other visitors either thanked the god or gods for already having cured them¹⁰ or having saved them from unspecified dangers.¹¹ In one case, a graffito from the Shrine of Sety states, "I, Spheh, have come to Osiris in good health and beheld him again" (Σφήξ ἦκω ὑγιαίνων πρὸς τὸν Ὅσειριν καὶ εἰσώρων πάλιν), indicating that a worshiper who on a previous visit had prayed for his health and subsequently regained it had returned and once again gazed upon the god—but the god's cult image, not the god himself in a dream.¹² These, however, were fairly

7 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 114 + Pl. 5 and 156, respectively.

8 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 631 + Pl. 8, ll. 1–2 (= *IMetrEg* 134): ὁ αὐτὸς πάρεμι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτούμενος | ἄνοσον παρᾶσχειν σῶμα μέχρις οὗ ζῶσω ("I myself am present, asking the gods to ensure a healthy body for as long as I shall live"). This was unnecessarily linked to incubation by its initial editors because Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 630 reveals that this pilgrim had stayed at Abydos overnight.

9 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 377, addressed to Osiris. See also Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 8, 368 (= *SEG* 40, 1549), 390, 414, 426, recording pilgrimages made ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ("for deliverance").

10 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 467, probably alluding to health restored by both Osiris-Sarapis and Isis because a plural verb is employed in the surviving portion: Ἀσκληπιάδης κακῶς πρᾶσσαν ἦλθεν ἐ[νθάδε ---] | κα[ὶ] εὖφ[ο]ρο[υ]ν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν καὶ λαμπρὸν σφοδρῶς | κατ[έ]στησαν ---].

11 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 93 (+ Pl. 6), 97, 136; cf. Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 92 (+ Pl. 6), 94 (+ Pl. 6).

12 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 107; for this interpretation, see Rutherford 2003, 179 and Dunand 2006, 12–13. While it is possible, as Dunand notes, that εἰσώρων alludes to having seen Osiris-Sarapis in a dream, contemplation of the sacred image, perhaps during a festival, is much more likely. After all, verbs related to sight, contemplation and wonder were common in pilgrims' graffiti, sometimes in the context of sacred contemplation. (On this phenomenon in Egyptian religion, see Van der Plas 1989, and see also Rutherford 2000, 138–142, on sacred contemplation as an aspect of pilgrimage in Greek religion.) Indeed, a possible parallel exists at Abydos: the graffiti left by three Ionian visitors whose choice of language suggests that each individual had "beheld with wonder" (Στ[ρόφ]ιγξ ἐθήσατο. | Ἀριστοναύτης ἐθήσατο. | Χαροπίης ἐθήσατο), presumably the cult image of Osiris-Sarapis (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 424). As noted in Rutherford 2000b, 140 and Rutherford 2003, 178–179, these may also have parallels in two other Abydos texts, one a graffito which instead of the Ionian form of θεᾶσθαι used by these visitors was written in Cypriot script as *e-ta-we-sa-to* (= ἐθαήσατο) (*ICS* 379), while the other, a Phoenician inscription, employs the verb *hzy* ("to see") (Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'arch. or.* vi, §46, 391–400 at

typical subjects for prayer, and not unique to healing sanctuaries.¹³ It has also been suggested that the presence of unrelated *proskynema* texts left by three physicians (ἰατροί) might indicate that they were discretely assisting the god in his healing practice, perhaps drawing on the common but dubious assumption that doctors at *Asklepieia* played such a role.¹⁴ However, since physicians also appear in graffiti from other Egyptian sites, with roughly thirty found in the “Syringes” alone, the more likely explanation is that these ἰατροί were simply pilgrims or tourists, and not present because of their medical skills—especially since, after all, medicine at Egyptian sanctuaries was the domain of priests.¹⁵ Overall, then, the *Memnonion* graffiti do not represent sufficient evidence to consider Abydos in the time of either Osiris-Sarapis or Bes to have been a healing center, let alone one visited by worshipers hoping to engage in therapeutic incubation, even if Osiris-Sarapis along with Isis and Horus could be called upon for health.

pp. 391–397 (“Proscynèmes phéniciens et araméens d'Abydos”); see also Lidzbarski 1908, 170–171). Examples of such language for contemplation and wonder can also be found in graffiti at other sites (e.g., *I.ColMemnon* 73, Βαλβεινιανὸς ἔναρχος ἐθαύμασεν | ἀρχιδικαστῆς), especially the so-called “syringes” of western Thebes (i.e., pipe-like, rock-cut corridors leading to New Kingdom tombs), where dozens of examples survive: e.g., *I.Syringes* 54 (Πορ|φύριος | ἰδὼν | ἐθαύμασα), 467 (Καλλίοπις | Ἀντισοχεὺς | ἐλθὼν καὶ | εἰδὼν τὰς | σύριγγας | ἐθαύμασα), and 1636 (Ἀκύλεστα Βλίκουρος | εἰσιδὼν ἐθαύμα[σα]); for additional examples, see Łukaszewicz 2010). For graffiti from Aīn Labakha employing the verb εἰσορᾶν in an apparently similar context that also have been questionably linked to incubation, see Appendix 1.8.4. Therefore, the reference to seeing Osiris-Sarapis is almost certainly not an allusion to a dream, but rather to sacred contemplation. (The Egyptian graffito transliterated with Greek letters that was interpreted by the editors as a statement of having seen Isis, Osiris and Amun-Re, which might have been an allusion to either incubation or gazing upon sacred images, has since been reinterpreted and can no longer be considered indicative of either scenario (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 74, ll. 2–3 + Pl. 5, re-edited as *P.Recueil* 11; cf. Rutherford 2003, 185).)

13 E.g., *I.Syringes* 330 and 655 (ὕγιαίνων).

14 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, p. xvi, citing 24 (= Samama, *Médecins*, 481–482, No. 405), 256, 278, 354 (= Samama, *ibid.*, 482, No. 406), 439 (= Samama, *ibid.*, 482, No. 407), 473, 591, 595, and 611. For doctors at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 226–228.

15 On these graffiti, see Hirt Raj 2006, 217–218, with references to the Syringes texts in n. 234. At Deir el-Bahari, a site where therapeutic incubation was practiced, three of the graffiti were left by doctors, who likewise should not be assumed to have been serving at the site (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 25, 94, 165, cf. p. 178). Perhaps instead the over-representation of physicians relative to other professions is best attributed to the fact that literacy rates must have been considerably higher among practitioners of medicine.

Whereas the evidence linking his successor Bes to divinatory incubation is unambiguous, the three graffiti that appear to associate Osiris-Sarapis with this practice are problematic, for the simple reason that they do not name him and have not been clearly dated. In one text, a worshiper appears to express his hope of obtaining a dream-oracle: “I, Achilles, come to behold a dream indicating to me matters about which I pray” (ἐγὼ Ἀχιλλεὺς | ἔ<ρ>χομαι θεάσασθαι ὄνιρον σημένοντά μοι | περὶ ὧν εὔχομαι).¹⁶ Another graffito, from which only the first four words of a line of hexameter survive, instead appears to use the rare term ἐναργέα to refer to dreams.¹⁷ Unfortunately, neither text names the god providing the dreams, while the third graffito specifically records a visit for obtaining an oracle—the term χρηστήριον would not have been associated with therapies—but does not identify the god or indicate the medium of communication favored by the unnamed divinity: “I, Serenos, have come to the oracular shrine” (Σερηνός ἦκω εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον).¹⁸ This leaves open the possibility that Bes rather than Osiris-Sarapis was the oracular god in question. Unfortunately, the locations at which these graffiti were written cannot be used to settle the matter: the fact that they come from a part of the complex in which only two graffiti naming Bes were found but graffiti naming “Osiris,” “Sarapis,” and “Isis” were plentiful could indicate that these three texts are unlikely to pertain to Bes’s oracle.¹⁹ Making the matter more complicated, however, is the fact that the third graffito was written on the throne in the *cella* of Osiris, and the *cella* itself was covered with many “Osiris” and “Sarapis” graffiti, and since such an

16 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 238. This individual may be the same one responsible for two other graffiti, each referring to a *proskynema* (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 157, 185).

17 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 274 (= *I.MetrEg* 135): Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀρυώτου ἐναργέα αὐτίς [---]. See Dunand 2006, 13, briefly discussing this text in the context of incubation. Étienne Bernand in *I.MetrEg* dates the graffito to Roman times without explanation. It appears that this individual, like some of the other pilgrims known from the graffiti, had visited the sanctuary previously. However, this fragment of poetry does not reveal whether Heraklas had already emerged from an incubation session or, like his fellow worshiper Achilles, was hoping to receive a dream-oracle. Thus while Bernand in *I.MetrEg* speculatively translated this graffito as “Heraklas, fils d’Haryotes (a eu) de nouveau des visions,” there is no reason why it cannot be referring to an upcoming experience.

18 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 106.

19 The editors of these graffiti linked them to the cult of Osiris-Sarapis (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, p. xvi). Dunand, however, while expressing the belief that Osiris-Sarapis had an oracle at the site, has noted the need for caution regarding the question of whether his oracle would have overlapped with Bes’s (Dunand 1997, 68–69). Despite the lack of a reliable chronology for the graffiti in question—a common problem when working with texts from the site—the topographical evidence is quite compelling.

area should have been off-limits it raises the question of whether this means that Osiris's official cult had become defunct by the time the third graffito was written—in which case the *χρηστήριον* of Osiris should have been defunct as well—or else it was acceptable to leave such messages there while the cult was active.²⁰ Further evidence for Osiris-Sarapis as a plausible alternative to Bes as the subject of these three graffiti is a reference to Osiris as “the one who gives answer in Abydos” (*pꜣ nti tꜣy wꜣḥ n ꜣbt*) in the Demotic magical papyrus preserved at London and Leiden, which indicates an oracular function for Osiris at the site that was still remembered in later Roman times, if not active in some form.²¹ Therefore, although the documentation for divinatory incubation in the cult of Osiris-Sarapis at Abydos is circumstantial, these sources when viewed collectively suggest that Osiris functioned there as an oracular god who in his cult's final phase came to communicate through dreams—perhaps received in one of the two large halls that, though not originally meant for it, could hold a number of visitors.²² This, however, is by no means as certain as has been thought by some.²³

The graffiti preserved at the *Memnonion* reveal that despite the decline of Osiris-Sarapis's cult in Roman times the site still drew many visitors, in no

20 At Deir el-Bahari, another cult site covered with graffiti, these are to be found in the Bark Shrine but not the two inner rooms beyond it, which suggests that the holiest area was off-limits; however, at the sanctuary of Piyris in the Kharga Oasis there were two graffiti in the chapel, while the remaining twenty were in the two antechambers and forecourt, showing that sometimes shrines were acceptable places for graffiti to be left (see p. 474).

21 *PDM* xiv.628–629 (= col. xxi, ll. 2–3; trans. J.H. Johnson in Betz, *GMP*). Francis L. Griffith and Herbert Thompson indicated in their *editio princeps* that it is not certain that this should be translated with the phrase “gives answer,” but there is little reason for doubt, in light of *dd wꜣḥ* and *tꜣy wꜣḥ* being free variants for indicating the giving of a response or oracle, since *dd* and *tꜣy* in the *status constructus* had rather identical pronunciation, which in both cases could fluctuate (see most recently the references in Quack 2009c, 236n.34). For this phrase as well two parallels in Coptic spells further attesting to Osiris's oracular function at Abydos, see A. Effland in Effland/Budka/Effland 2010, 86 and Effland 2014, 198, also citing *PGM* IV.11–14 and *PGM* IV.123–124. For the use of *wꜣḥ* in Demotic texts to refer to dreams, see p. 442n.127.

22 On the two halls and their use by visitors, see Frankfurter 1998, 173.

23 In addition to the scholars noted above, see, e.g., Wacht 1997, 204, treating the graffiti as evidence for dream-oracles being solicited from Sarapis. The uncertain nature of the evidence for incubation in the cult of Osiris-Sarapis at Abydos was rightly noted by Dunand (Dunand 1997, 69).

small part because of Bes's oracle—an oracle famous enough that, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, it received written inquiries sent from afar:²⁴

*Oppidum est Abydum in Thebaidis partis situm extremo. Hic Besae dei localiter appellati oraculum quondam futura pandebat priscis circumiacentium regionum caerimoniis solitum coli. [4] Et quoniam quidam praesentes, pars per alios, desideriorum indice missa scriptura supplicationibus expresse conceptis consulta numinum scitabantur, chartulae sive membranae continentes quae petebantur post data quoque responsa interdum remanebant in fano.*²⁵

24 Since there is scattered evidence for Bes's cult beyond Egypt, it should not be surprising that Bes's oracular powers were sometimes invoked overseas as well. Even though Ammianus's language in introducing Bes indicates that worship of Bes in his time was no longer widespread, scattered sources suggest that earlier in the Roman era it had been, and even that there was some oracular activity. See Malaise 2004, 280–291 for the relatively limited evidence for Bes's cult beyond Egypt, and more recently Garbati 2009, focusing on Sardinia. Most notably, a difficult cursive inscription from Gornea in Dacia that includes the phrase *Exi cum visu!* (“Exit and become visible!”) has been interpreted as a prayer by an individual seeking to summon Bes for a consultation (*AE* 1982, 836; see Mastrocinque 2005). In addition, an epitaph from Puteoli for a native of Memphis records an oracle from Bes that may not have originated at Abydos, but is worth noting nonetheless as evidence for the god's widespread reputation and impact: “The god Bes revealed to you the destiny decreed by the god (?), a life of sixty-nine years” (χρημάτισεν δὲ θεὸς Βησῶς σοι δαίμ[ονος αἶσαν?] | ἐννέα καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τὸν βίον) (*SEG* 2, 530, ll. 7–8 (= Peek, *GVI* 1524)). Although the medium of communication is unclear, evidence for gods sometimes predicting individuals' lifespans through dreams suggests that this prophecy may have been issued in a dream, perhaps even one obtained through incubation. Such evidence includes: Aristid., *Or.* 48.18 (see also *Or.* 42.6); Artem. 2.70, 5.92; *O.Hor* 8, *recto*, ll. 21–24; P.Leiden T 32, col. vii, ll. 28–33 (see pp. 741–742); see also Marin., *Procl.* 26, ed. Masullo (Proclus's dream of his philosophical predecessor Plutarch), *Theosophia Tubingensis* 24 (quoted p. 27n.74), and *IG* XII.3, *Suppl.* 1350 (featuring the term ἐκχρησεν, but possibly alluding to a dream).

25 Amm. Marc. 19.12.3–4; see de Jonge 1982, 243–245. Frankfurter has speculated that Bes's assumption of his predecessor's oracular role might have been linked to “Bes's chthonic, Osirian associations,” which included his mythological role of guardian of Osiris's corpse (especially the god's head, which was a prominent relic at Abydos) (Frankfurter 2005a, 242n.30; cf. Frankfurter 1997, 124; for Bes's chthonic aspects, see Kákossy 1966a, 193–194). Andreas Effland shares this view, but also attributes this oracular role to Bes's link to the sun god (Effland 2014, 199).

Ammianus's statement that the written inquiries of those consulting Bes from afar remained at the temple suggests that there was a sufficiently large staff serving there (see Dunand 1997, 75–76, Frankfurter 1997, 123 and Frankfurter 2005a, 240–241;

There is a town called Abydos situated in the furthest part of the Thebaid. In this place an oracle of the god locally called Besa in former times would make known the future, and by tradition was venerated in the ancient rites of the surrounding regions. And since certain people in person, and also some doing so through others, were inquiring as to that decreed by the divine powers by means of a list of their appeals submitted in writing, their promises of offerings clearly composed, the pieces of paper or else parchment containing what they had been seeking would sometimes remain at the shrine after the responses had been given.

The numerous Bes-related graffiti found there—mostly in an area far from the chambers originally devoted to Osiris and his associates—suggest that this god's popularity continued until the shrine's closure by Christian authorities, which came in 359 CE at the instigation of Constantius II, or else sometime later.²⁶ Of particular interest is that Bes appears to have issued oracles both

cf. *I.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 56, suggesting the presence of an archive similar to that believed to have been at Deir el-Bahari (see p. 465n.50)). Whether such long-distance consultations were handled by means of a conventional oracular inquiry or a priest or cult official engaging in incubation is impossible to determine from the surviving evidence.

- 26 On Bes's oracle as well as his cult in general, see: Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, pp. xix–xxiii; Dunand 1997; Frankfurter 1997, 122–125; Frankfurter 1998, 169–174; Volokhine 1998, 92–93; Rutherford 2003, 180; Malaise 2004; Frankfurter 2005a, 238–243; Dunand 2006, 12–13; Naether 2010, 415–417; Volokhine 2010; and Effland 2014, 199–204 (emphasizing the period of Late Antiquity); cf. A. Effland in Effland/Budka/Effland 2010, 85–91, Effland 2013a, Effland 2013b, and Effland/Effland 2013, 127–128. See also Merkelbach 2001a, 14–41, a useful discussion, despite presenting the unsupported theory that Bes did not replace Osiris as the site's oracular god, but rather that a priest or someone else serving at the temple represented Osiris in the guise of Bes as part of the oracular procedure.

Frankfurter has explored the circumstances surrounding the oracle's possible closure under Constantius II (Frankfurter 2000b); however, in an article appearing that same year, Ian Rutherford argued that Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 641 (= SEG 50, 1562), a graffito that he dates to 370–410 CE, represents evidence that the site was not permanently closed by that emperor (Rutherford 2000a; quoted n. 32). The two claims are not mutually exclusive: the emperor, angered by the nature of some of the inquiries at Abydos, might have banned consultations at the sanctuary but permitted other forms of worship to continue. It is also possible that Julian, who succeeded Constantius II, reversed his cousin's decree, as he did with so many of the religious policies of his Christian predecessors. Either way, it is certainly plausible that, as Frankfurter later suggested, incubation may have continued in some form into the fifth century (Frankfurter 2005a, 243). By the mid-fifth century, however, the site had been taken over by the Christians and Bes branded a “demon,” though the worship by some of Christ-Bes shows that the previous cult had

through dreams and some other medium or media, a phenomenon for which there are only a few parallels.²⁷ This is indicated by some of the epigraphical sources from the *Memnonion*, which are much more explicit about Bes's oracular nature than any for Osiris-Sarapis, since they praise Bes as a god "wholly truthful, dream-giving and oracle-giving" (τὸν πανταληθῆ καὶ ὄνειροδότην καὶ χρησιμοδότην ... θεόν), or else use similar language.²⁸ That this site was associated with divinatory incubation is made even more clear by another graffito, a four-line epigram written on the wall of Room E' (the "Chamber of Merenptah")—quite possibly the chamber in which dreams were solicited from Bes²⁹—by a priest from another town who had repeatedly visited and

not been completely replaced (see A. Effland in Effland/Budka/Effland 2010, 88–91 and Effland 2013a, 78–82; cf. Effland/Effland 2013, 130 and Effland 2014, 203).

- 27 For the gods communicating through dreams and another medium at a sanctuary, see p. 28n.77.
- 28 An inscribed text, rare at the *Memnonion*, specifically associates these epithets with Bes (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 500 + Pl. 8; see Effland 2013b, 130), while a nearby inscription in the same hand and employing the same phrase does not name Bes but undoubtedly referred to him (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 492). The same phrase appears in a partly preserved graffito from this location (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 493), while very similar language appears in another incomplete text (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 503), and the profusion of graffiti for Bes in this part of the *Memnonion* makes it all but certain that these likewise pertain to Bes. This conclusion is reinforced by the presence of a text in which little more than the epithet χρησιμοδότης could be made out, and which was written immediately above another graffito addressed to "the true diviner, most exalted, heavenly (or dream-giver?) Bes" (μάντιν [ἀ]ληθέα πανυπέρτατον ο[ὐρά]ν[ιο]ν (vel ὁ[ν]ειροδότην) Βῆσαν) (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 488 and 489, respectively). There are also two *proskynema* texts from the site that refer to Bes by name as χρησιμοδότης without reference to dreams, and which were found on the temple's outer wall (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 505, 524).
- 29 Room E' was reasonably identified as the incubation chamber by Archibald H. Sayce (Sayce 1887–88, 380) and later Dunand (Dunand 2006, 13) and Andreas Effland (Effland 2014, 200), since the graffiti referring to Bes's oracular powers were found on the outer wall of the temple in the immediate vicinity of the doorway leading into the room—several at a height that "would be attainable by a man in a recumbent position," according to Sayce, and echoed by Effland—and also because of the presence there of the epigram referring to Bes's oracular powers. According to Effland, this point was "on the ancient axis of the temple, which leads to the 'South Hill' and Umm el-Qaab, to the tomb of Osiris and to the entrance of the underworld." Since this concentration of graffiti at the southern end of the complex's west wall is a good distance from the *cella* of Osiris and other halls or chambers associated with his cult, the oracle of Osiris-Sarapis would not have been located in Room E, which originally served as the temple's treasury (see Arnold (D.) 1962, 86–87 and Effland/Effland 2013, 128).

slept within the precinct and received “truthful dreams” from Bes, a god he praised as “universally prophetic”:

ἐνθάδ' ἰαύεσκον καὶ ἀληθέας εἶδον ὀνείρους
 Ἄρποκράς ζαθέης Πανιάδος ναέτης,
 ἱρεὺς, Κοπρεῖαιο φίλος γόνος ἀρητήρος.
 Βησᾷ πανομφαίῳ καὶ χάρις οὐκ ὀλίγη.³⁰

In this place I slept and saw truthful dreams,
 I, Harpokras, a resident of godly Paneas,
 a priest, dear son of the priest Kopreias.

To Bes the universally prophetic one, let there be much gratitude.

Overall, the evidence for incubation involving Bes is indisputable, and since there is little sign that Bes—who previously was a minor divinity sought for his apotropaic powers, including as a guardian over sleep, and in other capacities³¹—was linked to healing, it appears that the incubation practiced there was exclusively divinatory.³² This conclusion gains additional support from Bes’s role as bringer of dream-oracles in two rituals preserved in the Greek magical papyri.³³ In the case of Osiris and Osiris-Sarapis, however, it is

30 Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 528 + Pl. 7 (= *IMetrEg* 131). On this epithet and others as evidence for the possible Hellenization of Bes at this sanctuary, see Dunand 1997, 74.

31 See Appendix 1.8.3.

32 Only one of the graffiti addressed to Bes refers to health. As is the case with the similar graffiti for Osiris-Sarapis discussed above, the presence of a single graffito asking for health should not be viewed as evidence for therapeutic incubation, especially since the unique addition of the suppliant’s horoscope and an oath sworn by Bes not to erase the prayer suggests a desire for ongoing well-being rather than a one-time cure (Ἀρτεμίδωρος | ὑγίαν | νή τὸν Βησᾶν οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω) (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 641 (= *SEG* 50, 1562); see Dunand 1997, 78–79 and Rutherford 2000a). And, since the graffito was written at least two decades after the reign of Constantius II, as noted above, when the oracle was likely closed—or at least had been closed for a time—it is even less likely to pertain to incubation. Likewise, the lone graffito referring to Bes as “Deliverer” or “Protector” (Σωτήρ) could allude to therapeutic powers (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 500), as appears to have been the case with the graffiti referring to the abilities of Osiris-Sarapis to “save” his worshipers, though this epithet is too generic and ambiguous to be relied on as evidence (see pp. 117–118n.3).

33 *PGM* VII.222–249 and VIII.64–110 (with bibliography in Brashear 1995, 3530–3531, 3535); cf. *PGM* CII.1–17 (= *SupplMag* II 90), possibly a third example of a dream-inducing divinatory ritual. On these papyri, see the detailed discussion in Merkelbach 2001a, 23–41 and the table at Frankfurter 1997, 134, as well as A. Effland in Effland/Budka/Effland 2010,

far less certain that worshipers routinely sought dream-oracles from this god, and it should be recognized as a possibility that incubation was not practiced at the Abydos *Memnonion* until the cult of Bes was the site's chief focus.

9.3 Amonrasonter at Karnak?

A Demotic text preserved on two limestone *ostraka* dating to 265 BCE appears to represent evidence for some form of incubation at the temple of Amun at Karnak, but the episode described by the worshiper may reflect unusual circumstances.³⁴ The published text, twenty-one lines written on the *recto* of a trapezoidal flake, tells of this minor temple servant named Thotortaios becoming blind and praying to Amun not for a cure, but that he be sent to a place where he would be treated (*i.e.*, “the place where they will give me medicine”), and the beginning of a dream-narrative featuring a priest at the very end suggests that the god had responded (Fig. 24).³⁵ In the second *ostrakon*, which is unpublished, the narrative continues for thirty-three more lines on the *recto* and *verso*, revealing that the dream had prompted him to go to Deir el-Bahari

86–87, Effland 2013a, 77–78, and Effland 2014, 199. As Frankfurter suggests, Bes's role in magic may well have been a function of his popularity at Abydos, instead of indicating a widespread oracular function in Egypt (Frankfurter 1998, 171). See also his suggestion that these appearances in the magical papyri could be indicative of some of Bes's priests “taking the Bes oracle, as it were, ‘on the road,’” a conclusion based on the evident incorporation of priestly traditions that would have originated at the sanctuary (see Frankfurter 2005a, 241–242; cf. Frankfurter 1997, 124 and Frankfurter 2010, 539–540). For dream-divination in the magical papyri, see p. 15n.39; for Bes in magical gems, see Monaca 2002, 144–147.

34 The provenience of the two *ostraka* is not recorded, but even though they are likely to have originated at Deir el-Bahari the first one almost certainly discusses the Karnak temple. Aspects of this text are also discussed in Chapter 8.

35 O.Brook. 37.1821E, ll. 7–21 (= Vleeming, *Short Texts* 1 135, cf. *BLDem*, pp. 539–540); annotated translation in Hoffmann/Quack 2010, 315–316, No. 4.14, differing slightly from that of Vleeming. For the disputed readings and interpretations of this text, see, in order: Malinine 1960, Volten 1962, Malinine 1963, Malinine 1964, *P.BrooklDem* 9, and Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 199n.205. Thotortaios served at the *w'bt* (“embalming workshop,” or room associated with New Year ceremonies; see Sect. 9.6), in a capacity that has traditionally been read as *gwꜥ* (“porter”), a minor position with duties that are not well defined by the sources (see Erichsen, *Glossar*, 576, s.v. “*gwꜥ*” and *CDD*, s.v. “*gwꜥ*”), but that based on a passage in the *Book of the Temple* might be better read as *kꜣw.ti* (“caretaker”) (Joachim F. Quack, personal communication, noting the passage translated at Quack 2009d, 227).

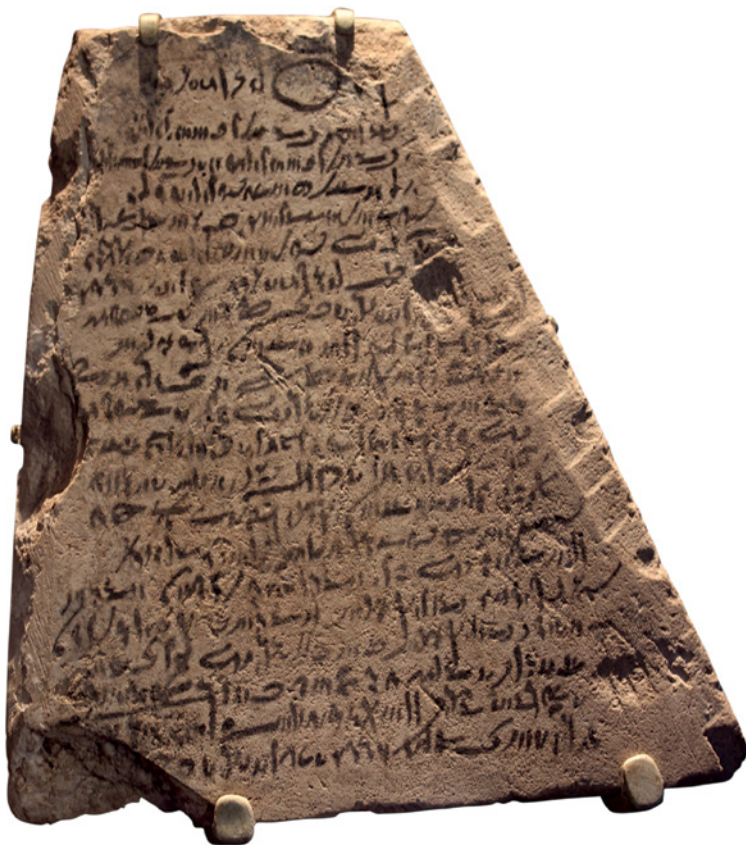


FIGURE 24 *Limestone ostrakon preserving the first half of the Demotic text in which Thotortaios, a cult servant at Karnak, recorded having received a dream from Amun instructing him to visit Deir el-Bahari for healing (O.Brook. 37.1821E).*

PHOTO: WERNER RENBERG

and engage in incubation, after which he evidently left this record, perhaps intended for public consumption just as Polyaratos's account of being healed by Amenhotep four years later would be.³⁶ While the account of visiting Deir

36 At the time of his death Heinz-Josef Thissen was planning to publish the *ostrakon* (Krakow, M.N. XI 989), which he was almost finished editing, and in the course of this project he recognized it as a continuation of the Brooklyn *ostrakon*. I am grateful to him for providing an early draft of his work on this unpublished half of the document, as well as for sharing numerous insights on the document as a whole and permitting discussion

el-Bahari clearly describes Thotortaioi sleeping at the sanctuary and asking for a dream-oracle, the first portion of the narrative is more ambiguous regarding the circumstances of the dream that ultimately leads the blind Thotortaioi to seek help from Amenhotep:

Ḥ3.t-sp 20 ibd-1 šmw sw 28 n | Pr-c3^{‘w.s.} Pṭrwmys^{‘w.s.} | s3 Pṭrwmys^{‘w.s.} irm Pṭrwmys^{‘w.s.} | p3y.f šr, iw Brnyg3^{‘w.s.} t3 šr.t |⁵ 3tyrstkws ‘t3¹ ntī f3y tn | nwb m-b3ḥ 3rsyn3^{‘w.s.} t3 mr-sn.t. | Ḥpr ḥ3.t-sp 20.t ibd-1 šmw sw 28, Dḥwt-ī.(īr-dī.t)-s s3 Pa-ḥ3 | mw.t=f S3s p3 gwt p3 ntī dd: Sdr.y (n) p3 in3ḥ | n Imn-R[‘]-nsw-ntr.w, iw.y by r īr.t=y, |¹⁰ iw mn-mtw=y nw r-bnr in, iw kt.t-ḥ.t īr t3y | n=y myt, iw.y šrr m-b3ḥ Imn (n) p3 in3ḥ | m-b3ḥ Imn-R[‘]-nsw-ntr.w Imn-sm3-t3.wī P3-Šwy-3-wbn-|m-W(3)s Imn-p3y.w-t3.wī p3 ḥry: “St3 t=k īḥr=y P3y(.y) nb(?)3 | ī Imn, tw.y gby-dr.t, ink p3y.k b3k, m-īr dī.t |¹⁵ 3k.y, m-īr 3bḥ īḥr=y. Twy.s rnp(.t) 30 | iw.y šms m-b3ḥ Imn, iw bn-pw.w gm n=y rwhī, iw bn-pw.y | st3.t(=y) (n) w‘b.t r-‘wī.w-dr.t=y, iw bn-pw.y īr (n)-dr(.t) gm.w n=y rwhī | nīm=s {r} r-‘wī.w-dr.t=y.” Ir.y šrr m-b3ḥ Imn dd: “My | [[īr.w]] wt.w t(=y) (r) p3 ‘wī (n) dī.t n=y phr ntī iw.w īr=f.” Sdr.y (?) n=y [[---]] |²⁰ p3 grḥ n-rn=f, iw.y nw r-īḥr=y rswy iw^w ‘r¹ [---] | mdw irm=y dd.” Dḥwt-ī.(īr-dī.t)-s s3 Pa-ḥ3 p3 gwt p3 ntī [---].³⁷

Year 20, 1st month of the *šmw* season (Pachon), day 28 [July 22, 265 BC], under Pharaoh^(life, prosperity, health) Ptolemaios^(life, prosperity, health), son of Ptolemaios^(life, prosperity, health), with Ptolemaios^(life, prosperity, health) his son, while Berenike^(life, prosperity, health), the daughter of Aristodikos(?), is the Basket-carrier of gold before Arsinoe^(life, prosperity, health), the Brother-loving. It happened in year 20, 1st month of the *šmw* season [*i.e.*, Pachon], day 28, that Thotortaioi, son of Pachoy, his mother Sas, the caretaker, said: “I slept in the courtyard of Amonrasonter—as I suffer in my eye(s), not having sight, (and) others have to show me the way—, while praying

of these. It is possible that the text continued onto a third *ostrakon*, but it appears that the two *ostraka* preserve most of the text, if not all of it. For therapeutic incubation in the cult of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari, for which the Krakow text represents one of the most important sources, see Chapter 8, with the Polyaratos *ostrakon* at pp. 461–465.

- 37 Trans. S.P. Vleeming, with modifications based on Hoffmann/Quack and Ryholt (*supra*, n. 35), and *BLDem*, p. 540 (“praying loudly” rather than “praying” for *šrr* in l. 11); in the case of lines 20–21 the Demotic text as well as the translation has been modified. (As part of his work on the Krakow *ostrakon* Thissen also examined this one, which he had intended to re-edit, and had already improved the reading of lines 19–21. His unpublished translation of these lines is: “Ich legte mich nieder [in] derselben Nacht, indem ich mich im Traum sah, indem ein Priester mit mir sprach: ‘Thotortaioi, Träger, der [stark? ist, verrichte]’.”)

loudly before Amun in the courtyard, (and) before Amonrasonter, Amonsomteu, Shu-great-of-shining-in-Thebes, Amun-the-primeval-one-of-the-two-lands, the chief: ‘Move (you) towards me, my great Lord. O Amun, I am wretched, (but) I am your slave, do not let me perish, do not forget me. For thirty years, I serve Amun, whereas they have not found to reproach me, whereas I have not abandoned the embalming workshop (*wabet*) as far as possible for me, whereas I had not acted when they found to reproach me concerning it, as far as possible for me.’ I have prayed to Amun: ‘Let them send me to the place where they will give me medicine.’ I have fallen asleep [---] that very night, whereas I saw myself in a dream while a [--- was ---] speaking with me. ‘Thotortaiois, son of Pachoy, the caretaker, is the one who [---].’”

This portion of the narrative clearly relates that Thotortaiois had gone blind—either suddenly, as one editor concluded, or over time³⁸—and subsequently prayed to different manifestations of Amun before sleeping in a courtyard (which has yet to be identified, but was most likely separate from the *wabet*), whereupon he received a god-sent dream.³⁹ Thotortaiois does indeed appear to have engaged in some form of incubation, since he mentions praying and sleeping in this courtyard, and subsequently receiving a dream-oracle.⁴⁰ However,

38 In his *editio princeps*, Michel Malinine concluded that Thotortaiois had been blinded in a workplace accident, though there is no evidence for this (Malinine 1960, 250). Volten’s suggestion, that he went blind from natural causes—presumably aging, judging from his thirty years of service, or else one of the diseases afflicting Egyptians over the millennia—is the more sensible (Volten 1962, 132).

39 As noted by George R. Hughes, Thotortaiois prayed to multiple manifestations of Amun (*P.BrooklDem*, p. 4). The names Amonrasonter, Amonsomteu and Amonpoteu translate as “Amun-Re King of the Gods,” “Amun King of the Two Lands,” and “Amun Primeval One of the Two Lands,” respectively. However, his reading of “Amun of the Court” is incorrect, as the phrase refers to Thotortaiois’s being in the courtyard of Amun rather than there being a distinctive form of Amun worshiped at the site. Whether line 20 refers to a dream was previously in dispute, but work by Ray on the language of dreams (Ray 1987) and Thissen’s unpublished work on both the Brooklyn and Krakow texts settles the matter. Originally, Malinine had tentatively read *twy* (“morning”) (Malinine 1960, 253–255), which Aksel Volten corrected to (*n*) *rsw* (“dream”) (Volten 1962, 131–132). More recently, Vleeming in his new edition restored Malinine’s original reading (Vleeming, *Short Texts* 1 135), which was in turn rejected by Hoffmann/Quack 2010, 316 and Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 199n.205 in favor of Volten’s reading, which was confirmed by Thissen (see n. 37), who discovered that the Krakow *ostrakon* also features the word for “dream” (*rswy*).

40 That Thotortaiois was engaging in incubation was concluded by Volten, in no small part because of his reading of the word “dream” in line 20, as well as “*wab*-priest” at the end of

it is unclear whether his experience indicates that there was a specific place for incubation at the sanctuary, or if Thotortaïos was one of those Egyptians who, going back to Pharaonic times, had fallen asleep near or in the presence of a god and received a dream: without comparanda it is difficult to conclude that such a sequence of events was commonplace at Karnak, or that there was at least an informal custom of sleeping in the courtyard if one needed specialized divine aid.⁴¹ Moreover, it is noteworthy that Thotortaïos did not pray specifically for Amun to cure him, but instead cryptically requested, “Let them send me to the place where they will give me medicine,” which does not read like a request for a dream-oracle.⁴² If this was a part of the sprawling temple complex in which medicine was practiced at Karnak it is unclear why he would have had to pray to be sent there. Instead, since the Krakow *ostrakon* makes clear that the dream he received sent him to Deir el-Bahari for treatment from Amenhotep, it is possible that he was seeking confirmation from Amun that he would receive relief at the other sanctuary, and thus was indeed asking for a dream-oracle; however, it is also possible that after praying for “medicine” at the hands of priests or cult officials of Amun who had medical knowledge, he came to believe that he should instead consult a divine healer, with Amenhotep

the same line (Volten 1962). Malinine, however, refused to accept either reading or that the document pertains to incubation (Malinine 1963), and he was followed in rejecting “wab-priest” by Vleeming in his edition (Vleeming, *Short Texts* 1 135), though Vleeming does not attempt to interpret the religious context one way or the other. In his unpublished work on this document Thissen accepted Volten’s reading and showed that Thotortaïos dreamed that a priest was speaking to him. (In Naether/Renberg 2010, 67n.78 it was mistakenly written—by this author—that the priest appeared in “an unpublished fragment” being edited by Thissen, but the priest in question has been concealed in the damaged final lines of the Brooklyn *ostrakon*, not another fragment.) Due to the difficulties in the text, Ray has taken an agnostic position regarding whether incubation was involved (Ray 1975, 188n.13), but others have followed Volten (Vernus 1985, 746; Depauw 2006, 309n.894; Hoffmann/Quack 2010, 316).

- 41 For “unintentional incubation,” see pp. 13–14. Another question raised by this issue is whether Thotortaïos’s special status as a temple servant enabled him to sleep in the courtyard. If the hieratic papyrus from three centuries later indicating that a priest of Amun-Re in Thebes received a dream-oracle regarding his lifespan alludes to incubation, this would further argue for this practice as an established feature of the cult of Amun at Karnak in post-Pharaonic times, although it might only indicate priestly incubation (P.Leiden T 32, col. vii, ll. 28–33 (see pp. 741–742); on priestly incubation, see Appendix IV).
- 42 In the Krakow text, by comparison, Thotortaïos specifically requests a dream-oracle (*wḥi*) from Amenhotep. (For this term, see p. 442n.127.)

being an obvious choice, and received a dream indicating this.⁴³ Either way, as the Krakow text shows, upon arriving at Deir el-Bahari Thotortaioi engaged in incubation—quite possibly at both the upper and lower shrine—and sought a dream-oracle from Amenhotep. The two Thotortaioi *ostraka* therefore combine to form one of the longest and most detailed sources for incubation in Egypt, providing a number of insights and raising new questions. Moreover, Thotortaioi's account is especially noteworthy because his name and choice of language indicate Egyptian ethnicity, and he had received a dream attributed to one Egyptian god telling him to consult another: thus this text represents further evidence either that incubation had roots in traditional Egyptian religious practices or that the Greek practice of obtaining cures through incubation was already influencing native Egyptian cults in the early Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁴

9.4 Thoth at Hermoupolis Magna

Two Demotic sources suggest that at his main sanctuary in Hermoupolis Magna Thoth could be consulted through incubation, though since one is a fictional tale and the other a fragmentary religious treatise this is not certain.⁴⁵ Preserved in an early-Roman Demotic papyrus, one of the tales of Setna Khaemwaset (“*Setna II*”) refers to the “magician” (*hr-tb*) Horus-son-of-Paneshe (*Hr s; pꜣ-nšꜣ*) sleeping in Thoth's temple at Hermoupolis Magna (Pharaonic Khemenu) and receiving a dream, and while the account is fictional it may indicate the god's propensity for communicating in this manner there.⁴⁶ Similarly, the Demotic religious text referred to as the *Book of Thoth*, which is believed to be set in Hermoupolis Magna,⁴⁷ contains in its dialogue between a figure

43 It is perhaps significant that *P.Götterbriefe* 12 (see p. 482), the letter to Amenhotep seeking his help with a fertility problem a few decades later, was sent by a cult official of Amonrasonter: in both cases, those serving Amun at Karnak knew to turn to Amenhotep for a bodily concern. Thus, as is further suggested by both Amenhotep and Imhotep being honored at Karnak with hymns (Firchow, *Urkunden* VIII, 144–145, §§212–213; see pp. 482–483n.99), there appears to have been some form of link between Karnak and Deir el-Bahari, with the latter having a prominent role as a healing sanctuary.

44 For the origins of incubation in Egypt, see Chapter 2.2.

45 For incubation in Thoth's cult at Saqqâra, see Chapter 7.5–6.

46 P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, col. v, ll. 7–15 (see p. 80n.116); trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III:146–147 (with references) and R.K. Ritner in Simpson, *Literature*, 482–483. Cited as evidence for incubation by Sauneron 1959, 43. Cf. Lloyd 2006, 85.

47 The papyri themselves are mostly from Tebtunis or Dime, or unproveniented, and this highly fragmented text cannot be wholly pieced together, though Richard Jasnow and

whose identity is unclear⁴⁸ and his disciple “The-one-who-loves-knowledge” (*mr-rḥ*) a discussion of dreams that may refer to “the place of dreaming” (*s.t rswy*), perhaps a chapel that was primarily or exclusively used for incubation.⁴⁹ Since the dialogue appears to be set in a temple’s “House of Life” (*pr-nḥ*) and concerns the disciple’s wish to be admitted for service there, it was most likely composed by and for scribes and others serving the god, and the passage appears to involve Thoth interrogating “The-one-who-loves-knowledge” over a dream he had, this “place of dreaming” quite likely would have been the site of priestly incubation at Thoth’s sanctuary.⁵⁰ In light of these and other sources, there is evidence that Thoth was a god from whom dream-oracles

Karl-Theodor Zauzich have been able to recreate much of the original in their edition of the composite text (Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*). The text has been emended and partly reinterpreted by Quack (Quack 2007a), and also translated by him based on this work (Quack 2007b), while the original editors have recently produced an annotated translation (Jasnow/Zauzich 2014, with additional bibliography at pp. 206–208) and plan a third volume supplementing the work’s 2005 edition; most recently, see Richard Jasnow, “Between Two Waters: The *Book of Thoth* and the Problem of Greco-Egyptian Interaction,” in I. Rutherford (ed.), *Greco-Roman Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE–300 CE* (Oxford, 2016), 317–356, which appeared too late for consultation. For Hermoupolis Magna as the setting, see Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, p. 1:11.

- 48 The *Book’s* editors have concluded that this figure is Thoth himself (Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, p. 1:3 *et pass.*), but Quack has challenged this, interpreting “the-one-from-Heseret”—by which the “Master” is identified—not as the god but a person, and reading frag. Bo7, 14 as a reference to the speaker as “ein Abkömmling von Kundigen des Isdes” (*i.e.* Thoth) rather than Thoth himself (Quack 2007a, 250–251; cf. Quack 2007b, 260, translating “[Der Abkömmling von] Kundigen, zugehörig zu Isdes”). More recently, Jasnow and Zauzich have stated that it is not certain that the “Master” was Thoth, since “naturally a priest may have assumed the role of Thoth or even Imhotep, the divinized seer,” but nonetheless they opt for this interpretation (Jasnow/Zauzich 2014, 18).
- 49 Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, frag. Bo6, 1/14 (with commentary at p. 1:383); the phrase appears at line 41 of the annotated translation (Jasnow/Zauzich 2014, 65). Cf. frags. Bo6, 1/12–13 and 1/13, in which a specific dream is discussed. Quack in his two treatments has rendered the passage differently and indicated that he is not confident in the original editors’ reading of “place of dreaming,” instead translating as “Ich komme zu [...] des Traums” (Quack 2007a, 252; Quack 2007b, 262). The matter of how reliable the reading is remains a matter of debate, as Jasnow maintains that the reading of *s.t rs* is strong, and thus *s.t rswy* is likely (personal communication), while Quack argues that *s.t* is possible but uncertain since little more than the house-determinative is preserved (personal communication).
- 50 As suggested by this text’s editors, the activities of “The-one-who-loves-knowledge” appear to be those of a lector-priest (*hry-hb*) (Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, p. 1:13); on such priests and their link to dream interpretation, see p. 719). On the “House of Life” in Egyptian religion, see p. 723.

could be sought at an unknown number of sites, but this evidence only points towards incubation by cult officials, not ordinary individuals.⁵¹ How significant this form of divination was in Thoth's role as an oracular god is impossible to determine, since even though there is much additional evidence for his issuing oracles at Hermoupolis Magna and other sites none of it is linked to dreams.⁵²

9.5 Psais/Shai or Hathor/Aphrodite (Possibly in the Fayoum)?

A bilingual papyrus of unknown provenience that dates to 246 BCE or 221 BCE might pertain to divinatory incubation at an unidentified sanctuary thought to have been in the Fayoum, perhaps one devoted to the worship of Hathor/Aphrodite or Shai/Psais (*P₃-Šy*).⁵³ The papyrus is unique among dream-related texts, since it features on the *recto* a letter written in Greek by a man named Ptolemaios telling his friend Achilles that he had solicited and received a dream, followed by an account of that dream written in Demotic that begins on the *recto* and continues onto the *verso*, and evidently concerned the recipient.⁵⁴ Preserved as three incomplete fragments and missing several lines,⁵⁵ neither side can be fully read, but enough survives to associate the text with dream-divination rather than an unsolicited dream:

51 For incubation by priests and cult officials in Egyptian and other cults, see Appendix IV.

52 For Thoth as an oracular god at Hermoupolis, Dakke and Thebes, see Volokhine 2004, 148–150; on Hermoupolis alone see Kessler 2010 and Nur ed-Din/Kessler 1996, 290–292. The best evidence for Thoth's oracular nature, other than the Hōr *ostraka* from Saqqāra, is the group of oracle tickets found at Hermoupolis Magna, on which see Kessler 1989, 203–207; cf. Naether 2010, 56 *et pass.* and Kessler 2011, 177–181, 226–230 *et pass.* (For an unsupported claim of incubation in the cult of Thoth at Qaṣr el-Aguz, see Appendix 1.8.5.)

53 P.Cairo CG 10313 (frag. 1), 10328 (frag. 2), 30961 (frag. 3). The Greek text was published as *Chrest. Wilck.* 50 (with emendations in *BL* 11.2, 186) and the Demotic as *P.Cair* 11 30961 + Pl. 70, but these have been replaced by the new edition in Naether/Renberg 2010 (reproduced here, with translation). The following discussion is based on that study, and thus reflects many important contributions by Franziska Naether. (Since the article's appearance, the papyrus has been discussed in Kidd 2011, 114–117, Vierros 2012, 50–51, and Prada 2013, 85–87 (responding to Kidd's treatment).)

Though reliable records do not exist, the papyrus's initial editors and other early scholars believed it to come from Gurob in the Fayoum (or an unspecified site in the Fayoum) or Pathyris (modern Gebelein), located to the south of Thebes (see Naether/Renberg, *ibid.*, 51). For the dating issues, see *ibid.*, 58–59.

54 The letter is one of a small number of personal letters employing both Greek and Demotic (see Depauw 2006, 296–297).

55 For details of the papyrus's condition, see Naether/Renberg 2010, 50–51n.11.

(frag. 1, recto) μετὰ τὸ δέξαι | (space) | Πτολεμαῖος Ἀχιλλεῖ χαίρειν | μετὰ
τὸ γράψαι σοι περὶ τοῦ | (Letter trace visible) | (1–3 additional lines miss-
ing) (frag. 2, recto) [ἔδο]ξέν [μο]ι ἡ[α]ι περὶ τοῦ | ὀράματος διασαφήσαι
σοι, | ὅπως εἰδῆς (= εἰδῆς) ὃν τρόπον | οἱ θεοὶ σε οἶδασιν. Αἰγυπτισ⁵τι δὲ
ὑπέγραψα, ὅπως | ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆς. ἡνίκα | ἡμέλλον κοιμηθῆναι, | ἔγραψα
ἐπιστόλια β', ἐν μὲν | περὶ Ταύχχιος τῆς ἐκ ¹⁰ Θερμού[θι]ος, ἐν δὲ περὶ
Τετ[ε]ῖμουθι[ο]ς τῆς Ταυήτος, ἣ ἔστιν | Πτολεμαίου θυγάτηρ, καὶ | ἐν ἔτι ἐξίω[ν]
ἔθηκα .[.].[.]. | (Several lines missing) (frag. 3, recto) (Unidentifiable letter
traces visible) | ἐπιχέου, ὃν τρόπον κάγῳ | ἡμέραν καλὴν ἡγαγον. | ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) β' Φαῶφι κς. ¹⁵ *i-ir=y nw r-hr=y n rs 'w.t' iw=w dd tw=y 'h' | r p; r; [n]
p; nty w'b iw wn w' w'b hms iw wn rmt š; | 'h' irm=f mt p; w'b n n; rmt.w iw
wn-n;w 'h' dd | [---]* (Letter traces visible, additional lines missing) (frag. 3,
verso) *mt=y [p; w]b rn=f dd p; rmt n Pa-Imn(?) nm p; y | dd=f Nb(.t)-w dy t; y
tw=s p; w; h | r-dd=w n=y hr-hr=y p; rmt n Pa-Imn(?) r-dd=f p; 'nh p; y | iw=f
dd Ta-'nh iw=s dd r-ir=y p; rmt n Pa-Imn ¹⁵ nm p; y iw=f dd Nb(.t)-w dy t; y-dd
n-im=f | p; nty-iw=f n-im=f dd shm.t t; y p; bnr n p; di.t n=y (?)* | (No letter
traces visible, additional lines missing) (frag. 2, verso) [... . . . 'r . i-ir-hr=k'
n n; i-ir(?) . . . twn(?)=k s (or, n=y?) dd | P; Šy <p; > ntr ' r; h; rn=k sw n=y(?)
n-im=s n h; t | p; shn nfr st ir-r; h; s h; h; .t-sp 2.t ibd 2 š; h; .t sw 26. (frag. 1, verso)
εἰς [Φιλ-? Θε?]αδέλφειαν, Ἀχιλλεῖ.

Greek text: After having received(?) (a letter from you, I wrote this?). Ptolemaios gives Achilles greetings. After having written you concerning the ... it also(?) seemed good to me that I should fully inform you about my dream, so that you would know in what way the gods know you. I have written below in Egyptian so that you would know precisely. When I was about to go to sleep, I wrote two short letters, the one concerning Taunchis the daughter of Thermouthis and the other concerning Teteimouthis the daughter of Taues, who is the daughter of Ptolemaios, and yet one more exiting(?) I placed ... pour a drink for [or, anoint] yourself, in which manner I too celebrated a fine day. Farewell. Year 2, Phaophi 26 [*i.e.*, December 27, 284 BCE, December 18, 246 BCE or December 11, 221 BCE].

Demotic text: I saw myself in a dream in the following way: *I am standing at the doorway of the sanctuary. A priest is sitting there, and many people are standing beside him. The priest spoke to the people who were standing there: "... I spoke [to the] aforementioned [pri]st: 'The man of Pamoun—Who is it?' He said: 'It is Nebwotis.' See, the answer which they gave me: the man of Pamoun whom he named: He is/That's life.' He says: 'Taunchis,' (and) she said to me: 'The man of Pamoun, who is it?' He said: 'Nebwotis it*

is, who has said it. The one who is there says: 'A woman it is outside giving to me(?)...'. . . .'" Psais, <the> great god, knows your name, I recognized(?) it in my heart. The good order, may it be known. Written in Year 2, Phaophi 26.

Greek text: To (Phil-? The?)adelphia, for Achilles.

It is unclear whether this document pertains to incubation or some private ritual for soliciting dreams in a manner similar to some of those found in the magical papyri.⁵⁶ The first possibility seems the more likely, though, since Ptolemaios's reference to having written two or three letters (ἐπιστόλια) has a possible parallel in Polyaratos's statement that he had written an appeal to Amenhotep before engaging in incubation at Deir el-Bahari (as well as in an unpublished Demotic *ostrakon* from the same site),⁵⁷ and suggests that these letters were functionally equivalent to the "oracle questions" submitted to cult personnel at oracular sanctuaries, as well as to "Letters to the Gods."⁵⁸ It is especially noteworthy that Ptolemaios reports having dreamed of at least

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- 56 The closest parallel in the Greek magical papyri is the instruction for writing on a fresh strip of papyrus a spell naming magical divinities and invoking them by means of magical words (*i.e.*, *voces magicae*), and including the specific requests, "Reveal to me, lords, concerning such-and-such a matter, with certainty and through memory" (χρηματίσα[τέ μοι], | κύριοι, περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος βεβαίως καὶ διὰ μνήμης) and "Lords of glory, reveal to me concerning such-and-such a matter this very night" (κύριοι δόξης, χρηματίσατέ μοι περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγμα[τος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί]), that was to be placed under a lamp before going to sleep (*PGM* VII.703–726). See Johnston (S.) 2010, 69–75, 79–80 for dream-solicitation; for additional references to dream-divination in the magical papyri, see p. 15n.39.
- 57 The papyrus vaguely indicates the contents of two letters, but the phrase ἐν ἑτ[?] ἐξίω[ν] ξηκα at the end of frag. 2, *recto* appears to refer to a third letter, one written sometime earlier, on a matter not preserved (see Naether/Renberg 2010, 56). Polyaratos: see pp. 461–465; see also next note. (The unpublished *ostrakon*, O.Brit.Mus. 41255, is being edited by Bahé (see p. 449n.7).)
- 58 For oracle questions in Egypt, see pp. 96–97n.154, and for Demotic "Letters to the Gods" see p. 464n.48. There is no parallel for the term ἐπιστόλιον being used in reference to an oracle question or petitionary letter to a god, but there is no reason why it could not have been applied to such a document, and it is similar to some of the Greek, Demotic and Coptic terms used for the slips of papyrus bearing oracle questions (see Naether/Renberg 2010, 66n.63). This papyrus was first linked to incubation by Phaidon I. Koukoules in a largely overlooked discussion (Koukoules 1912, 482), and subsequently by Wilcken, who pointed to the much later practice of submitting or sending written inquiries to the oracle of Bes (Amm. Marc. 19.12.3–4; quoted pp. 493–494) as well as other evidence from Egypt and elsewhere for written questions being submitted to oracular gods (*UPZ* I, pp. 366–367n.3,

one of the women about whom he had written a letter, which strongly suggests a link between the letter and the dream—and thus dream-divination.⁵⁹ Moreover, it is not only Ptolemaios's having to write letters that argues for a sanctuary setting, but also the evidence suggesting that soliciting dream-oracles was primarily or exclusively done in cult sites before Roman times.⁶⁰ (The unpublished Heidelberg papyrus may be evidence for dream-divination performed in a non-cultic setting, but its context remains unclear.⁶¹)

Further supporting the possibility that this papyrus pertains to incubation is the partly preserved ending of the Greek text, which features unusual language that might hint at the circumstances under which this dream was received. As has recently been argued, the final phrase "I celebrated a fine day" (ἐγὼ ἡμέραν καλὴν ἤγαγον) appears to be a translation of a common Egyptian phrase with parallels found as far back as the Middle Kingdom: *ir hrw nfr*, meaning "to spend a fine day," which always indicated a break from daily routine, and often had a connotation of celebration and festivity.⁶² In such contexts the phrase was particularly associated with not only drink and food, but also eroticism (though not necessarily the actual performance of sex acts), and it was regularly employed with this connotation in relation to festivals. Ptolemaios, whose use of this phrase suggests Egyptian ethnicity, may well have been celebrating a religious festival when he received this dream—and the reference to drinking or anointing (*i.e.*, with unguent) is certainly suggestive of drunken revelry.⁶³

predating the publication of the Polyaratos *ostrakon*, followed by Wacht 1997, 200; see Naether/Renberg, *ibid.*, 65–66).

59 It is curious that even though Ptolemaios wrote at least two letters he only reports on a single dream. This may simply be because any other dream or dreams he received did not pertain to the letter's recipient Achilles.

60 In addition to the evidence discussed elsewhere in this book, it is important to note the revelation rituals for summoning a god known as a "god's arrival" (*ph-ntr*) and the democratization of this practice in Roman times (see Ritner 1993, 99, 214–220 and Frankfurter 2000a, 180–181). For this ritual's evident association with seeing gods in a dream or vision, see *PDM Suppl.*, pp. 90–91 and Moyer 2003, 48–49; see also Moyer 2011, 252–253 and Ritner 1995, 3356–3358. (These studies do not include a fragment published in 2006 and dating c. 100 CE from one of the Petese tales, in which an unidentified woman is consulted by a man, possibly the pharaoh, and after invoking the goddess Neith engages in a "god's arrival" that night (P.Petese D, frag. 2, ll. 1–3; see P.Petese II, pp. 108–110).)

61 P.Heidelberg Dem. 5; see p. 75.

62 See Naether/Renberg 2010, 59–62 *et pass.*, and more recently Gregersen 2015.

63 Ptolemaios's use of ἐπιχέου has been viewed as an instruction that Achilles be the one to engage in such an activity, but it is also possible to read this imperative as part of an incomplete quotation from a dream or actual conversation with a religious authority in which Ptolemaios himself was instructed to drink or anoint himself, which he did before

There is significant evidence that at least some festivals, most notably Hathor's Feast of Drunkenness, were considered by the Egyptians to be particularly auspicious occasions for seeking divine dreams.⁶⁴ Therefore, even though the rest of the sentence is lost, it appears likely that Ptolemaios had been celebrating some sort of multi-day festival, and that he spent a night during that period seeking dream-oracles at an unidentified sanctuary. This sanctuary is unlikely to have belonged to Shai/Psais, the one divinity named in the text, since he was an abstract manifestation of divine will or fate and normally was worshiped at other gods' cult sites rather than his own.⁶⁵ Among the divinities with whom Shai/Psais was most commonly associated was Hathor—Aphrodite, according to the *interpretatio graeca*—and thus it is tempting to associate Ptolemaios's letter with one of her festivals.⁶⁶ This could explain why Ptolemaios had made a reference to some form of revelry, used a phrase commonly associated with

he “celebrated a fine day” (see Naether/Renberg 2010, 61). Of possible relevance is a recently published Demotic text pertaining to this sort of revelry in the cult of the goddess Mut, which includes anointing oneself as part of a series of imperatives concerning the celebration (PSI Inv. 3056, *verso* + Inv. D 103a, *verso*, col. x+3, l. 4, eds. Jasnow/Smith 2010/11, with discussion at pp. 32–33). Thus Ptolemaios's likely incubation session may have ended with a priest or cult official recommending that he join or rejoin the celebrations, or else he dreamed that he was told to do so. (Priests themselves were by no means above the pleasures of alcohol and myrrh when celebrating a “fine day,” as can be seen in one 22nd-Dynasty inscribed statue of a priest stating, “Never did I forget the beautiful day (*hrw nfr*) when I commemorated those who rest in their tombs. Even more did I ‘sit relaxing’ and did I ‘go through the marshes’ in what I did, being drunk with wine and beer, anointed with myrrh” (Cairo CG 42231; trans. Depauw/Smith 2004, 86).)

64 See Appendix xv.

65 See Naether/Renberg 2010, 61–62; Quaegebeur 1975a remains the standard study of Shai/Psais. As a divinity associated with divine will and fate, Shai/Psais was often equated with the Greek Agathodaimon or Tyche. Though purely abstract originally, in Ptolemaic times Shai/Psais came to be viewed as a creator god and protector, and began to receive worship on a small scale at a few local sites dedicated to him rather than another divinity—making it possible for Ptolemaios to have been at a cult site of this god. Still, if the dream was thought to have been sent by Shai/Psais it need not have been received at such a site, since as the Hōr Archive shows it was possible to obtain a dream from one divinity at another's sanctuary—and this would be all the more likely in the case of a divinity who primarily was worshiped at sites devoted to others.

66 A possible parallel might be found in the papyrus indicating that a priest named Harsiesis had envisioned Amun-Re during a festival of Hathor (P.Leiden T 32, col. vii, ll. 28–33; see pp. 741–742). If Wilhelm Spiegelberg, the original editor of the Demotic text in Ptolemaios's letter, was correct in assigning the papyrus to Gebelein there would be a greater chance of a link to Hathor due to the prominence of her cult there (see Morenz 2009; cf. Wildung 1977b), but this provenience is too uncertain.

drunken and licentious celebrations, and mentioned Shaï/Psais. However, though possible, such an interpretation is far from certain, since *hrw nfr* was an expression with a wide range of uses and did not necessarily have to have a religious connotation, let alone one pertaining to a festival at which Ptolemaios and other worshipers might engage in such activities. Therefore, while the letter can be plausibly linked to incubation, the cult site and religious context are both too uncertain to be anything other than matters for speculation.

9.6 Osormnevis at Heliopolis?

The reference made by Ḥor of Sebennytyos to receiving a dream while at the sanctuary of Osormnevis (*i.e.* Osiris-Mnevis) in Heliopolis likely raises the possibility that this was yet another site at which incubation could be practiced, though the matter is uncertain:

[*ḥr ir-ī(?) pꜣ snt (n) ir*] *nꜣ hrw (n) tꜣ w'bt (n) | Wsīr Mr-Wr (n) Twnw pꜣy:s smt tꜣ w'bt (n) Wsīr-Ḥp (n) Mn-nfr. . . | īw-ī īy (n) Twnw ꜣbd-ꜣ ꜣḥt ḥn [tꜣ] w'bt Wsīr Mr-Wr dd-w n-ī (n) rswt (r) dīt nꜣy (n) sh ī-ḥr nꜣ rmtw ꜣy.*⁶⁷

[I observed the habit of spending] (my) days at the embalming workshop (*wabet*) of Osormnevis at Heliopolis(?), and likewise the embalming workshop of Osorapis at Memphis. . . . When I came to Heliopolis in Khoiak [day . . .], within the embalming workshop of Osormnevis I was told (in) a dream to put this (in) writing before the great men.

Linked to the Heliopolitan bull god Mnevis in the same manner that Osorapis was to the Memphite bull god Apis, the worship of Osormnevis likewise must have been centered in the area of sacred bull catacombs, and Ḥor's use of the term *wabet* (*w'bt*), which often referred to the part of a temple complex associated with the mummification and entombment of sacred animals (though it had broader uses as well within a sanctuary), indicates that he was for some

67 *O.Hor* 1, ll. 1–2, 5; I have modified Ray's translation to reflect Ḥor's use of *wabet* (which Ray generically translates as "sanctuary," discussing this at *O.Hor*, p. 12n.c) and that the preposition *ḥn* ("within") is visible (according to a personal communication from Heinz-Josef Thissen). Heliopolis and its cult of Osormnevis have been omitted from previous lists of known and likely incubation sites. On Ḥor, see Chapter 7.1.

reason spending time worshipping or serving the divinized bulls rather than the living Mnevis bull.⁶⁸

While it is clear that Ḥor received his dream within the sanctuary, he does not state whether he had solicited a dream-oracle, and thus this text is not clear evidence for incubation at the Heliopolis site. Even if he did indeed seek the dream, the fact that he received it at the embalming workshop suggests that he had engaged in a practice not available to ordinary worshipers.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the precise nature of the structure where this occurred is not known, and it is possible that he was inside a small shrine near the entrance to the catacombs—parallels for which are known at Saqqâra⁷⁰—but it is also possible that he was merely resting in an area not devoted to ritual sleep, when non-ritual sleep stole over him. Regardless of these problems, the fact that during his years of service Ḥor repeatedly engaged in incubation at Saqqâra's Sacred Animal Necropolises strongly suggests that while serving at the one devoted to the divinized Mnevis bulls he had reason to seek a dream from Osorapis's Heliopolitan counterpart in a similar manner—a conclusion supported by the fact that at Saqqâra Ḥor is known on one occasion to have invoked both gods for a dream-oracle.⁷¹

9.7 Miysis at Leontopolis?

A newly published Demotic tale called *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihtyan*, a work most likely composed during the Ptolemaic Period but set during the seventh-century BCE reign of this king of the Delta city of Natho (later Leontopolis), features two incubation episodes at the temple of the lion-god Miysis, the first involving Wenamun himself, which when combined with a Greek source suggests that incubation was practiced there in real life as well.⁷² Only the first of these episodes is sufficiently preserved for sense to be made of it:

68 See Coppens 2007 for the *wabet* in Greco-Roman times; see also CDD, s.v. “(w’b(.t))” and Konrad 2006, 211–219. On Mnevis and Osormnevis, see Otto 1938, 34–40 and Kákosy 1982a; cf. Helck 1986a and O.Hor, p. 12n.d. For the close association of Osormnevis and Osorapis in Ptolemaic times, see pp. 405–406n.32.

69 For priestly incubation, see Appendix IV. See the next section for a Demotic tale in which a king possibly sleeps in a *wabet*-like space at Leontopolis's lion temple.

70 See pp. 435, 588.

71 O.Hor 13 (quoted p. 622).

72 P.Carlsberg 459 + PSI Inv. D 51, ed. Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 35–72. See *ibid.*, pp. 53–54 on Wenamun I and Natho, and p. 64 for the composition's likely date. For the

^rnzy¹ [dr]=w hpr r pz pr-š Wn-nzw-Imn n Na-tš-^rhw.t¹ | [---] by ^rdd¹ pz
 ššt dd=w n=f wn [pzy]^r=n nb¹ š¹ bn-ⁱw¹ ^rWsir¹ by Šw pzy n pz š¹ [št (?) --- / ---]
^rir¹=y ^rdi=w¹ . [.] . . . ir ^rk¹ [l¹ l¹ wtn m-bšh¹ ^rpz ntr¹ ^riw¹=f r dd ^rn=k¹ wšh¹ r
 pz mš mtw=n | [--- sb] ty r ^rhw.t¹-ntr [n] Mzy-^hs [ir=f] ^rkl¹ wtn [m-bšh¹] Mzy-^hs
 sdr=f n=f n pzy | [grh n rn=f i. ir=f pz ly r-r=f n rswy --- / --- pz ntr dy n ^rKm¹ [y]
 [. . . NN hn tš] ^rrsw¹ y r nzy nzw-nw=f r-r=w.⁷³

While [all] these things happened, pharaoh Wenamun of Natho [--] soul said the wrapping room. They said to him: There is, our great lord! Verily (?), Osiris, he is the soul of Shu of the wrapping room (?) [---] I made. They let [.] make burnt offering and libation before the god, he will tell you the answer about the expedition which we [--- pre]paration for the temple [of] Miysis. [He made] burnt offering and libation [before] Miysis. He slept in this very [night. He saw himself in a dream --- / --- the god here in Egypt [NN awoke from the] dream, these being the things that he had seen.

Making a rare reference to the rituals preceding incubation at an Egyptian site, the passage clearly shows that the king had spent the night in some part of the temple of Miysis in the hope of receiving a dream to counsel him regarding the expedition he subsequently mounted against the Kingdom of Lihyān for a purpose that is not preserved.⁷⁴ While such episodes in a work of fiction would not alone be sufficient reason to conclude that incubation was practiced at this

cult of Miysis, see Bernand 1990 and Clarysse/Yan 2007; cf. Žabkar 1982. (For dreams in other Demotic tales, see pp. 84–85.)

73 *Wenamun*, frag. 1, col. i, ll. 15–19 (trans. Ryholt); see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 59–60. The part of the papyrus fragment preserving the other incubation episode and its aftermath is very badly damaged, but it appears to have involved another character, and since the dream included the phrase “gold for a son” and later in the passage there are references to a “feast with a young [girl (or servant?)],” “liquid of conception,” and “birth bricks” it is possible, as Ryholt suggests (*ibid.*, pp. 60–61), that the dream was one of those in which a god, perhaps asked for help procreating, had predicted and helped ensure the birth of a child (frag. 1, col. ii, ll. 18–21 (incubation), 27–29 (conception and birth); for incubation linked to fertility, see Appendix III).

74 The passage does not appear to have stated where the king would have slept, but since the preceding discussion evidently associates the god Shu with the ššt—a term translated by Ryholt as “wrapping room” but also translatable as “embalming room” and thus comparable to a *wabet* (Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 42, 59)—it is possible that he slept in this area, which would have been part of the embalming house. For the rarity of such references to pre-incubatory rituals in the Demotic tales, see p. 17n.46.

temple, a passage in Aelian's *On the Nature of Animals* may represent further evidence, although it is problematic.⁷⁵ According to Aelian,

οἱ τὴν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντες Ἡλιούπολιν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφυλαίοις τούσδε τρέφουσι τοὺς λέοντας, θειοτέρας τινὸς μοίρας ὡς Αἰγύπτιοί φασι μετεिल्χότας. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ ὄναρ οἷσπερ οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἴλεως ἐπιστάντες προθεσπίζουσί τινα, καὶ τοὺς ἐπίορκον ὁμόσαντας οὐκ εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλὰ ἤδη δικαιοῦσι, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν δικαίαν αὐτοῖς καταπνέοντος.⁷⁶

Those inhabiting great Heliopolis keep lions in the entranceway of the god's sanctuary, sharing somewhat in the divine lot, according to the Egyptians. And indeed, therefore, standing in a dream beside those to whom the god is propitious they prophesy on certain matters, and those who swear falsely they punish not after a delay but immediately, as the god fills them with just anger.

A reference to sacred lions at Heliopolis is unexpected, which raises the possibility that Aelian's information regarding lions appearing in dreams might pertain instead to Leontopolis—the “City of Lions”—and its cult of the lion-god Miysis just a few kilometers away, which Aelian refers to earlier in this section.⁷⁷

75 Similarly problematic is another passage in this work, in which Aelian states that “The Egyptians say that the falcon while still living and going about is a bird dear to the gods, but when it has departed its life it both produces oracles and sends dreams, stripped of its body and its soul having become bare” (λέγουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν ἱέρακα ζῶντα μὲν καὶ ἔτι περιόντα θεοφιλὴ ὄρνιν εἶναι, τοῦ βίου δὲ ἀπελθόντα καὶ μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ὀνείρατα ἐπιπέμπειν, ἀποδυσάμενον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν γεγεννημένον γυμνὴν), which may be a reference to a general belief about falcons living in Egypt, but is more likely to be a distorted reference to falcon worship in the cult of Horus and the belief that the divinized sacred falcons entombed in catacombs at Saqqâra and elsewhere could be consulted for both oracles and dream-oracles (Ael., *NA* 11.39).

76 Ael., *NA* 12.7. Citing this source, Theodor Hopfner claimed that at the “lion temple” in Heliopolis—not Leontopolis—incubation was practiced (Hopfner, *oz* 1, §461), and was followed in this by Wacht (Wacht 1997, 207). (I am grateful to Joachim F. Quack and Franziska Naether for their thoughts on the issues associated with this passage.)

77 Aelian is regrettably vague in the first part of this brief discourse on Egyptian lions, since at the very beginning he states that “In Egypt they worship lions, and have named a city for them; and it is worth discussing the unusual characteristics of the lions there” (λέοντας μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σέβουσι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν κέκληται πόλις· καὶ τὰ ἴδια γε τῶν ἐκεῖ λεόντων εἰπεῖν ἄξιον), language which leaves open whether he is referring to the “unusual characteristics” of sacred lions' lives throughout Egypt, or just in the city named for them. If what immediately follows is a description of how lions were treated at Leontopolis then it

However, since Shu and Tefnut, both prominent at Heliopolis because of their association with Ra, were sometimes represented as lions, as was the important Heliopolitan god Atum, and since lion cults are also known at Saqqâra and other sites not associated with Miysis, it cannot be ruled out that Heliopolis's inhabitants did dream of lions, even though none of these three gods is linked to oracles or dreams.⁷⁸ Even if Aelian was indeed referring to Leontopolis in the quoted passage, due to its ambiguity this alone would not be evidence for incubation there: while it could allude to worshipers engaging in the practice and envisioning either Osirified (*i.e.*, divinized) sacred lions or living sacred lions thought to symbolize the god, the passage instead could simply indicate that the inhabitants were famously prone to dream of the animals associated with their city's chief god, and not necessarily at his temple. But if Aelian had in mind Atum, Shu or Tefnut rather than lions of Miysis, or even if none of the dreams alluded to were oracular, when combined with the fragments of *King Wenamun* this evidence for dreams relating to lions makes it more likely that the cult of the divinized lions at Leontopolis, as may have been the case for the cult of the divinized Osormnevis bulls at nearby Heliopolis and perhaps also cults of other divinized animals at Saqqâra and elsewhere, was linked to divinatory incubation.⁷⁹

9.8 Antinous

While the majority of Egyptian sanctuaries offering dream-oracles began doing so in the time of the Ptolemies, the unlikely transformation of Hadrian's youthful companion Antinous into a god who purportedly healed through therapeutic dreams and possibly gave oracles through the same medium shows that the spread of this practice did not stop during the Roman Period.⁸⁰ The clearest

would be less likely for Aelian to have confused that city's lions with those of Heliopolis; but, if ἐκεῖ is referring to all of Egypt, as seems more likely, then it is easier to entertain the possibility that Aelian did indeed have Leontopolis in mind rather than Heliopolis.

78 For the other lion cults in Egypt, see Clarysse/Yan 2007, 95–96n.7; for Atum as a lion, see de Wit 1978, 195–198.

79 If the incomplete passage discussed in n. 73 did indeed feature an episode involving fertility-related incubation then one could infer that therapeutic incubation was also practiced at the sanctuary, since fertility incubation appears to have been a form of therapeutic incubation, but even if the text were fully intact and did preserve such an episode it would not be proof, because of the fictional nature of the narrative.

80 I have discussed the death of Antinous, origins of his cult, and numerous associated issues in Renberg 2010c, but here am focusing more on the issues related directly to Antinous

evidence for this—and only source for Antinous issuing therapeutic dreams—is to be found in a hieroglyphic obelisk text once prominently displayed in Rome, but almost certainly originating at the undiscovered tomb and cult center of Antinous in Antinoopolis, the city “which Hadrian established in honor of the youth Antinous” (*quam Hadrianus in honorem Antinoi ephebi condidit sui*).⁸¹ According to a passage inscribed on the Monte Pincio obelisk, Antinous, who famously died under mysterious circumstances as the emperor sailed on the Nile River in 130 CE and was subsequently pronounced a divinity,⁸² was

and incubation. The reader may wish to consult that article for the arguments behind some of my conclusions regarding Antinous's worship that are found below, as well as for bibliography. (Studies of note regarding Antinous that either are not included in that article or were published subsequently include: Galli 2007; Mari 2008; Capriotti Vittozzi 2009; Parlasca 2009; Šašel Kos 2009; Jost/Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2010, 303–305; Bendlin 2011; Graefe 2012; Versluys 2012; Tsiolis 2016; and the articles collected in Sapelli Ragni 2012; cf. Grenier 2012. In addition, new evidence for Antinous's association with Osiris has been adduced from an Abydos funerary stele by Georges Nachtergaele (Nachtergaele 2010, 54, No. 2 (= *SEG* 60, 1775, No. 2), reinterpreting Abdalla, *Funerary Stelae* 57), while the question of whether a well-known curse tablet from Antinoopolis that calls upon the corpse-spirit of an “Antinoos” (*SupplMag* 1 47) refers to *this* Antinous, a possibility viewed skeptically in Renberg, *ibid.*, 182n.85 because of the name's relative frequency, has been revisited in Németh 2012, 151–152, which dabbles in some unrealistic speculation, including that the tablet was deposited in the famous Antinous's tomb, while favoring this identification.)

- 81 Quoting Amm. Marc. 22.16.2. See Renberg 2010c, 181–191 *et pass.* on the obelisk's origins and reasons to assign Antinous's tomb to Antinoopolis, and *ibid.*, 174–175n.57 for studies of the obelisk itself and its date, which was no earlier than late-130 CE and no later than 136 CE. Grimm, *Obelisk* and Grenier 2008 present editions of the text (the former providing complete facsimiles and photographs as well); see also Kessler 1994 for an important commentary published with Grimm's text, and most recently Graefe 2012, 221–230, differing in certain important respects regarding a crucial passage.
- 82 The primary ancient sources for the drowning and deification are Cass. Dio 69.11.2–4, SHA, *Hadr.* 14.5–7, and Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 14.6–7. The matter of Antinous's divinity is one of some ambiguity and complexity. The obelisk, our sole source on the cult that is written in Egyptian, appears to refer to Antinous as a *h̥sy*, a term meaning “glorified” that was applied to deceased individuals who became minor divinities, but at one point instead refers to him as a *n̥tr* (“god”). As the text was written for a monument that was to stand before Antinous's tomb, he is identified throughout it not as “Antinous” but as “Osirantinous” (*i.e.*, Osiris-Antinous), which corresponds to the belief in deceased figures—or sacred animals such as the Apis bulls buried in the Saqqâra catacombs (see pp. 394–396), or those discussed earlier in this chapter—becoming divinized as a form of Osiris. Thus in this important work of cult propaganda, the composition of which is thought to have involved Hadrian himself (see below), Antinous is clearly shown to be the subject of a funerary cult, but there is some ambiguity regarding whether he was merely a divinized mortal or

said to listen to prayers of the sick uttered at unspecified sanctuaries throughout Egypt and to respond by curing them through their dreams:

*šm-n=f m išt=f iw gs[w-prw ‘šz]w n t3 dr=f hr (dd) sdm-n=f nh(t) nt(y) ‘š n=f
snb-n=f m hr iwtyw m h3b n=f rs.wt.*⁸³

He has gone out from his tomb (lit. ‘mound) to the [numerous] tem[ple]s of the entire land, saying that he has heard the appeals of those who invoke him and he has healed the sickness of the needy one by sending a dream to him.

The extent to which this claim on Antinous’s funerary marker accurately reflects the beliefs of Egypt’s population must be in doubt, especially in terms of the extent to which those visiting temples other than his Antinoopolis cult center tended to dream of him—after all, its text is believed to have been at least partly composed by Hadrian himself and was almost certainly approved

a god. (For the Egyptian aspects of Antinous’s divinization, see Renberg 2010c, 174–176, 177; for the *h3y* phenomenon, see Quaegebeur 1977a and Wagner 1998, and Renberg, *ibid.*, 165n.24, 174n.56 with additional references (to which should be added Martin (C.) 1994, 206, in his discussion of Espemet (see Appendix 1.8.6); for Osirification of humans in general, see Smith (M.) 2006).) Beyond Egypt, a broad range of literary, epigraphical and numismatic sources reveal Antinous to have been worshiped as a hero or god, and this appears to have varied from city to city, though in his own native Bithynion there are coin issues honoring him as hero and others as god (see Jones 2010, 75–83 and Renberg, *ibid.*, 171–172n.47). Thus Antinous was clearly treated as divine, but the nature of his divinity was not universally perceived the same way, sometimes even in the same city.

- 83 Grimm, *Obelisk* §111c (with commentary); see Renberg 2010c, 176–177, though the text and translation used there, already modified from Grimm’s edition, has been further modified here, restoring the writing of the preposition *r* as *iw* in the text (for this phenomenon in late writing, see *Wb* 11:386, 6), reading *hr* as an abbreviation for *hr dd* (parallels for which can be found in *Wb* 111:132, 24), and reading *iwtyw* as “the needy one” rather than “the needy poor” due to the presence of the singular suffix *=f* as well as the writing of the word itself. (I am grateful to Joachim F. Quack for these readings and to Franziska Naether and Terry Wilfong for helping me both to understand the passage’s textual issues and to settle on the optimal treatment.) The reference to healing “the sickness of the needy one” echoes a common theme in Egyptian autobiographical inscriptions and shows the god’s benevolence, particularly to those who might not have been able to afford doctors. (For a possible parallel in Greek religion, though one stripped of its context because it survives only in a short fragment, see Aelian’s statement that “Asklepios may heal Pauson, Iros and any other without financial means” (ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς Πάυσωνα καὶ Ἴρον καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἀπόρων ἰάσεται) (Ael., frag. 103, ed. Domingo-Forasté).)

by him, and thus undoubtedly exaggerated Antinous's overnight importance to his Egyptian subjects.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, later evidence shows that Antinous did have an oracular shrine, which would have functioned in a manner similar to those of Sarapis, Bes and other gods whose advice was sought by worshipers through both dreams and other media. Of special note is Origen's comparison of Antinous's activities at his Antinoopolis temple with those of other divinities at sites where the Egyptians had established the worship of "demons oracular or health-giving in nature" (δαίμονας μαντικούς ἢ ἱατρικούς), as well as his reference to the god's "so-called oracles" (δοκοῦσαι μαντεῖαι), which may well allude to incubation.⁸⁵ Further potential evidence for his

84 Philippe Derchain and Anthony R. Birley have both suggested, not without reason, that Hadrian may have been directly involved in the process of composing the text (Derchain 1991, 110 and Birley 1997, 255; see also Renberg 2010c, 178). Antinous's establishment as both an oracular god and healing god also appears to have been the emperor's doing but was not a unique event in Egyptian history. Like Antinous, both Imhotep and Amenhotep when they lived were prominent members of the royal court, though they served in a different (and more respectable) capacity from their unfortunate junior colleague: thus the story of a monarch's close associate posthumously becoming an oracular god with healing skills had well-established antecedents in Egypt (see Chaps. 7.4 and 8). Indeed, the survival of a Demotic *Life of Imhotep* shows that in Roman times inhabitants of Egypt were still well aware of Imhotep's origins as a royal official, even if this fictional narrative was far from a reliable biography (P.Carlsberg 85; see p. 423n.77). But whereas it apparently took centuries for these two Egyptian gods to gain widespread fame for their oracles and healing powers, Antinous became an oracular god and healer in the immediate aftermath of his death, evidently with encouragement from Hadrian.

In contrast to Imhotep and Amenhotep, other Egyptian royal and local officials who were later divinized—some of whom are known from as far back as the Old Kingdom, and would have been forgotten by Greco-Roman times (see Martin-Pardey 1986)—appear not to have gained oracular powers in the process (or, at least, this aspect of their cult was not recorded in surviving documents). This is also true of a more relevant parallel than Hekaib, Kagemni and other such long-forgotten divinized figures: Bilistiche, the mistress of Ptolemy II, who dedicated sanctuaries to her, and whom he associated with Aphrodite, which shows a Ptolemaic precedent for a ruler divinizing his lover (*ProsPtol* VI 14717; see Kosmetatou 2004 and Ogden 2008, 367). As the post-mortem worship of such individuals shows, Antinous's divinization would not have raised eyebrows among the Egyptians—but this does not mean that they would have flocked to his temple for dreams as much as the obelisk text claims. (For divinized mortals in Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Egypt, see Alexandra von Lieven, *Heiligenkult und Vergöttlichung im Alten Ägypten* (Habilitationsschrift Freie Universität Berlin, 2007), in preparation for publication. I am grateful to von Lieven for her thoughts on the issues discussed here.)

85 Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.36. For an unreliable claim that priests at this temple would utter oracles through a statue, see p. 599.

oracular function is to be found in other sources, though these could suggest a divinatory medium other than dreams: the obelisk's north side features a scene of the divinized Antinous facing Amun and the accompanying text reveals that the latter is giving the new god the power to issue oracles (*shr*),⁸⁶ while both Eusebius and Jerome echo the second-century chronicler Hegesippos in associating *prophētai* with Antinous's cult, presumably at Antinoopolis.⁸⁷ Since the evidence from Egypt and elsewhere shows that the divine Antinous continued to be honored well after Hadrian's death—though probably not as late as the fourth and fifth centuries CE, when Christian polemicists were still criticizing his worship⁸⁸—he may well have been among the last gods

86 See Grenier 2008, 19; cf. Kessler 1994, 134. (This part of the obelisk text is omitted from the edition in Grimm, *Obelisk*.)

87 Eusebius: *Hist. eccl.* 4.8.2. Jerome: *De vir. ill.* 22; cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Esaiam* 1.2.5/6, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 73, p. 32 (= *PL* 24, 47C–48A), on Hadrian establishing a temple of Antinous along with sacrifices and a priesthood, in reference to Antinoopolis. Two other texts, a Greek inscription from Rome in which Antinous's name has been restored (*IGUR* 1 98; see below) and a passage in the Monte Pincio obelisk (Grimm, *Obelisk* §1va (= §1b, ed. Grenier 2008)), have also been cited as evidence for “prophets” in the cult of Antinous, but these are both problematic (see Renberg 2010c, 178n.73).

88 The Christian writers whose comments indicate directly or indirectly that the cult of Antinous was still active in their time were: Justin Martyr, *1Apol.* 29.4 (c. 151–155 CE; quoted in Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* 4.8.3); Hegesippos *apud* Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* 4.8.2 and Jerome: *De vir. ill.* 22 (second century CE); Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.49.1–3 (c. 200 CE); Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.36 (c. 249 CE); Athan., *C. Gentes* 9 (written sometime between 318 CE and the late 350's); and Epiphanius, *De Fide* 12, 3 (376 CE), with a criticism of Antinous's divinization in *Ancoratus* 106.8–9, pp. 129–130, ed. Holl (c. 374 CE). The Christian polemicists who do not state that the cult had survived to their time, but instead cite Antinous's divinization as proof of paganism's flaws, include: Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 10.2 (after 150 CE), making a claim regarding Antinous's having a lunar shrine (one with an odd echo in a poem written in Antinous's honor c. 285 CE that mentions the moon goddess making him her husband (*P.Oxy* LXIII 4352, frag. 5, col. ii, ll. 1–17)); Tert., *Ad nat.* 2.10.11 (early third century CE); Prudentius, *C. Symm.* 1.271–277 (early-fifth cent. CE); Theodoret, *Affect.* 8.28 (early-fifth cent. CE). To these can be added the apologist Athenagoras's relatively neutral comment regarding the divinization of Antinous, written around 177 CE (Athenag., *Leg.* 30.2). (See also Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1991, which compares Antinous's inclusion on *contorniates* in Late Antiquity to that of Apollonius of Tyana and Apuleius, noting that he was also a target for Christian polemicists while concluding that these artifacts point to continued reverence for the god Antinous and his reputation for working miracles; but see now Cameron 2011, 691–698 (with reference to Antinous at p. 696), arguing convincingly against the theory that *contorniates* were pro-pagan religious propaganda.)

to be issuing oracles in Egypt.⁸⁹ Even if this was not so, and his oracular abilities were no longer being sought during Late Antiquity, he was certainly the last new oracular god to gain prominence in Egypt. Overall, then, Antinous appears to have been linked to therapeutic incubation in his cult's earliest days—if the obelisk text that is thought to have been composed with Hadrian's involvement is to be trusted—and later was issuing oracles through some medium that involved cult officials (perhaps the aforementioned *prophētai*), apparently putting him in the small group of gods who issued both dream-oracles and conventional oracles. This only can be shown to have occurred at Antinoopolis, and even though the god was worshiped elsewhere in Egypt,⁹⁰ had several cult sites of his own in the Mediterranean world beyond Egypt,⁹¹

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- 89 Documentary evidence for Antinous's post-Hadrianic worship in Egypt consists of: a dedication of a statue to Antinous *Epiphanes* erected at Antinoopolis by the *epistrategos* of the Thebaid sometime around CE (*I.Portes* 2 (= *IGRR* I 1141 = *OGIS* II 700)); a dedication from Canopus dating c. 185–187 CE by sacred victors in the *Antinoeia* games (*I.Delta* I, 241–242, No. 13); an Oxyrhynchus papyrus from the late-second or early-third century providing a calendar of cult offerings that includes the date for celebrating Antinous's divinization (*P.Oxy* XXXI 2553, frag. 1, ll. 1–3); a papyrus petition from 207 CE referring to the temple of Antinous (*Antinoeion*) in Antinoopolis (*P.Oxy* XVII 2131, ll. 4–5); documents from Antinoopolis dating to 203 CE and 212 CE that refer to *Antinoeia* (*PSI* III 199, l. 8; *P.Lond* III 1164*(i)*, l. 14); a lengthy ephebic inscription from Leontopolis recording the *Antinoeia* games (referred to as *ισαντινόςιον ἀγών*) in 220 CE (*SEG* 51, 2159); a papyrus from the third century referring to an *Antinoeion* at Hermoupolis Magna, a city in the immediate vicinity of Antinoopolis and the site of Antinous's death (*SB* x 10299, l. 173); a third-century private letter from Tebtunis making brief reference to the *Antinoeia* (*P.Tebt* II 592); and, possibly an incomplete inscription from Latopolis thought by Jean Bingen to pertain to the cult and dating sometime after Antinous's death (*I.ThSy* 12 (= *SB* I 1525); see Bingen 1990). See Meyer 1991, 193–194 for a brief discussion of these sources. (Antinous also was the subject of poems preserved in literary papyri, though these are not necessarily evidence of his cult: an “Encomium of Hermes and Antinous” dating to the third or fourth century CE that is quite possibly preserved in the poet's own hand (*P.Oxy* L 3537, *verso*), and the fragment pertaining to the Moon marrying Antinous (*P.Oxy* LXIII 4352; see previous note).)
- 90 Other than the seat of his cult at Antinoopolis, nearby Hermoupolis Magna is the only Egyptian city known to have had an *Antinoeion*, though interest in his worship was certainly more widespread.
- 91 Beyond Egypt, just three or four temples of Antinous are known from literary or epigraphical sources: a *naos* at Mantinea (the mother-city of his native Bithynion), where three inscriptions also attest his role as a god (Paus. 8.9.7–8; for the inscriptions, see Meyer 1991, 262; cf. Renberg 2010c, 171–171n.47, 173n.51, 173n.54, 176n.62 *et pass.*); a temple of the *cultores Dianae et Antinoi* at Lanuvium (*ILS* 7212; see Bendlin 2011 and Laubry/Zevi 2010, 464 *et pass.*); a temple architrave from Carnuntum that has been restored so as to identify it as

and (as at Rome) shared the cult sites of other gods at numerous other sites,⁹² his oracular nature appears to have been limited to the site of his burial in Antinoopolis,⁹³ and his healing prowess to have been similarly limited.⁹⁴

dedicated to [*Anti*]noo (AE 1994, 1396; see Šašel Kos 2009, 210); and, a temple with a cult statue of Antinous as Apollo or Dionysos at the villa of Herodes Atticus (see Spyropoulos 2006, 130–131, 153–159, 214–220). In addition, architectural remains as well as inscriptions found at Bithynion suggest a temple (see Equini Schneider 1987; Meyer, *ibid.*, 198n.32, 261; Schorndorfer 1997, 140–141, Cat. No. 7; and Goukowsky 2002), albeit one quite likely shared with Hadrian (see Nollé 2004, 474). However, it should not be automatically concluded that there was also a temple of Antinous in Municipium Dardanorum (modern Sočanica) in Moesia Superior based on the restoration of the word *aedem* in a fragmentary dedicatory plaque for “Antinous the hero” (*Antinoo he[ro]*) found in a temple on the forum, since as originally pointed out in AE 1972, 500 a restoration of *statuam* is no less plausible (AE 2009, 1188 (= *ILJug* 11 501); see Šašel Kos 2009, 207–208; cf. Meyer, *ibid.*, 196–197). For a discussion and topographical listings of the sites at which coins, inscriptions, busts and other remains attesting to the worship or veneration of Antinous have been found, see Meyer, *ibid.*, 188–211, 251–253, 261–262. (To Meyer’s list of inscriptions should be added an inscribed epigram from Thespiai addressed by Hadrian to Eros but recently shown to be intended for Antinous in the guise of Eros (*IG* VII 1828 (= *I.Thespies* 270), reinterpreted in Goukowsky, *ibid.*; cf. Renberg, *ibid.*, 170n.42 and *EBGR* 2004, 102), and a silver cup from Harmozike in modern Georgia with traces of a portrait bust of the god (*SEG* 59, 1637, No. 1).)

- 92 A dedicatory inscription from the Via Portuensis, the road from Rome to Porto, honors Antinous as “enthroned beside the gods of Egypt” (Ἀντινόωι | συνθρόνῳ | τῶν ἐν Αἰγύ[πτῳ] θεῶν) | [---] (*IGPortus* 6 (= *RICIS* 503/1203)), and the restoration of Antinous’s name in the dedication from Rome itself by a *prophētēs* is based on the presence of the same phrase ([Ἀντινόωι] | συνθρόνῳ | τῶν | ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεῶν | Μ(άρκος) Οὐλπίος Ἀπολλώνιος | προφήτης) (*IGUR* I 98 (= *RICIS* 501/0117)).
- 93 That Antinous cannot be shown to have had an oracle anywhere other than Antinoopolis was previously recognized by Kuhlmann (P.) 2002, 201.
- 94 It is possible that the dedicatory text accompanying an inscribed hymn to Antinous from Kourion that appears to have been composed within a year of his death originally credited the new divinity with a healing miracle, but this depends on a restoration of [--- ὑγια]σθεῖς ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ] rather than its original editor’s [--- χαρι]σθεῖς? ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ], or any of the other options for the letters -ΣΘΕΙΣ not yet proposed (*IKourion* 104, cf. *SEG* 53, 1747bis, l. 4; see also Lebek 1973, 113, who justifiably leaves the word unrestored in his edition). Other than this potential but flimsy evidence there is no sign of Antinous healing worshippers outside of Egypt.

Where Dreams May Come

Volume II

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Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World

VOLUME II

By

Gil H. Renberg



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Cover illustration: Limestone *ostrakon* preserving the first half of the Demotic text in which Thotortaios, who served at Karnak, recorded having received a dream from Amun instructing him to visit Deir el-Bahari for healing (O.Brook. 37.1821E).

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*Dedicated to my parents,
Dalia and Werner Renberg*



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PART 4

Thematic Studies and Catalog

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Sites Insufficiently, Dubiously or Wrongly Linked to Incubation

In the period of well over a century during which incubation has been the focus of serious study there have been numerous incorrect or unverifiable claims regarding incubation in certain cults and at certain cult sites. Some of these have already been questioned, but regrettably both challenged and unchallenged claims continue to be echoed in more recent scholarship. Therefore, as a complement to the preceding study of known incubation sanctuaries, it is important to have a survey of “ghost” sanctuaries that for one reason or another were linked to the practice but ought not to have been. Though not comprehensive, this appendix covers most of the demonstrably incorrect and unsubstantiated claims.¹ Its focus is not on what are merely speculative suggestions that have been clearly identified as such by those making them,² nor

1 Sites in the Latin West are excluded, as they have been treated in Renberg 2006.

2 Such suggestions that can be discounted include:

- that the practice of sealing oracular inquiries in a jar overnight and unsealing it the next morning to retrieve Apollo Koropaios's responses, recorded in a sacred law at Korope, somehow involved incubation, as Ludwig Ziehen indicated (*IG* IX.2, 1109, ll. 42–49 (= *Syll.*³ 1157 = *LSCG* 83); see Robert, *Hell.* v, 25–26, arguing against Ziehen, *LGS* 11, p. 243 (“*Hoc igitur oraculum ita institutum fuisse videtur, ut consultantibus quaestiones in tabellis obsignatis inscriptas prophetae darent, noctu deinde in templo responsi causa incubarent, postero die tabellas integras recipere*”), though Parke 1967, 104–108, Eidinow 2007, 70, and Beerden 2013, 164 all subsequently entertained incubation as a possibility);
- that the Delphic oracle was originally a dream-oracle (see p. 101);
- that the healing sanctuary of Herakles at Hyettos mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 9.24.3) functioned through therapeutic incubation, as was first claimed by Bouché-Leclercq (Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, 111:310), accepted by Pierre Bonnechere (Bonnechere 2003a, 119), and recently treated by Friese as probable (Friese 2010, 374, Cat. No. I.1.11.7), though even if Schachter was wrong and the brief inscription from Hyettos referring to an oracular shrine (μαντεῖον) (*SEG* 26, 524) can indeed be linked to Herakles's cult, as its initial editors believed (see Schachter 1981–94, 11:2–3, with discussion of the inscription at n. 3), there nonetheless is no compelling evidence for healing through dreams at the sanctuary (on the site, see Étienne/Knoepfler 1976, 176–188, with discussion of the inscription at pp. 182–185; see also Bousquet 1977, correcting their reading);
- that a Theban relief of a young man on a *klinē* that bears the inscription Εὐνοία Εἴσιδι εὐχῆν is likely evidence of therapeutic incubation as indicated by Wacht (Louvre, Ma 36

on the various claims that particular *Asklepieia* had facilities for incubation simply because of the discovery of a stoa (or another structure assumed to

-
- (= Hamiaux, *Sculptures grecques* 11:177–178, No. 197 + photo = Schörner 2003, 577, Cat. No. R 99 + Pl. 21); inscription IG VII 2483 (= *RICIS* 105/0302 + Pl. 17); see Wacht 1997, 205, following Thrämer 1913, VI:549b), since this figure, accompanied by three nymphs and a bearded protome, has instead been identified as an anthropomorphized Pan (Hamiaux) or Herakles (Bricault), not a sick person;
- Friese's tentative association of the Sphragitic nymphs' oracle at Mt. Kithairon with incubation, which relies on both Plutarch's reference to many of the locals there having been nympholepts who possessed prophetic powers and Pausanias's statement that in their cave, the *Sphragidion*, the nymphs used to give oracles (μαντεύεσθαι), even though these sources are at most evidence for nympholepsy rather than incubation (Friese, *ibid.*, 438, No. III.1.1.17, citing Paus. 9.3.9 as well as a modern work that cites Plut., *Vit. Arist.* 11; for nympholepsy, see most recently Jim 2012, and on the Sphragitic nymphs see Larson 2001, 20);
 - the proposal of Wacht (earlier made in Türk 1897–1902, 908), followed by Friese, that the oracle (μαντεῖον) of Nyx ("Night") at Megara may have functioned through incubation (Paus. 1.40.6; see Wacht 1997, 183 and Friese, *ibid.*, 377, No. I.1.11.12; for Nyx at Megara, see Antonetti/Lévêque 1990, 206–209 and Mertens-Horn 2010, 115–116);
 - Petropoulou's unsupported idea regarding the Titane *Asklepieion* that the hero Alexanor, Asklepios's grandson and according to tradition the one who established the sanctuary (Paus. 2.11.5), and Euamerion "were probably the possessors of the early dream oracle at Titane" before the site was devoted to Asklepios (Petropoulou 1991, 31; for the *Asklepieion*, see pp. 148–149n.66);
 - that the divinatory method at Pan's poorly attested oracle on Mt. Lykaion near Lykosoura, regarding which Jost had expressed caution (Jost 1985, 474–475), was "Möglicherweise Inkubation," as put forward by Friese (Friese, *ibid.*, 377, Cat. No. I.1.11.11), drawing on a source pertinent to Pan's oracular abilities in general (Ps.-Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.4.1), an ambiguous passage in Pausanias which may imply that there had been an oracle there (Paus. 8.37.11–12), and a Theocritus *scholium* that merely refers to a μαντεῖον of Pan at this Arcadian sanctuary (*schol.* Theoc., *Id.* 1.123; see Lo Monaco 2009, 354–355, Cat. Arc. Lyk 24 for this cult site);
 - the possibilities that the "descent to the Underworld" (*ad inferos descensus*) at Argos Amphiloichikon that featured a lot oracle of Zeus Typhon should be associated with incubation because two people were said to have seen the god there (*in quo loco dicunt duo qui descenderunt Iovem ipsum videre*), and that Ampelius may have been confusing this sanctuary in Argeia with the Thesprotian *nekyomanteion* thought to be located well beyond the opposite side of the Ambracian Gulf (see Schachter, *ibid.*, 111:68n.1, Ogden 2001a, 53 and Ogden 2001b, 53, citing Ampelius, *Lib. Memor.* 8.3);
 - Margaret E. Kenna's proposal that visitors may have incubated at the temple of Apollo Asgelatas on the island of Anaphe, based on Walter Burkert's earlier argument that this unusual epithet was derived from Gula, the Babylonian goddess of healing, as well as the fact that visitors would still sleep in modern times at the Christian shrine of Panayia Kalamiotissa built at the site (Kenna 2009, 496);

- Friese's tentative treatment of the sanctuary of Pluto at Aiane in Macedonia as a place for incubation due to an inscribed relief of the god with Cerberus that was given according to a dream (κατ' ὄναρ) (Friese, *ibid.*, 59, 429, No. III.1.1.2, citing *EAM* I 15 + Pl. 5);
- Wacht's speculation, following that of Deubner (Deubner (L.) 1900, 77–79 and Deubner (L.) 1907, 52–58), that a literary reference to the Dioskouroi associating them with healing at Byzantium might indicate that they did so through incubation, and in turn that they also operated through incubation at the Roman Forum despite the highly questionable nature of the evidence (Wacht, *ibid.*, 197, citing a fragment from Hesychios of Miletos, *FGrH* 390 F 1(15) for Byzantium; on the Dioskouroi at Rome, see Renberg 2006, 117–118 (with references) and Graf 2015, 258 (pp. 132–133 of 2013 version);
- Wacht's contention that incubation was practiced at a temple of Men Pharnakos at Kabeira in Pontus, which he bases on a passage in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of St. Gregory the Wonder-worker* in which the author vaguely refers to some form of divination involving the *neokoroi*, presumably inspired speech (τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο τῶν ἐπισήμων ἦν, ᾧ τις φανερά τῶν θεραπευομένων δαιμόνων ἐπιφοίτησις τοῖς νεωκόροις ἐγένετο, μαντικῆς τινος χρησιμώδους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργουμένης) (Greg. Nyss., *Vit. Greg. Thaum.*, p. 20, ed. Heil, *GNO* 10.1 (= *PG* 46, 916A), cited by Wacht, *ibid.*, 196);
- Ulrich Victor's discussion regarding the possibility in the cult of Glykon at Abonuteichos, despite the lack of affirmative evidence for this in Lucian's *Alexander* (Victor 1997, 4–5);
- Friese's entertaining of the possibility that at Paneas there was an incubation-oracle of Pan based on a dedication made by one “having received an oracle in a dream” (ὀνίρω | χρησιμο|δο[τη]θείς) (Friese, *ibid.*, 432, No. III.1.1.7, citing *I.Syria* XI, No. A/17 + facs.; see Hajjar 1990, 2293–2295 on the unreliable nature of the evidence for incubation in Syria);
- Belayche's tentative association of the unidentified sanctuary at the site of the Pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem, perhaps one having belonged to Sarapis or Asklepios, with therapeutic incubation due to the presence of six small basins there that she suggests could have been used for hydrotherapy prescribed by the god or “to await some communication from the deity” (see Belayche 2001, 160–167 (at p. 164) and Belayche 2007a, 463–468 (at p. 463));
- the speculation of Friese that at Dendara the gods Ihi and Harsomtut (*i.e.*, “Horus, who unites both lands”) communicated through dreams and the speculation of both Friese and Wacht that at Edfu Harsomtut may have done so (Friese, *ibid.*, 416–417, Nos. II.11.1.4–5; Wacht, *ibid.*, 206), which is not supported by the sources, although there is clear evidence for Harsomtut at Edfu having had an oracle (see Budde 2005, 337–338);
- that an unusual structure excavated at Saqqâra was used for incubation (see pp. 402–403n.27);
- the proposal by the editors of *P.Zauzich* 12 that the references to beds and cushions in this Demotic temple inventory from Soknopaiou Nesos's chapel of Isis Nepherses and side-chapel of “the lionesses” could be attributable to incubation (see Dousa/Gaudard/Johnson 2004, 182n.83);
- that incubation was practiced at the Siwa *Ammoneion* (see p. 579n.36);
- Nacéra Benseddik's speculation that at two rupestrian sanctuaries in North Africa, one at Slonta, roughly fifty kilometers south of Cyrene, and the other at the site of modern Djorf Torba in Mauretania Tingitana, small chambers cut into the rock may have been used for incubation (see Benseddik 2010, 1:343–344);

- Minunno's idea that the reference by Tertullian to a hero on Sardinia at whose shrine people would sleep (*Aristoteles heroem quendam Sardiniae notat, incubatores fani sui visionibus privantem*), rather than pertaining to the same heroes discussed by Aristotle and his commentators (see pp. 107–108), may have alluded to the Phoenician god who in Roman times was called Sardus Pater, in which case the temple of this local hero may have been an incubation site (see Minunno 2013, 555–556, and for Sardus Pater see Minunno 2005 and Bernardini 2002);
- and, the related belief that there was incubation in the Sardinian cult of Herakles's mythological companion Iolaos, who was worshiped at his tomb (Solin. 1.61, ed. Mommsen), and evidently later came to be associated with Sardus Pater, even though there is no evidence for seeking dreams at this undiscovered *heroon* (as is rightly noted in Minunno 2013, 556, contrary to the relatively brief inferences of Didu 1998, 67 and Didu 2003, 143, 147–148, and Caria 2009, 43–44, and lengthier treatment in Breglia Pulci Doria 1981, 82–91).

To these can be added Rohde's assumptions regarding incubation at four sites based on the flimsiest of evidence, which have not been echoed by other scholars (Rohde 1921, 1:185–189 (p. 133 of 1925 translation)): he treats the oracle of Autolykos at Sinope that is briefly mentioned by Strabo as an incubation oracle on the basis of Plutarch's account of a dream received there by Lucullus, even though there is no sign that this dream was solicited (Plut., *Vit. Luc.* 23.3–6; Strabo 12.3.11, p. 546); he associates incubation with a cult of Odysseus, presumably at a *nekyomanteion*, based solely on two sources, Lykophron's comment that after Odysseus's death he was honored as a diviner among the Eurytanes in Aetolia and a *scholium* citing Aristotle on there having been a *μαντεῖον Ὀδυσσεύως* among the Aetolians (Lykoph., *Alex.* 799–800 with *scholium* (= *FGrH* 271–272 F 7)); he assumes that the oracle of Menestheus at Gadeira mentioned by Strabo functioned through dream-divination, presumably because it was probably a *nekyomanteion* (Strabo 3.1.9); and, he raises the possibility of Anios, a son of Apollo who in myth ruled on Delos and was given the gift of prophecy by his father (Diod. Sic. 5.62.2), having had an oracle on the island, though none of the evidence for his cult or cult sites there indicates this (see Bruneau 1970, 413–430). In addition, like Gustav Türk (Türk 1897–1902, 909), Rohde believes that the oracle of the Trojan War hero Protesilaos at his tomb in Elaïous on the Thracian Chersonesos, known partly from a reference by Lucian (Lucian, *Deor. Conc.* 12; cf. Paus. 1.34.2), functioned as a dream-oracle, even though Lucian does not state this, and the primary passage concerning the hero's oracular function in Philostratus's *Heroikos*, a work set at the *heroon*, does not either, merely referring to Protesilaos healing and engaging in other activities with parallels at known incubation sanctuaries, as well as providing oracles to athletes (Philostr., *Her.* 14–16, eds. Maclean/Aitken; for the shrine, see Jones 2001, 144–146 and Gorrini 2012, 122–124). Similarly, without sufficient grounds Wacht, *ibid.*, 198–199 assumes that there was an incubation oracle in Thrace associated with the local divinity Zalmoxis, who was worshiped by the Getae tribe, and though oracular (and according to Plato known for healing charms) the four ancient authors who discuss him neither state nor imply that this was the case (Hdt. 4.94–96 (not associating him with an oracle); Pl., *Chrm.* 156D–158C; Strabo 7.3.5, pp. 297–8 and 16.2.39, p. 762; Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.34–35; on Zalmoxis, see Bonnechere 2003a, 99–100, 111–115 (with additional comments in Bonnechere 2010, 59–61) and Ustinova 2009, 89–90, 100–104, the latter stating at p. 103 that “The Thracians did not encounter the deity in dreams or in a trance . . .”).

have played the role of *abaton*), especially one with water in close proximity.³ Instead, it is devoted to sites that have been identified as incubation sanctuaries by one or more scholars with some degree of certainty. With few exceptions, these sanctuaries are not discussed elsewhere in this book.

1.1 Greece and the Greek Islands

1.1.1 *Dodona, Sanctuary of Zeus*

[See Chapter 2 discussion (pp. 100–101).]

1.1.2 *Troizen, Sanctuary of Pan*

Pausanias's reference to an occasion when Pan through dreams had instructed the civic leaders how to end a plague was taken by Bouché-Leclercq as evidence for incubation there, and this claim has been echoed elsewhere despite the passage giving no sign that Pan had a dream-oracle operating at Troizen.⁴

1.1.3 *Haliartos (or Orchomenos)*

In his discussion of incubation oracles linked to famous seers Wacht, following Rohde, includes the oracle of Teiresias at his tomb, probably located beside the spring named Tilphossa in the district near Haliartos bearing the spring's name,⁵ and in his study of Teiresias's myth Luc Brisson reached a similar conclusion.⁶ However, the passage in Plutarch that supposedly indicates incubation there merely refers to an oracle (χρηστήριον),⁷ while only one of the three Pausanias passages Wacht cites is directly relevant to the site, and it lacks any reference to the oracle.⁸ Moreover, not only is there no evidence for incubation, but the oracle's location is uncertain: Plutarch mentions the oracle in the context of its rapid decline around the time that a deadly plague was afflicting Orchomenos (located on the opposite shore of the Lake Kopais

3 Sanctuaries linked to incubation solely based on archaeological remains are discussed in Chapter 3 (especially Sect. 3.2.5). In addition, see the discussion of the Sikyon *Asklepieion* being questionably identified with the practice because of the presence of statues of Hypnos and Oneiros (see pp. 679–680).

4 Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82, 11:386–387, citing Paus. 2.32.6; tentatively followed in Wacht 1997, 196.

5 See Wacht 1997, 187 and Rohde 1921, 1:117–118n.2 (pp. 104–105n.8 of 1925 translation).

6 See Brisson 1976, 67–68.

7 Plut., *De def. orac.* 44 (= *Mor.* 434C).

8 Paus. 9.33.1; cf. Paus. 7.3.1 and 9.18.4.

from Haliartos) but does not specify that it was located there. The question of whether the oracle in question was at Orchomenos or Tilphossa, where Teiresias had died after drinking the spring's waters, appears to be insoluble, as does the question of whether there may have been two Teiresias oracles in the region.⁹ However, regardless of the truth, there is no reason to associate Teiresias with incubation on either shore of Kopais.

1.1.4 *Ephyra Nekyomanteion*

Excavations undertaken by Sotirios I. Dakaris in 1961 uncovered a complex beneath a monastery near Ephyra that he optimistically identified as the oracle of the dead (νεκυομαντεῖον) briefly referred to by Herodotus, and Dakaris repeated this conclusion in multiple other publications.¹⁰ Dakaris's claim that this was the site mentioned by Herodotus—in the context of an inquiry by Periander at a site on the Acheron River in Thesprotia—was subsequently accepted by some,¹¹ but Dietwulf Baatz has since shown that the site was actually a wealthy, fortified residence constructed during the first century of the Hellenistic Period.¹² Dakaris's original identification, therefore, is to be rejected, and the location of Herodotus's *nekyomanteion* remains unknown, though Friese is most likely correct that it would have been in a natural cave

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- 9 See Schachter 1981–94, III:37–39, devoting separate entries to “Teiresias (Orchomenos)” and “Teiresias (Tilphossa/Haliartia),” but rightly noting that there is insufficient evidence to reach a firm conclusion regarding whether Teiresias had two oracles and, if he had only one, where it was located. Brisson suggests the solution may lie in “Orchomenos” here referring not to the city alone, but to a region large enough to encompass the Tilphossa site, but admits that this is highly speculative (Brisson 1976, 67–68). See also Friese 2010, 378–379, No. I.1.11.14, opting for Orchomenos alone.
- 10 Hdt. 5.92.7 (discussed pp. 324–325). Dakaris first shared this conclusion in elaborate—though quite speculative—detail in an excavation report (Dakaris 1961) and last did so in a short tourist guide devoted to the site, his final publication on the so-called “*Nekyomanteion*” before his death in 1996 (Dakaris 1993; for Dakaris's other discussions, see Ehrenheim 2009, 252). For the implausible suggestion that this site was referred to by Ampelius, see p. 524n.2.
- 11 E.g., Hardie 1977, Egelhaaf-Gaiser/Rüpke 2000, and Ekschmitt 1998 (non-technical).
- 12 Baatz 1979 and Baatz 1982; see also Baatz 1999 (non-technical). Fouache/Quantin 1999, 40–47 follows Baatz, as do Ogden 2001a, 19–21 and Ogden 2001c, 173–177, and Ustinova 2009, 73–76, each summarizing the pertinent issues. Cf. Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 345, s.v. “Ephyra” (P. Funke, N. Moustakis & B. Hochschulz), Ehrenheim 2009, 252, Friese 2010, 433–434, No. III.1.1.8 and Friese 2013, 228–229. For a useful overview of the site and the issues associated with its identification that was intended for a broad audience, see James Wiseman, “Rethinking the ‘Hall of Hades,’” *Archaeology* 51.3 (May/June 1998), 12–18.

that was modified,¹³ and Éric Fouache and François Quantin have argued for a location among the gorges in the vicinity of modern Glyki.¹⁴

1.1.5 *Lato (Crete), Asklepieion?*

An incomplete second-century CE sacred law inscribed on a fragmentary stele found in the *agora* has been thought to pertain to an otherwise unknown *Asklepieion*, in part because it uses language sometimes—though not exclusively—associated with incubation.¹⁵ As the text does not even refer to Asklepios both the conclusion that the stele was erected at an *Asklepieion* and the inference that it established the procedures for engaging in incubation at the site are uncertain.¹⁶

1.2 Macedonia

1.2.1 *Philippi, Sanctuary of Isis*

In a discussion of the Egyptian sanctuary at Philippi Martin Bommas argues that five rooms on the upper terrace were used for incubation, and cites a Latin dedication to Isis Regina made *ex imperio* by a doctor as evidence for the practice there. This inscription, however, is one of several from Philippi employing the same formula, and the other gods involved are nowhere linked to incubation. More importantly, not only were dedications made “according to divine command” or “according to a dream” usually given in circumstances completely unrelated to incubation,¹⁷ but this particular inscription was made for the well-being of the city by a doctor in a spot sanctioned by the council,

13 Friese 2013, 228–229.

14 Fouache/Quantin 1999, 47–59.

15 *I.Cret* 1, xvi, 6, frag. IV-C, ll. 2 (κλίνας), 4 (ἐγκαθεύδοντα), 6 (κοιτα[---]) (= *LSCG Suppl.* 112). Umberto Bultrighini was the first to link this fragment to an *Asklepieion* (Bultrighini 1993, 59), but overlooked Sokolowski's treatment and restorations showing that the *lex sacra* pertains to types of manslaughter that do not cause impurity (see *SEG* 45, 1308 *adn.* (A. Chaniotis)). Moreover, assuming that this fragment does belong to the *lex sacra*, these terms associated with sleeping are at least as likely to pertain to soldiers or ephebes sleeping, especially since the surviving text makes reference to Ares but not Asklepios (Angelos Chaniotis, personal communication).

16 Despite the uncertainty, the site at which this inscription would have originated has been treated as an *Asklepieion* in Sporn 2002, 63 (who doubts that it would have been located in the *agora* where the fragments were found), and tentatively in Riethmüller 2005, 11:344, Cat.-App. No. 160.

17 See pp. 34–35n.95.

and thus is highly unlikely to allude to incubation, if in this case *ex imperio* was even referring to a dream rather than an oracle or omen.¹⁸

1.3 Asia Minor

1.3.1 *Troad, Unknown Sanctuary of Sarpedon & Seleukia (Cilicia), Sanctuary of Apollo Sarpedonios*

Tertullian included “Sarpedon in the Troad” in a list of oracles functioning through dream-divination that included both known and unknown sites, but there is no other source indicating a cult site devoted to this Trojan War hero in this area.¹⁹ It is, of course, possible that Sarpedon did have a shrine there, but since he had an apparently prominent oracle on the other side of Asia Minor, at Seleukia in Cilicia, it is also possible that Tertullian associated the wrong site with the oracle.²⁰ This oracle of Sarpedon, divinized as Apollo Sarpedonios, is known from both Diodorus and Zosimus as well as the anonymous fifth-century *Life of Thekla, the Holy Apostle and Martyr of Christ, and Her Miracles*.²¹

18 Bommas 2005, 103–104, citing *AE* 1930, 50, now *CIPh* II.1, 23 (= *RICIS* 113/1007): *Isidi Reg(inae) sac(rum)*, | *ob honor(em) divin(ae)* | *domus, pro salute* | *col(oniae) Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) Philippiens(is)*, |⁵ *Q(uintus) Mofius Euhemer(us)*, | *medicus, ex imperio* | *p(ecunia) s(ua) p(osuit)*, *idem suşşelia IIII*, | *loco adsig(nato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (“For Queen Isis, a sacred object: In honor of the divine household [*i.e.*, imperial family] and for the well-being of the colony Iulia Augusta Philippiensis, the doctor Quintus Mofius Euhemerus, according to command, set this (altar) up at his own expense, as well as four benches, with the site having been assigned by decree of the *decuriones*”). Kleibl, however, questions whether Bommas is right to associate the sanctuary with “stationary” cures, *i.e.* those requiring at least an overnight stay (Kleibl 2009, 167). (Bommas also points to Dendara’s sanctuary of Hathor as a comparandum, but as discussed below this site should no longer be linked to incubation (see Sect. 1.8.1).)

19 Tert., *Anim.* 46.11 (quoted p. 313).

20 For the cult and oracle of Sarpedon, see Nisson 2001, especially pp. 123–124 on the question of whether there was a Troad site; cf. Waszink (J.) 1947, 497. As noted in Ehrenheim 2009, 257, Tertullian was drawing from other sources, and is unlikely to have been listing this or the other incubation sites based on personal knowledge.

21 Diod. Sic. 32.10.2 and Zos., *Hist.* 1.57, recording episodes involving consultations of the oracle around 146 BCE and 271 CE, respectively; for Thekla’s *Life and Miracles*, see p. 767n.42. On Apollo Sarpedonios and his oracle, see MacKay 1990, 2110–2113 and Nissen 2001; cf. Friese 2010, 399–400, Cat. No. 1.11.11.11 and Graf 2015, 258 (p. 133 of 2013 version), the latter noting evidence of the sanctuary’s importance to the city. Though reasonably expressing caution over the Tertullian passage’s reliability, Ehrenheim does not

Unfortunately, none of these three sources specifies the medium of communication. Evidence for incubation at this Cilician site is indirect and particularly unreliable: the *Life and Miracles* describes Thekla silencing Sarpedon and then continuing his activities by giving responses to inquiries and providing miraculous cures, but the link between Thekla and Sarpedon has been called into question, as has whether dreams were typically sought from her at her cave church, Hagia Thekla (or Aya Tekla in Turkish).²² This creates a problem, since the best evidence for incubation in the Sarpedon cult at Seleukia has been the assumption that Thekla, who has long been associated with incubation, had taken over both cult site and *modus operandi*—but if Thekla was neither an immediate successor to Sarpedon nor a saint whose church was visited by those seeking to engage in incubation then the only reason to believe that Sarpedon's worshipers had been doing this would be the possible relevance of Tertullian's brief reference to incubation at a shrine of this hero in the Troad.

This, however, is hardly sound evidence: either Tertullian's comment was erroneous and actually intended as a reference to the Cilician site, which

distinguish between the otherwise unknown Trojan site and the one in Seleukia (Ehrenheim 2009, 257).

Making the matters associated with the site more complex, Strabo briefly refers to a temple of Artemis Sarpedonia in Cilicia that functioned as an oracle through divine inspiration (Strabo 14.5.19), and while he does not indicate the sanctuary's exact location it may well have been related to that of Apollo Sarpedonios, though there is no mention of Artemis's presence in the *Life and Miracles*. (See Parke 1985, 194–196, speculating either that there was a joint cult or that Strabo erred in identifying the oracular divinity as Artemis rather than Apollo.)

- 22 For the tradition of Thekla's having displaced Sarpedon (as well as Zeus, Athena and Aphrodite) in Anon., *Mir. Theclae* 1–4, see Dagron 1978, 80–90 *et pass.*, Davis 2001, 75–78 and Nissen 2001, 118–124; but see now Graf 2015, 258–259 (pp. 133–134 of 2013 version), challenging this view as well as the very idea of incubation having been a significant element of Thekla's cult at this church. In addition to *Mir. Theclae* 1, stating that Thekla had “rendered that most talkative oracle mute” (ἀφωνότατον ἐκάθισε τὸν πολυφωνότατον χρησμολόγον), and the references in *Mir. Theclae* 1 to Sarpedonios (*i.e.* Sarpedon) as an “oracle-giver” (χρησμοφῶδης) and diviner (μάντις), see the reference to Sarpedon and oracles in Anon., *Vit. Theclae* 27. Archaeological evidence can provide some amount of support for the tradition of Thekla supplanting Sarpedon: at Thekla's church, in modern Meriamlik, the foundations of a *temenos* wall and Doric columns have been found, indicating that the saint had been preceded by Sarpedon or another divinity (see Hill 1996, 213 and Ehrenheim 2009, 257; for the site's remains and literary sources attesting to it, see Hild/Hellenkemper 1990, 441–443; see also Bayliss 2004, 89–90 *et pass.*). For the question of incubation at Thekla's church, see p. 767.

would have constituted direct evidence for incubation there, or it shows that Sarpedon was a divinity from whom dream-oracles were solicited at an unknown shrine on or near where he fell, increasing the likelihood that this was also the medium of communication at the Cilician oracle but certainly not proving it. Either way, if incubation was practiced at Sarpedon's Cilician site it would have been occurring well before Thekla came to be associated with dreams: not only is the perceived link between the hero's worship and the saint's veneration questionable, but the accounts of her miracles do not indicate that she had taken over from Sarpedon as a source of therapeutic and oracular dreams. After all, the *Life and Miracles* refers to two ailing worshipers coming or being brought to Sarpedon for help and, when he is unable to cure them, subsequently receiving proper treatment from the saint, but these passages make no reference to therapeutic dreams being expected of Sarpedon.²³ Moreover, there is reason to think that Sarpedon's cult had become defunct well before Thekla's church began to flourish as a site for healing: first, Egeria during her visit in the fourth century had visited the church but made no mention of healing (let alone incubation),²⁴ and second, the inconsistency of the author of the *Life and Miracles* regarding whether the divinity in question was named "Sarpedon" or "Sarpedonios" may indicate that the cult belonged to the distant past.²⁵ The date for Thekla's having become a prominent healing saint is uncertain, though Graf may well be correct that the passage in the *Life* indicating Thekla's desire to turn her home into a therapeutic center (ἱατρεῖον) deliberately "retrojects the fame of the shrine in Basil's time unto apostolic times," and thus in the cult's earlier times she may not yet have been a healer.²⁶ Thus if incubation was practiced at Seleukia by Sarpedon's worshipers it may not have continued past the third century CE, and if the Christians were seeking dreams from Thekla there it is most likely to have been an innovation influenced by Christian practices elsewhere rather than the adoption of a tradition existing at the site.²⁷ After all, the evidence for such a tradition

23 Anon., *Mir. Theclae* 11 and 18 (cf. 40). See Dagron 1978, 92–93.

24 Egeria, *Itin.* 23.2–5. See Ehrenheim 2009, 257.

25 The point is that of Graf 2015, 258 (p. 133 of 2013 version).

26 Anon., *Vit. Theclae* 28, cited by Graf 2015, 258–259 (p. 133 of 2013 version).

27 For the problem of whether Christian incubation cults directly replaced pagan ones, see pp. 751–752). Ehrenheim has suggested that the practice was not taken over by Thekla from Sarpedon directly, and instead that therapeutic incubation developed at her shrine as Thekla became increasingly well known and sought after for her miracles (Ehrenheim 2009, 257–258), and this lack of continuity has been endorsed by Graf (see Graf 2015, 258–259 (pp. 133–134 of 2013 version)).

boils down to Tertullian's comment about an apparently distant and otherwise unknown oracle of Sarpedon as well as his having had an oracle in Seleukia that functioned by means of an unrecorded medium.

1.3.2 *Colophon (Ionia), Sanctuary of Apollo Klarios*

At this famous oracular sanctuary Apollo's revelations were received by a *prophētēs* and conveyed by a *thespiodos*, who during a "Sacred Night" apparently went together down an underground corridor to a two-part chamber that was the heart of the oracle.²⁸ Although the consultation took place at night, there is nothing in the sources suggesting that dreams were the god's medium of communication at the site—nor was Apollo associated with incubation elsewhere, with the possible exception of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros—and thus it would be wrong to consider it an incubation sanctuary, even one in which only a *prophētēs* was engaging in dream-divination.²⁹

1.3.3 *Hierapolis (Phrygia), Sanctuary of Apollo and Ploutonion*

Two different cult sites at Hierapolis, one known for half a century and the other a major recent discovery a short distance away, have been unconvincingly linked by different scholars to incubation, even though the only potentially direct evidence is an unreliable literary source pertaining to an episode set in the late-fifth century CE. According to a fragmentary and partly epitomized passage from Damascius's *Philosophical History*, Hierapolis's temple of Apollo had beneath it an underground passageway (καταβάσιον) which this author himself explored, and the description of his experience has been thought to imply that it was possible to engage in incubation at this site:³⁰

ὅτι ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῆς Φρυγίας ἱερὸν ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν ναὸν καταβάσιον ὑπέκειτο θανασίμους ἀναπνοάς παρεχόμενον. τοῦτον τὸν βόθρον οὐδ' ἄνωθ' ἐστὶν ἀκίνδυνον οὐδὲ τοῖς πτηνοῖς τῶν ζώων διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσα κατ' αὐτὸν

28 See Lampinen 2013, 80–84 *et pass.* on how oracles were obtained at the site.

29 See Wacht 1997, 196, citing Aristid., *Or.* 49.12 (= Busine 2005, 455, Cat. No. 71), in which Aristides wrote of sending his servant Zosimus to Colophon for the Sacred Night and quoted the three-line verse-oracle he brought back, none of which suggests incubation.

30 For the claim that Damascius's passage indicates incubation, see Merkelbach 2001a, 7: "In Hierapolis in Phrygien lag unter dem Tempel ein 'unterirdisches Gemach' (καταβάσιον) mit tödlichen Ausdünstungen, einer der vielen Eingänge zur Unterwelt; in demselben Heiligtum konnte man sich zur Inkubation niederlegen. Die Träume kamen aus der Unterwelt." See also Wacht 1997, 210. For a discussion of this and other "mephitic sanctuaries," see Ogden 2001a, 25–26. For Damascius, see *Pros. Rhet. Soph.* 243 (E. Szabat).

γίνεται, ἀπόλλυται. τοῖς δὲ τετελεσμένοις, φησί, δυνατόν ἦν κατιόντας καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν μυχὸν ἀβλαβῶς διάγειν. λέγει δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὡς αὐτὸς τε καὶ Δῶρος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἐκνικηθέντες, κατέβησάν τε καὶ ἀπαθείς κακῶν ἀνέβησαν. λέγει δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὅτι τότε τῇ Ἱεραπόλει ἐγκαθευδήσας ἐδόκουν ὄναρ ὁ Ἄττης γενέσθαι, καὶ μοι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὴν τῶν Ἰλαρίων καλουμένων ἑορτήν· ὅπερ ἐδήλου τὴν ἐξ Ἄιδου γεγονυῖαν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν.

διηγησάμην δὲ τῷ Ἀσκληπιοδότῳ, ἐπανελθὼν ἐς Ἀφροδισιάδα τὴν τοῦ ὄνειρου ὄψιν. ὁ δὲ ἐθαύμασέ τε τὸ συμβεβηκός, καὶ διηγῆσατο οὐκ ὄναρ ἀντὶ ὀνείρατος, ἀλλὰ θαῦμα μεῖζον ἀντὶ ἐλάττονος. νεώτερος γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἐλθεῖν τοῦτο, καὶ ἀποπειραθῆναι αὐτοῦ τῆς φύσεως. δις οὖν καὶ τρις ἐπιπτύξας τὸ ἱμάτιον περὶ τὰς ῥίνας, ἵνα κἂν ἀναπνέῃ πολλάκις μὴ τὸν διεφθαρμένον καὶ λυμαντικὸν ἀέρα ἀναπνῆ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ σωτήριον, ὃν ἔξωθεν εἰσήγαγε παραλαβὼν ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ, οὕτω πράξας, εἰσῆι τε ἐν τῇ καταδύσει, τῇ ἐκροῇ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐπακολουθῶν, ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ ἀβάτου μυχοῦ, οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος ἀφίκετο τῆς καταβάσεως· ἡ γὰρ εἴσοδος ἀπερρώγει πρὸς βάθος ἤδη πολὺ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ γε οὐ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ καταιβάτης ἐνθουσιῶν ἐφέρετο μέχρι τοῦ πέρατος. ὁ μὲντοι Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ἐκεῖθεν ἀνήλθε σοφίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ κακῶν ἀπαθῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ πνοὴν παραπλησίαν ὕστερον τῇ θανασίμῳ ἐκ διαφόρων εἰδῶν κατασκευασάμενος ἐμηχανήσατο.³¹

That in Phrygian Hierapolis there was a sanctuary of Apollo, and beneath the temple there lay a descent producing deadly exhalations. This opening is safe neither for those passing above nor for the winged animals that pass through, but whatever ends up there perishes. However, for the initiated, they say, it was possible to pass through safely, going down even into the innermost chamber itself. And the writer states that he himself and the philosopher Doros, conquered by zeal, descended and ascended without suffering ill effects. And the writer states that At that time, sleeping [or, incubating] in Hierapolis I imagined in a dream that I had become Attis, and that for me the festival of the so-called Hilaria was celebrated by the Mother of Gods, which made clear our deliverance from from Hades.

Returning to Aphrodisias, I described my dream-vision to Asklepiodotos. He was amazed at what had happened and described not a dream in return for a dream, but rather a greater miracle in return for a

31 Dam., *Phil. Hist.*, frag. 87A, ed. Athanassiadi. For the importance of Asklepiodotos to the later history of the Isis cult at Menouthis, see pp. 374–377; for the term μυχός, see p. 558n.102.

lesser one. For he said that as a young man he had come to this very place and put its nature to the test. Having folded his *himation* two or three times over his nose, so that even if he breathed in repeatedly he would not breathe destructive and ruinous air, but rather the harmless and saving air which he had brought from the outside, having drawn it into his *himation*. And having done thusly, he entered the descending path, following the outflow of the thermal waters for most of the extent of the off-limits, innermost area, and yet he did not come to the end of the descent. For the entrance route had broken off immediately at a deep point that was full of this water and not crossable for a mere man; but, the one making his ritual descent, being in a state of divine inspiration, would gain the far side. Asklepiodotos, however, came back up from there through his own wisdom, not suffering ill effects. But he also later on contrived a vapor comparable to the deadly one, preparing it from different substances.

Excavations undertaken in 1964 revealed the passage referred to by Damascius to have been a grotto accessed through an entranceway built into the south side of a temple platform and featuring both thermal waters and poisonous gasses that were caused by the geological fault that runs beneath the city, to which the subterranean passage is linked.³²

32 For the brief excavation report, see Carettoni 1963–64, 416–417, 429. The building beneath which the entranceway was found originally was thought to have been the temple of Apollo itself, but this southernmost of three temples is now viewed as an oracular building (Building A), with the temple of Apollo (Building B) itself at the center of the complex. The entranceway consisted of a rectangular opening of 1.40 × 1.10 meters with a semi-circular niche above it, and was built into a wall of large limestone blocks, which were also used for revetting the subterranean passageway. In addition to this entrance, the gasses could also be accessed from within the temple, through a circular hole in the floor leading down into a seismic fracture, which was apparently covered by a lid (see D'Andria 2008, 47). For the site, see G. Semeraro in D'Andria/Caggia 2007, 169–209, F. D'Andria in *ibid.*, 1–46, and D'Andria 2013, 184–189. See also: Ismaelli 2009 (on the oracular function of Building A); Cross/Aaronson 1988 (determining that the lethal gasses were merely concentrated carbon dioxide and water vapor); Negri/Leucci 2006 (on the use of ground-penetrating radar and electrical resistivity tomography to seek subsurface archaeological features beneath and around the temple, as well as to analyze the geological and seismological features); D'Andria 2008 (discussing the resumption of excavations there after nearly four decades); and Nissen 2009, 126–131 (part of a broader discussion of *Charonia*, at pp. 105–133); cf. Ustinova 2009, 84–86, Friese 2010, 389–390, Cat. No. I.11.1.5 and Friese 2013, 230. Bean's "archaeological guide" features a brief but typically colorful description of the site, and his comment regarding the pungent vapors calls into question the

Without any alternatives, for half a century this area beneath Apollo's sanctuary was thought to be the *Ploutonion* described by Strabo and at least one other ancient writer.³³ In 2013, however, it was announced by Francesco D'Andria that an actual sanctuary of Pluto had been discovered a short distance beyond the southern boundary of the sanctuary of Apollo at the so-called "Santuario delle Sorgenti," and that this was the true location of Strabo's vapor-filled passageway, and also a site at which visitors would engage in incubation.³⁴ The first conclusion is certain, due to the chance survival of a building inscription naming Pluto and the presence of a rectilinear theater corresponding to Cassius Dio's reference to one—not to mention that the site's fumes have been found to be as deadly to birds as Strabo and Dio reported³⁵—but the other is problematic. Since Damascius clearly refers to the sanctuary of Apollo, where a passageway to some extent corresponding to the one he describes was indeed found, and Strabo refers to Pluto's sanctuary, it is evident that two distinct underground shrines associated with the fault line were active in antiquity and

conclusion of Cross/Aaronson that the deadly fumes were nothing more than carbon dioxide, which is an odorless gas (Bean 1980, 202–204).

- 33 The most detailed ancient description of the site and account of an author's own visit to the *Ploutonion*—and only reference to it by name—is that of Strabo, who recorded that there was an opening (στόμιον) large enough for a man to pass through, and that once one did so there were vapors deadly to animals, including the sparrows that he threw inside, and all people except the goddess's eunuch priests (Strabo 13.4.14, pp. 629–630; cf. 12.8.17). Pliny the Elder in a discussion of "lethal breaths" (*spiritus letales*) emitting from chasms and caves known as "*Charonea*"—though curiously omitting the Akaraka *Charonion* (see below)—briefly mentions Hierapolis, noting that the fumes are poisonous to all but the priest of the Mother of Gods (Plin., *H.N.* 2.95.208). This information is likewise reported by Cassius Dio, who says that he himself had been to Hierapolis and tested the deadliness of the fumes by means of birds, and notes that only eunuchs are unaffected (Cass. Dio 68.27.3, ed. Boissvain). The anonymous author of the *De Mundo* also claimed to have observed the fumes' effects and mentions the immunity enjoyed by the "halfmen" (*semi-viri*) serving the goddess at a sanctuary of Dis (*i.e.*, Pluto) (Ps.-Apul., *De Mundo* 17). The Hierapolis area, though not a specific sanctuary, was later associated with noxious fumes (*noxius spiritus*) by Ammianus Marcellinus, who reported that there had once been an opening that emitted a vapor poisonous to any living being except for eunuchs (Amm. Marc. 23.6.18). The literary testimonies for the *Ploutonion* are collected in Ritti 1985, 7–15.
- 34 D'Andria 2013 presents a full publication of the site's remains in addition to its historical and religious context, also providing and exploring the literary sources (pp. 180–182, 197–199). D'Andria and his team have dated the sanctuary's construction to the first half of the first century C.E. For the sanctuary's proposed function as a site for healing through incubation as well as use of the thermal waters, see *ibid.*, 191–197.
- 35 D'Andria 2013, fig. 18 presents photographic evidence of this in the form of two dead birds.

famous for their deadly fumes, but only the Apollo site is potentially linked to dream-divination in literature.³⁶ Unfortunately, only the Byzantine summary of Damascius's experience when he and the philosopher Doros explored the passageway beneath Apollo's sanctuary survives, rather than the full original, so it is impossible to be certain that the brief description of a dream of the Mother of Gods that immediately follows pertains to one received at the sanctuary—all that is certain is that he received a dream somewhere in Hierapolis, and that the verb employed (ἐγκαθεύδειν) was one frequently used for incubation, but that also could simply refer to sleeping.³⁷ It would be quite unexpected for a divinity other than Apollo—a god nowhere else associated with incubation at his own sanctuary—to have appeared in an incubation dream at his sanctuary, just as it would have been unusual for a god other than Pluto to appear in a *Ploutonion*,³⁸ so it may be that the dream came to Damascius elsewhere in the city that night. Moreover, the dream itself, in which he believed himself to be Attis and for the goddess to have celebrated Attis's *Hilaria* festival in his own honor so as to mark his having survived a descent into "Hades" (*i.e.*, the subterranean passageway that was known for poisonous fumes that were dangerous to all but "the initiated"), was hardly the sort of dream one would expect someone to receive by soliciting an oracle through incubation.³⁹ Without this one literary source, there is no

36 D'Andria has hypothesized that the reference to the *katabasion*'s location can be read as placing it downhill from the Apollo sanctuary rather than underneath it (D'Andria 2013, 191), but this is certainly the *lectio difficilior*.

37 See *LSJ*, p. 459, s.v. "ἐγκαθεύδω" (2). For the term's use in reference to incubation, see p. 9.

38 The best evidence for one god appearing in a dream received at another god's sanctuary is from the Asklepios cult (see pp. 223–225), but of course these other gods envisioned at *Asklepieia* were in Asklepios's pantheon. Cybele, on the other hand, was not closely linked to Apollo; however, since D'Andria has argued that the sanctuary's northernmost temple (Building C) has an architectural feature with parallels at certain oracular temples of the goddess elsewhere in Phrygia it is possible that she was worshiped at this temple (D'Andria 2008, 49n.19), in which case receiving a dream from her after a visit to Apollo's sanctuary—or while still at the sanctuary—is not so unexpected. (For Cybele at Hierapolis, including the evidence of Damascius, see Huttner 2013, 55–57.)

39 It is noteworthy that Damascius refers to "the initiated" (οἱ τετελεσμένοι) being able to descend safely into this subterranean area and reach the innermost chamber, whereas at the *Ploutonion* it was only the priests of the Mother of Gods (*i.e.*, the *galloi*) who could survive a comparable danger. This presumably explains in part the dream's origin: as one who had ventured beneath the sanctuary of Apollo and survived, Damascius saw himself as the *gallos*-like Attis, and like one of the *galloi* had been protected by the goddess. (For the *Hilaria* festival, see Lancellotti 2002, 156–160, with a discussion of this passage.)

reason to conclude that incubation was practiced at the Hierapolis sanctuary of Apollo, just as there is no reason to reach this conclusion regarding the nearby *Ploutonion*, other than that incubation was practiced at the similarly vaporous *Charonion* at Akaraka, which was associated with the nearby *Ploutonion*.⁴⁰ But, since the source for incubation at Akaraka is Strabo, and Strabo's description of the Hierapolis *Ploutonion* is the most detailed to survive, it seems unlikely that incubation would have been practiced at the latter in his day without his likewise noting it, especially since he visited there. Therefore, not only is there no way to know just where Damascius received his dream, but it is not even clear that he had solicited it through incubation, and moreover the association of this practice with the newly found *Ploutonion* is purely speculative, and thus there is simply no reliable evidence for incubation at any cult site in Hierapolis.

1.4 Commagene

1.4.1 *Doliche, Sanctuary of Zeus Dolichenos*

The main cult center of Zeus Dolichenos at Doliche has been unconvincingly linked to incubation by Ernst Herzfeld both because of the presence of therapeutic hot springs in the area and because dedications to the god sometimes featured formulas such as *ex viso* and *ex iussu*.⁴¹ Not only are such inscriptions too common to identify a sanctuary as a site for incubation, but in this case just one has even been found in the area of Doliche—and since it was made on behalf of the emperor's well-being and does not refer to a dream there is no reason to associate it with the practice.⁴²

40 See D'Andria 2013, 191–192. For Akaraka, see Chapter 4.3.

41 Herzfeld 1968, 125–126. Herzfeld cites for support Georg Loeschke, who concludes that incubation was common at the god's sanctuaries on the basis of such dedications, but makes no specific reference to the Doliche sanctuary (Loeschke 1901, 67–68). Wacht follows both (Wacht 1997, 196), and also Kan 1943, 36–37, citing three irrelevant dedicatory inscriptions: *CIL* VIII 2624 (= *CCID* 624), a North African military dedication for Jupiter Dolichenus, Asklepios and Hygieia; *CIL* III 8044 (= *CCID* 158), a Dacian dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus made following a dream from Asklepios (*ex praecepto num(inis) Aesculapi(i) somno monit(us)*); and *CIL* III 11186 (= *CCID* 218), an alphabet posted on the wall of a *Dolicheneum* at Carnuntum because of a dream (*ex visu*). For the issue of whether *viso/iussu*-type dedications should ever be considered evidence for incubation, see pp. 34–35n.95.

42 *BE* 1941, 151 (= *CCID*, No. 9): ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός· | Λούκ(ιος) Νωνᾶ ἀπε|λεύθερος Νομερίου | ὕο<ὺ> Λουκίου ἀνάσ|ῃ<ῃ>σε τὸν θεόν | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | Καίσαρος.

1.5 Media

1.5.1 *Mt. Sabalān, Sanctuary of “Herakles”*

Herzfeld evidently inferred from a passage in Tacitus that on one occasion the Parthian king Gotarzes II had been engaging in incubation while visiting Mt. Sanbulos (*i.e.*, Mt. Sabalān) and worshiping its gods, but there is no reason to conclude that he had sought or received dreams there based on the passage’s reference to an unusual tradition that involved the priests of “Herakles” (*i.e.*, the Iranian god Verethraghna) periodically receiving dreams in which it would be revealed to them that it was again time to initiate a rather implausible hunting ritual.⁴³ In associating the sanctuary with incubation Herzfeld also drew comparisons to the Anariake “oracle for incubators” mentioned by Strabo, a site near Tepe Giyan that in the mid-twentieth century was still being visited by those seeking dream-oracles, and the cult center of Zeus Dolichenos at Doliche—which he likewise presumes to have been an incubation sanctuary—as implicit evidence favoring such a conclusion.⁴⁴ However, not only are these poor comparanda, but Tacitus’s description of a ritual hunt that was held whenever the priests believed that Verethraghna had called for it in a dream is hardly reason to conclude that visitors to the sanctuary—or the priests themselves—would solicit dreams from the god there.

1.6 Babylonia

1.6.1 *Babylon, Sanctuary of Ištar/Aphrodite*

Pointing to ancient Near Eastern sources involving the goddess Ea and the questionable account of Alexander the Great’s generals consulting “Sarapis” through incubation at Babylon as their commander lay dying,⁴⁵ Wacht accepts an epitomized passage from the second-century CE novel *Babylonian Tale* by

43 Herzfeld 1968, 13–14, citing Tac., *Ann.* 12.13. Herzfeld mistakenly claims that Gotarzes was seeking oracles, but Tacitus only refers to his making vows. Herzfeld’s identification of Mt. Sanbulos with the Bisitun area is one of several possibilities that have been proposed, which have been surveyed by Jürgen Tubach (Tubach 1995, 243–253). The god to whom Herakles was being linked has been the subject of multiple theories, but has been identified by James Russell as Verethraghna (Russell (J.) 1987, 189–192; see also Tubach, *ibid.*, 255–271).

44 Anariake: Strabo 11.7.1, p. 508 (see p. 110). For Doliche, see Sect. 1.4.1.

45 Alexander: Arr., *Anab.* 7.26.2 (see pp. 389–390n.155).

Iamblichos as evidence for incubation at a temple of “Aphrodite” (*i.e.*, Ištar).⁴⁶ According to this author’s brief digression, women who visited the temple were to announce the dreams they received there in public (ἀνάγκη τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκεῖσε φοιτῶσας ἀπαγγέλλειν δημοσίᾳ τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐταῖς ὁρώμενα ὄνειρα), but there is no way of knowing whether this is reliable evidence for incubation at this distant, unspecified site.⁴⁷

1.7 Judaea

1.7.1 *Dora, Unidentified Sanctuary and Byzantine Church*

It has been claimed repeatedly by Claudine Dauphin—who has been followed by others—that incubation was practiced at a sanctuary of Apollo and Asklepios that preceded the Byzantine basilica at Tel Dor, located on the Mediterranean coast between modern Haifa and Tel Aviv, and that the practice continued among the Christians at the shrine of two unknown saints whose remains were interred there.⁴⁸ However, Dauphin’s identification of the sanctuary with Apollo and Asklepios, for which she presents no evidence, and her claims regarding the nature of the rituals performed there all appear to be speculative, as has been recognized in a recent discussion by Fritz Graf.⁴⁹

46 Iamblichos, *Babyloniaka*, epit. Phot., *Bibl. cod.* 94, p. 26, ed. Habrich (= 75b, p. 39, ed. Henry). For the association of Ištar/Astarte and Aphrodite in the Greek world, see Bonnet/Pirenne-Delforge 1999.

47 If a real temple is alluded to by this work, which is of course questionable, it may have been either Eturkamma or Egišḫurankia, the two temples of Ištar known from Hellenistic times (see Boiy 2004, 87–89 and 91, respectively).

48 Initial excavations of the basilica were undertaken in 1952, but Dauphin renewed these in 1979, 1980 and 1983, and again in 1994, expanding the area of excavation and uncovering the earlier complex. As has rightly been lamented by Fritz Graf (see next note), the excavations remain unpublished. See Dauphin 1999 for the lengthiest treatment (with references to her earlier publications); Dauphin 1986 and Dauphin 1997 cover much of the same ground, though in less detail. Dauphin’s conclusions have been repeated elsewhere (*e.g.*, Marksches 2006a, 200–204 (pp. 78–81 of 2008 reprint) and Marksches 2007, 180–182 (cf. C. Marksches *apud* Sfameni Gasparro 2007b, 275–278), and Ovadia/Turnheim 2011, 50, the latter only accepting the original sanctuary’s identification).

49 The temple is thought to be late-Hellenistic or early-Roman, but the site was in use as far back as the Archaic Period. Dauphin’s own excavation reports make no mention of evidence that would support her identification of this temple: see Dauphin 1979, Dauphin 1981 and Dauphin 1984, only the last of which (at p. 272) even mentions the earlier sanctuary, noting the presence of what she calls a subterranean “*adyton*,” which in Byzantine times was replaced by a cistern; see also Dauphin 1986, 19–20 on the

Indeed, it seems that her main reason for concluding that incubation was practiced there is that it was common to *Asklepieia*. The one piece of evidence from the site itself that might support her claim regarding incubation is the lengthy stoa that, like the incubation dormitory at the Oropos *Amphiareion*, had a small room at each end, but this is hardly sufficient.⁵⁰ Making this conclusion even more questionable, there appears to be no reliable evidence that either Apollo or Asklepios was worshiped at the site, despite Dauphin's claim.⁵¹ Moreover, Dauphin cites no evidence for Christian incubation at the basilica, instead noting the phenomenon elsewhere and essentially implying that since Christians would engage in incubation at holy sites in Constantinople and Menouthis they were doing so at Dora, in the peristyle court in the western half of the complex.⁵² So, since there is neither direct nor indirect (but pertinent)

pre-Byzantine “*adyton*” and subsequent cistern, and Dauphin 1999, 406–407, on a perceived similarity between the “*adyton*” and the *adyta* at the Claros and Didyma oracles. See Graf 2015, 255–256 (pp. 130–131 of 2013 version), rightly concluding that “both the existence of an Apollo temple and of incubation is conjectural at best,” though not addressing Dauphin's claims regarding Asklepios's presence.

- 50 Shown Dauphin 1999, fig. 3(8). Stoas did sometimes have small rooms (see Coulton 1976, 9 and Pl. 24), but of these only the Oropos stoa can be linked to incubation. Such rooms at other sanctuaries served different purposes, including housing for those serving at the sanctuary: see, for example the sanctuary of Athena Krania near Elateia, which according to Pausanias had stoas with quarters in which the priests and others serving the goddess would live (καὶ στοαὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ οἰκῆσεις διὰ τῶν στοῶν, ἔνθα οἰκοῦσιν οἷς τὴν θεὸν θεραπεύειν καθέστηκε, καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἱερωμένῳ) (Paus. 10.34.7), and the inscription recording that at Smyrna there was a stoa for housing the sacred slaves and worshipers of Apollo Kisauloddenos/Kisaludenos, which must have had small rooms in addition to the open portico (*I.Smyrna* II.1, 753, ll. 27–29 (= *Syll.*³ 996)). Such comparanda as the Oropos stoa may be irrelevant, however, since a Roman-era stoa would not necessarily have been based on Greek ones from centuries earlier. For stoas as questionable evidence for incubation at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 148–149n.66.
- 51 The only potentially valid evidence is that Josephus indicates that long before his time Apollo had been worshiped at Dora, which Dauphin combines with purely circumstantial evidence (Jos., *Ap.* 2.9.112–120; see Dauphin 1999, 416–417). In addition to the absence of inscriptions from the site referring to either god, the only gods represented among the mainly terracotta figurines found elsewhere at Tel Dor during the excavations of 1980–2000 are Aphrodite, Artemis, Cybele, Dionysos, Eros, Herakles, and Hermes (Stern 2010, 156–157 *et pass.*), which puts her conclusion further in doubt.
- 52 For Christian incubation, see Appendix XVI. For the peristyle court as the locus of incubation associated with the saints' cult, see Dauphin 1999, 403 (shown fig. 1(1)), an unsupported claim that goes back to her first excavation report (Dauphin 1979, 236). See Graf 2015, 255–256 (p. 131 of 2013 version), questioning the conclusion that incubation was practiced at the church. In contrast to such speculation, Dauphin has also cited specific

evidence, it must be concluded that Dauphin's identification of the site as a pagan and later Christian incubation shrine is unjustified, and since a compelling explanation for associating the sanctuary with Apollo and Asklepios let alone healing and divination has yet to appear in print the site's history is very much in need of reevaluation.

1.8 Egypt

1.8.1 *Dendara, Sanctuary of Hathor*

Based on ambiguous physical evidence and an inscription that makes no reference or allusion to dream-divination, a complex at Hathor's Dendara sanctuary has been linked to incubation in Roman times,⁵³ but the reasons for concluding that this was the case are far from certain. The physical evidence takes the form of a large mud-brick structure from the late-second century BCE that was identified as a *sanatorium*, since it featured a central area with water that flowed over a stele upon which was inscribed a text promoting healing, and surrounding this were a series of small chambers that each featured a niche suitable for a divine image.⁵⁴ François Daumas was led to the conclusion that incubation was practiced in this building by this combination of an inscription pertaining to waters with miraculous healing powers and what appeared to have been private chambers in which worshipers could alternately pray to the divinity represented by the image or fall asleep in the hope of being rewarded by a dream-epiphany.⁵⁵ This interpretation of the inscription and physical

remains that she and her colleagues have interpreted as a sign that, as was done at countless other *martyria*, oil would be poured through a pipe into the saints' tomb and become holy through contact with their remains, which then gave it healing potency (see Dauphin 1999, 403–404). But despite Dauphin's speculative claim that “after incubating, the sick gathered round the remains of two unnamed saints at the eastern end of the southern aisle” and, as she implies, received such oil, there is no evidence that this would occur there.

53 On the complex, see Daumas 1957 and Daumas 1969, 79–81, and now Cauville 2004.

54 For the inscription, see Daumas 1957, 42–47; for parallels between this text and those found inscribed on Egyptian “healing statues,” see Dunand 2006, 14–17. The role of water and inscribed texts in Egyptian magico-religious healing practices in antiquity and later has been discussed in El-Khachab 1978, 21–32 (see especially pp. 29–31, on Dendara). The structure was previously thought to date to the first century CE, but has been redated (Cauville 2004, 29).

55 Daumas 1957, 55–57, which depended in part on drawing parallels to other evidence for incubation in Egypt that can now be discounted (*ibid.*, p. 52); followed by Sauneron 1959,

remains was always far from certain, however, since these at best could have indicated that hydrotherapy was practiced at the site; and, moreover, there is no parallel for an incubation sanctuary with multiple private chambers each measuring roughly five meters in depth.⁵⁶ However, a fresh examination of the site by Sylvie Cauville has led to a radically different interpretation of the remains: the structure was devoted to the dying of textiles—sacred garments, specifically—and served no therapeutic purposes.⁵⁷ Thus not only should the Dendara complex be eliminated from discussions of incubation in Egypt, but it also cannot be used as a model for interpreting other sites known or thought to have been linked to healing, as has repeatedly been done.

48–49, El-Khachab 1978, 30, Westendorf 1983, Frankfurter 1998, 47, 162, von Lieven 1999, 114, Grossmann 2002, 236–237, 241n.177, and Lang 2013, 95–97. Dunand, who suspects that incubation was practiced at the site, draws a parallel to bathing regimens that Aristides would follow after receiving instructions from Asklepios at Pergamon, but this is not an apt comparison (Dunand 2006, 14–15). However, even before the work of Cauville (see below), Serge Sauneron had rightly cautioned that we cannot be certain in linking the *sanatorium* to incubation because we have no texts that refer to the practice (Sauneron 1959, 48–49), and Ehrenheim, unaware of Cauville's study, also expressed skepticism regarding whether incubation was practiced at this or other Hathor sanctuaries (Ehrenheim 2009, 252, 268).

- 56 Daumas himself noted the lack of a parallel for this configuration (Daumas 1957, 55–56). Small rooms used for healing do appear to have at least one parallel, though again there is no surviving link to incubation: at the temple of Mut at Karnak a shrine of magical healing appears to have been established in the forecourt during the 25th–26th Dynasties (early 8th cent.–525 BCE), as is indicated by the presence of a text corresponding to Spell No. 14 of the “Metternich Stele” (see Traunecker 1983). However, as Dunand has noted, the dimensions of .90 × .90 meters make this shrine too small for incubation (Dunand 2006, 17). The existence of such a small structure in which incubation could not have been practiced shows that the somewhat larger chambers of the Dendara “*sanatorium*” need not have served this purpose, either, even if these relatively small, private rooms would have provided the isolation conducive to receiving dreams or visions. (For an example of a small, isolated room being used to receive a divine epiphany, albeit through something akin to a traditional Egyptian “god’s arrival” ritual rather than incubation (see p. 507n.60 on this ritual), see the fictional tale of “Thessalos of Tralles” invoking and then conversing with Asklepios in a “consecrated shrine” (οἶκος καθαρός), the size of which is not stated (Ps.-Thessalos, *De virtutibus herbarum*, Book I *prooem.*, ed. Friedrich; see p. 430n.87).)
- 57 See Cauville 2004, arguing at p. 39 that the stele thought to be at the center of the curative rituals was reused or repositioned.

1.8.2 *Heliopolis, Temple of Ra/Helios*

[See Chapter 9.7 on *Mysis at Leontopolis*.]

1.8.3 *Saqqâra, “Bes chambers”*

In addition to the gods known to have issued therapeutic and oracular dreams at Saqqâra, it has been suggested that a more specialized form of aid might also have been sought from another Egyptian god there, though this is highly unlikely: according to one interpretation of the archaeological evidence, the four Ptolemaic “Bes chambers” built into a wall at the *Anoubieion* may have been intended for infertile individuals or couples to sleep in, with the possible intention of receiving dreams from the dwarf-god Bes. No documentary materials remain to shed light on the purpose of these four mud-brick rooms, but their wall decorations, consisting of painted nude sculpted figures of Bes accompanied by nude females, and the discovery of numerous phallic figurines in these rooms have been thought to reveal an emphasis on Bes as a fertility god.⁵⁸ Thus it has been proposed that the purpose of the rooms was to enable those with fertility problems to bed down—either individually or as husband and wife—in order to benefit from the god’s procreative powers.⁵⁹ The décor

58 On these finds, see Quibell 1907, 12–14 and Jeffreys/Smith 1988, 48–49 *et pass.*; see also Davies/Smith 1997, 114 and Manniche 2015, 226–228. The tentative suggestion that the presence of phallic figurines and unidentified structures in the *Anoubieion*’s settlement area might point to incubation of a possibly fertility-related nature is possible but unlikely (see Smith (H.) 1983, 424, Jeffreys/Smith, *ibid.*, 38–39, and Davies/Smith 1997, 124), and these three authors are more likely to be right in considering these structures possible lodgings for pilgrims. The idea that incubation took place within the chambers persists, however: see most recently Cannata 2007, 237–238 (following Kemp 2006, 382) and Manniche, *ibid.*, 228 (drawing a parallel with the now discredited idea that incubation was practiced at Hathor’s Dendara sanctuary (see Sect. 1.8.1)).

Phallic dedicatory figurines of Bes along with Harpokrates were also found in a second location a short distance away in the Sacred Animal Necropolis, and were thought to have been given by those praying for procreation or regeneration (see Martin (G.) 1981, 27–30 and Derchain 1981; cf. Frankfurter 1998, 127). See Davies/Smith, *ibid.*, 116, 124 on the presence of Bes statues similar to those at the *Anoubieion* “Bes chambers” having been found against a courtyard wall near the entrance to the North Ibis Gallery, and on the basis of these as well as the phallic figurines drawing a comparison to the chambers and implying the possibility that incubation was also practiced in this necropolis; and, see Smith, *ibid.*, suggesting that since Bes was found at these ibis catacombs his own “Bes-chambers” may have been attached to another god’s cult.

59 While no traces of beds survive, the best preserved of the chambers was found to have two benches—perhaps a parallel for the benches found at *Asklepieia* (see pp. 125–126n.30),

has also led to the tentative suggestion that these rooms were devoted to sacred prostitution (or regular prostitution).⁶⁰ As noted elsewhere, fertility problems appear to have been a common reason for engaging in incubation, but if this interpretation of the “Bes-chambers” is correct it would make this site the only one known to have been devoted to fertility-related incubation.⁶¹ Even though at Abydos in Roman times Bes issued dream-oracles,⁶² this is unlikely because the links between Bes and fertility are not as strong as those advocating such an interpretation have indicated: Bes was primarily an apotropaic deity, which included roles as a protector of sleep (*i.e.*, those sleeping), mothers (both pregnant women and new mothers), and children and childbirth, and the phallic figurines are more likely to be apotropaic than sexual.⁶³ For these reasons, a new theory may well be more plausible: the presence of Bes and the phallic objects at these structures could instead reflect his role in local Dionysiac worship, which is much in evidence at Saqqâra beginning with the Ptolemies, though typically linked to Osiris.⁶⁴ Ultimately, however, the purpose of the “Bes chambers” remains a mystery.

but benches were of course found at other sanctuaries as well, and in different types of structures.

- 60 See Thompson (D.) 2012, 22–23; *contra*, see Quack 2009b, 162–164 (reacting to Thompson's 1988 first edition (at pp. 25–26), and preferring a ritual purpose). J.E. Quibell, who excavated the complex, first suggested that the structures were *Aphrodisia* (*i.e.*, brothels), but without proposing sacred prostitution (Quibell 1907, 12–14). For the lack of reliable evidence for temple prostitution in Egypt in general, see Quack, *ibid.* and Scholl 2009.
- 61 For fertility incubation, see Appendix III.
- 62 See Chapter 9.2.
- 63 On Bes as an apotropaic god, see Dasen 1993, 55–83 (with sleep/sleepers at pp. 75–76), Michailidis 1963–64, 70–73, and Szpakowska 2010b, 35–36; cf. von Lieven 2006, 33–35, on Bes and apotropaic music; *contra*, see Klotz 2012b, 395n.72. For the association of Bes with fertility, see Pinch 1993, 239–241 (also accepting the possibility of incubation at this site, at p. 223), and for more widespread evidence of Bes's link to fertility as well as his apotropaic powers, see Frankfurter 1998, 124–131, 171–172. However, claims regarding a significant role for Bes as a fertility god can be questioned because there is not strong evidence in the written sources, and while Bes's phallus was typically visible he was not represented in sexual or fertility poses. (I am grateful to Joachim F. Quack for this point regarding Bes and fertility.)
- 64 See Volokhine 2010, 245–248 (with pp. 248–253 on the association of Bes with Dionysos). Another recent proposal is that the Bes chambers may have been used by priests of Anubis for a fertility ritual that involved their wearing an Anubis mask while engaging in sexual activities with women who needed help conceiving (see Klotz 2012b, 394–395), though this is quite speculative. [*Contra* Klotz, see now Jasnow/Smith 2015, 242–243.]

1.8.4 *Ain Labakha (Kharga Oasis), Sanctuary of Piyris*

Guy Wagner, who published the Greek inscriptions from the site, believed that incubation was practiced and cures achieved at Ain Labakha in the sanctuary of Piyris, a local divinity whose cult has elements reminiscent of those of both Antinous and Amenhotep; however, there is no reliable evidence for this assumption, and the inscriptions that have been the basis for it are ambiguous and thus can be interpreted otherwise.⁶⁵ A divinized mortal about whom nothing is known, Piyris was worshiped in a rock-cut sacred precinct that included this individual's tomb chambers, an original sanctuary, an adjacent sanctuary that was built later and gave direct access to the tomb from its chapel via an ascending passageway, and a series of rooms used for storage, banqueting, and other necessities.⁶⁶ As at Deir el-Bahari, though on a much smaller scale, a number of Greek and Demotic *graffiti* and *dipinti* written on the walls or inscribed on steles or tablets during the second and third centuries CE show the site to have received both Greek and Egyptian visitors, some of whom left *proskynema* texts.⁶⁷ The site has been associated with incubation on the strength of references to Piyris as a rescuer and the multiple graffiti implying that visitors had seen him. That a dedicatory stele was given ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας and a *dipinto* was written σωτηρίας χάριν does not prove that the sanctuary was associated with healing, however, especially since ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας is a common formula in Greek dedications and σωτηρία can refer to various forms

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- 65 See Wagner 1996, 97 *et pass.*; cf. Wagner 2000, 69, in which other options are considered as well. For the sanctuary and its finds, excavated in 1991, see Hussein 2000 (including Greek inscriptions edited by Wagner); for information on the Demotic texts, see Kaper 2002, 91–92.
- 66 That Piyris was divinized is indicated in one graffito by the use of the term ἥσι, a transliteration of the Egyptian *hṣy*, which is often taken to refer specifically to one who became divinized by drowning in the Nile but more generally indicated that the deceased had become “glorified” (SEG 46, 2095 (= Wagner 2000, 77, Graffito No. 5); on the *hṣy* phenomenon, see pp. 514–515n.82). This term was associated with those whose divinization was recognized in the immediate aftermath of their death, which undermines the suggestion by Adel Hussein that the addition of a second and larger sanctuary adjacent to the original might be attributed to the discovery that Piyris had become divine (Hussein 2000, 108). For the possibility that addressing Piyris as μάχαρ, which was sometimes used for divinized mortals, in an epigram from the site is intended as a “Greek poetic rendering” of *hṣy*, see Clarysse/Huys 1996, 214 on SEG 46, 2087 (discussed below).
- 67 Numismatic evidence indicates that the site, built around 100 CE, was still being visited in the early fourth century CE (see Hussein 2000, 107; for the coins, see Daniel Schaad, “Les Monnaies,” in *ibid.*, 57–67). The twenty-three Greek inscriptions were initially published in Wagner 1996 and then republished by Wagner in the excavation report (Wagner 2000).

of divine assistance, including rescue from danger.⁶⁸ Similarly, the use of the rare term σῶστρον (“gift for deliverance”) in another dedicatory stele has been taken by its initial editor to be a thank-offering for a medical cure, but there is no reason why this epigram cannot refer to being “saved” in another way, or simply kept safe.⁶⁹ *Proskynema* texts by three different worshipers claiming to “have beheld” (εἰσώρασα) can plausibly be interpreted as referring to dreams, but are much more likely to allude to sacred contemplation of a cult image, as also appears to be the case with a graffito from Abydos.⁷⁰ In the Abydos text it was implied by the worshiper that the god Osiris was the verb’s direct object, and thus that the god’s cult image or the god himself had been seen. Two of the three Aīn Labakha texts similarly imply that Piyris had been seen, while the third makes no mention of the divinity and provides no direct object: nonetheless, based on the comparanda from Abydos and other sites it appears that these worshipers likewise saw the cult image rather than envisioning the

68 *SEG* 46, 2089 and 2107 (= Wagner 2000, 73, Stele No. 3 and 84, Graffito No. 17). On such terminology, see Habicht 2001 and Habicht 2002.

69 *SEG* 46, 2087 (= Wagner 2000, 70–71, Stele No. 1), cf. *SEG* 50, 1601. The inscription was linked to healing in Wagner 1996, 100 and Wagner 2000, 71. In their improved edition of this text, Willy Clarysse and Marc Huys suggest the restoration of σῶστρον | [ναυτι]λ[ι]ης (“gift for deliverance from a sea voyage”), which might be speculative but rightly considers an alternative circumstance in which the worshiper was saved or kept safe (Clarysse/Huys 1996, 214; cf. *BE* 1997, 694), and is more likely than Wagner’s ὀφεί[λ]ω[ν] (“debts”). Supporting Wagner’s original interpretation is that much of the inscription is devoted to a plea that Piyris “save” (σῶξε) members of the dedicant’s family, which could either be a general prayer for their protection or a request to ward off or drive away a specific malady that had struck them or threatened to do so. But since, as Clarysse and Huys have noted, the final lines, which feature some of the family members, were inscribed by a different hand and this was possibly done sometime later (*ibid.*, 213), this prayer would be more likely to seek ongoing protection than against a specific health crisis. For both σῶστρον and the more common term ἱατρὰ (“medical fees”), see pp. 261–262n.382.

70 *SEG* 46, 2091 (= Wagner 2000, 75, Graffito No. 1) (τὸ πρ(ο)σκύνημα Ἑρμοκλῆς | διὰ Παχίους ὦδε σήμερον | ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ καὶ <εἰ>σώρασ(α)), 2095 (= *ibid.*, 77, Graffito No. 5) (ἔλθων Ἡράκλειος Ἀπολλωνίου προσεκύνησα τὸν θεὸν μέγιστον Πιῦριν ἥσι ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ | καὶ εἰσώρασα καὶ τὸ πρ(ο)σκύνημα) Τιμούθιος καὶ τὸ πρ(ο)σκύνημα Ψεναμοῦνις), 2102 (= *ibid.*, 81–82, Graffito No. 12) (...τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀγάθου πα[ρὰ] τῷ μεγίστῳ | εὐτυχεστάτῳ Πιῦρι ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἰσώρασα...); cf. *SEG* 46, 2097 (= *ibid.*, 78, Graffito No. 7) (suggested restoration). Since visiting sanctuaries and contemplating a cult image or observing a procession was a fundamental element of Egyptian worship, it is more likely that εἰσορᾶν refers to this type of experience than to a divine epiphany. For the Abydos graffito (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 107) and the role of “sacred contemplation” in Egyptian religion, see pp. 489–490n.12.

god himself, and therefore the latter possibility should not be entertained.⁷¹ Thus there is neither reason to conclude that Piyris was a healer nor that his worshipers would come to his sanctuary in the hopes of seeing him in their dreams.

1.8.5 *Qaṣr el-Aguz (Western Thebes), Temple of Thoth*

The claim by Patrick Boylan that incubation might have been practiced during the Ptolemaic Period in Thoth's small temple at Qaṣr el-Aguz,⁷² which has been echoed elsewhere, cannot be accepted: neither the regular use of the epithet "Teëphibis" (*ḏd-ḥr-pꜣ-hb*, "the face of the ibis speaks") there, nor a passage in an important dedicatory inscription that both refers to Thoth as Thotsytmis (*i.e.*, "Thoth who listens," a name that might have an oracular connotation), and to his arriving each night and leaving the next morning, holds up as evidence.⁷³ While indirect and vague, this suggested to Boylan that Thoth, who was represented as an ibis-headed figure on the temple's walls, provided oracles either in the temple or its immediate vicinity, and may have communicated through dreams in the guise of a speaking ibis. However, the passage regarding Thoth's comings and goings was always flimsy evidence, and Youri Volokhine has now disputed the claim of Thoth's oracular function at the temple based on the epithet.⁷⁴ Thus there remains no reason to conclude that each night Thoth would visit his worshipers in their dreams at this site.

1.8.6 *Elephantine, Temple of Khnum, Shrine of Espemet(?)*

Based on the *Dodgson Papyrus*, a late-Ptolemaic Demotic papyrus preserving a lengthy oracular revelation concerning divine judgment in a case of blasphemy

71 Wagner has stated that "on peut comprendre que les auteurs de ces actes d'adoration ont admiré le sanctuaire ou qu'ils ont eu une apparition, en songe, ou lors d'une mise en scène" (Wagner 2000, 75).

72 On the temple, which was erected under Ptolemy VIII (reigned 145–116 BC), see Mallet 1909; cf. Quaegebeur 1984*b* and PM 11², pp. 527–530. Thoth was joined at his temple by Imhotep and Amenhotep (see Mallet, *ibid.*, 7–10 *et pass.* and Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 235–239, §151).

73 Ed. Mallet 1909, 98–101, located at PM 11², p. 530; cited in Boylan 1922, 168. Boylan's claim regarding incubation was followed elsewhere (*e.g.* Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 126–127 and Wacht 1997, 206). On the epithet "Teëphibis," both at this site and others, see Quaegebeur 1975*b* (with additional discussion in Quaegebeur 1977*b*); cf. Quaegebeur 1974, 53, Quaegebeur 1997, 30–31, and Kessler 2010, 267–268 *et pass.* For the *-sdm* element of "Thotsytmis" and its possible link to oracular baboons at Saqqâra, see p. 435*n.107*; on this divine name see also Ray, *Texts*, 40*n.14*.

74 Volokhine 2002; cf. Volokhine 2004, 148–150.

and sinning against Osiris, divinatory incubation can plausibly but inconclusively be associated with the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, but rather than a divine judgment having been sought directly from Khnum it appears that the inquiry was made of a divinized mortal named Espemet.⁷⁵ The oracle, which is more than forty lines long, is preceded by a brief introduction indicating that an unnamed individual had consulted Espemet on behalf of the offender, Petra son of Pshenpaouer, and was to convey it to him:

*ibd-4 3h.t sw 21 dd n3=y p3 hrd.t r-ms=w (n) Yb | Ns-p3-mtr s3 P3-di-iry-hms-nfr
iw=y (n) n3 r3.w (n) | Hnm St(t) 'nq.t iw=y 'h' t3 nty iw=w wh3=s (n) | p3 nty
iw=w gm n=f bw3 iw=w twy-st (n)-dr.t dd | ir syhyh=f ink Wsir Ns-p3-mtr s3
Hnm | r-ddy-s (n) Ptr3h s3 P3-šr-p3-wr.⁷⁶*

Choiak, day 21, the Child who was born (in) Elephantine, Espemet son of Petiireyhememesnefer, said to me (while) I was (at) the portals (of) Khnum, Satis (and) Anukis, standing (waiting to hear) that which is sought (from) the one in whom sin is found,⁷⁷ (for) I was charged with making his plea: “I am (the) Osiris Espemet-son-of-Khnum. Say (to) Petra son of Pshenpaouer...”

The medium of communication is not specified, but since it is a lengthy and complex first-person statement it clearly cannot have been obtained through a traditional motion oracle (*i.e.*, an oracle functioning by the statue being carried in procession and its movements interpreted as responses) or another common form of divination in Egypt normally employed by those seeking a simple positive or negative response, and thus a dream is the most likely

75 *Papyrus Dodgson*, ed. de Cenival 1987, re-edited in Martin (C.) 1994; translated with commentary as *P.ElephEng* C26 (C.J. Martin). Espemet, who is recorded as having referred to himself as “(the) Osiris Espemet-son-of-Khnum” (*Wsir Ns-p3-mtr s3 Hnm*), appears to have been a representative of the *hsy* phenomenon, in this case a deceased child who came to be posthumously venerated (see pp. 514–515n.82). For the cult, see now Hoffmann (F.) 2009, on a hemerological text.

76 *Verso*, ll. 1–6 (trans. Martin; text from Martin (C.) 1994, 201). Following the initial oracle, which takes up most of the papyrus, there is a shorter follow-up oracle pronounced three months later (ll. 53–69). If this was indeed obtained through incubation then it would appear to be a form of proxy incubation or, if the person was serving in the cult, priestly incubation (see Appendix IV).

77 Quack has suggested instead translating this phrase as “the one against whom divine wrath is found,” based on Mark Smith’s discussion of the term *bw3* meaning “retribution, opprobrium of a god” (Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 119; personal communication).

explanation.⁷⁸ Regardless of whether incubation or a spoken oracle was involved, the question of just where this quasi-legal inquiry took place is similarly uncertain. The most important clue is the reference to “the portals (of) Khnum, Satis (and) Anukis” (*i.e.*, the divine triad at Elephantine), which has been tentatively identified as the area on Terrace III where in Roman times three small *naos* shrines stood,⁷⁹ and which most likely alludes to the tradition of engaging in quasi-juristic procedures at temple entranceways.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, it is not known what the area looked like in Ptolemaic times and whether similar *naoi* stood there, but the Roman-era *naoi* could not have been used for incubation due to their size and vertical orientation.⁸¹ Moreover, divinized mortals like Espemet were typically worshiped at a funerary temple, which creates an additional topographical problem. Therefore, while incubation may well be the best explanation for the source of the oracle preserved in the *Dodgson Papyrus*, it is far from certain that this was indeed the case.

1.8.7 *Esna/Latopolis, Temple of Khnum*

In his fundamental study of dreams in Egypt, Serge Sauneron cited a passage in an inscribed Roman-era hieroglyphic hymn from Khnum's temple at Latopolis as evidence that the god would appear during the night and give prophetic dreams, implying a link to incubation.⁸² Translating the passage as “Redoutez Khnoum pendant la nuit, car il est le dieu riche en oracles, qui révèle l'avenir,” Sauneron cited this as an example showing that Egyptian gods typically recognized as oracular would sometimes issue their oracles by means of

78 See Martin (C.) 1994, 209–211; cf. *P.ElephEng*, p. 339. As an alternative to incubation Martin suggests a voice-oracle issued by a hidden priest, which there is reason to doubt (see pp. 594–595n.80).

79 For the shrines, which were each more than a meter high and stood at the edge of the terrace near some altars and small obelisks, see Jaritz (H.) 1980, 22–24 (with figs. 4–8). The suggestion that the papyrus refers to this area is that of Martin, who indicates that it is unknown what sort of structure or structures may have preceded the *naoi* in Hellenistic times (Martin (C.) 1994, 204–206; cf. *P.ElephEng*, p. 340n.3).

80 The main study of this phenomenon remains Quaegebeur 1992. Cf. Traunecker 1997, 49–51.

81 For the issue of whether such *naoi* could be used by priests secretly issuing voice-oracles, see pp. 594–595.

82 Sauneron 1959, 40, citing his own, at the time unpublished, reading of *Esna* III, No. 277, l. 21 (= §4). This hymn begins on Column 9 of the “Salle Hypostyle,” which features verses 1–14 (= *ibid.*, ll. 19–27), and then continues onto Columns 16 and then 15 (= *Esna* III, Nos. 366, 355; see *Esna* 1:109–110). For the full text in translation and a commentary, see *Esna* v:162–174. The hymn dates to the time of Domitian (81–96 CE).

dreams, as he subsequently noted elsewhere as well.⁸³ However, the passage, one of thirty-six verses beginning with the same invocation to “Fear Khnum,” does not indicate whether solicited or unsolicited dreams were intended, or both.⁸⁴ Thus while this statement might allude to incubation, it could simply recognize this god’s propensity for appearing in worshipers’ dreams.

1.8.8 *Triphion/Athribis, Unidentified Sanctuary*

According to the authors of an archaeological report regarding an *Asklepieion* at Athribis, an unpublished Demotic *dipinto* from the Augustan Period that “consists of 33 short lines enumerating the names of 23 persons and stating that they had spent the night there for reasons of their health” represented evidence of therapeutic incubation at the site.⁸⁵ More recent work at the site, however, has revealed this text to have been partly misread and to be unrelated to healing or incubation, and has also called into question whether the sanctuary, which comprised two halls and an irregular cave-like room carved into the side of a cliff, served as an *Asklepieion*: other than the inexplicable inscription Ἀσκληπιῶδι (“For Asklepios”) on the lintel above the entrance, none of the more than sixty texts mention Imhotep/Asklepios, and instead the aforementioned *dipinto* and numerous other texts pertain to a falcon cult.⁸⁶

1.8.9 *Karnak (or Modern “Birbeh”?)*

An Imperial-period Greek dedicatory inscription of uncertain provenience has been linked to incubation because of the restoration of the word “dreams” by its original editor, and due to its possible link to Karnak has been treated as evidence of the practice there.⁸⁷ Of particular note is Sauneron’s use of this

83 *Esna* v:166–167n.d.

84 For a study of this and other *śnd-n*-hymns (i.e., hymns warning worshipers to fear a temple’s god), see Rüter 2009, transliterating and commenting on this text at pp. 65–69, and translating the passage as “Habt Ehrfurcht vor Chnum in der Nacht; denn er ist [...] des Orakels, der die Zukunft vorhersagt.”

85 El-Farag/Kaplony-Heckel/Kuhlmann 1985, 1–4 (with discussion of incubation at p. 2). The claim regarding incubation has been repeated in Smith (M.) 2002, 242, and accepted with some hesitation in Lang 2013, 97.

86 See Lippert 2014 for the most recent excavations and discoveries and a reevaluation of the written sources. (I am grateful to Sandra L. Lippert for sharing a copy of her article in advance of publication, and for the additional information that falcon mummies were found at the site during the 2010 excavating season.)

87 First published by Henri Weil on the basis of a squeeze (Weil 1901), the text was subsequently reprinted by Seymour de Ricci with slight changes after he had also examined the squeeze (de Ricci 1903, 561, No. 97), and in *IGRR* I 1162 and *SB* v 8808. The

inscription to justify his claim that there was a “*sanatorium*” of Imhotep and Amenhotep at Karnak, which has been echoed by László Kákósy and Françoise Dunand.⁸⁸ The inscription was broken or damaged on the right side, leading the clause recording the reasons for the dedication to survive as ἀνέθηκεν βωμὸ[ν ---]ΠΟΙΣ ἐπιφανέσι θε[οῖς ---]. Weil restored this as ἀνέθηκεν βωμὸ[ν τοῖς ἐν ὄνει]ροις ἐπιφανέσι θε[οῖς ἐπιστάσι], concluding that ἐπιφανέσι indicated a dream-vision.⁸⁹ The epithets ἐπιφανής and ἐπιφανέστατος, however, were commonly used to indicate a divinity’s seen or unseen presence in a worshiper’s life, or else simply that the divinity was “celebrated” or “distinguished,” and the epigraphical sources show no link between either epithet and dreams.⁹⁰ Moreover, the language Weil suggests has no parallels among the documents recording dreams, and is a highly unlikely way for a Greek worshiper to have referred to gods appearing in his or her dreams. It is therefore necessary to reject the restorations of ἐπιστάσι and ὄνειροις, preferably replacing the latter with de Ricci’s suggestion of [τοῖς Διοσκού]ροις (which he himself did not include in his text, instead putting it in the *apparatus criticus*). The Dioskouroi, after all, were elsewhere referred to by this epithet,⁹¹ and at that point in the inscription the name of a god or gods is expected, and their name fits well.

inscription is cited as evidence for incubation at Karnak in Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, p. xxiv.n.2, and Sauneron 1965, 73n.7. Whether the inscription originated at Karnak is unclear: Henri Weil only knew that it was found in Egypt, but de Ricci indicated that according to Gaston Maspero, who had provided the squeeze, it came from Karnak. Soon thereafter, however, Cagnat and his colleagues producing *IGRR* assigned it to Birbeh, an unidentified place thought to be in western Thebes, without indicating the source for this conclusion, and Emil Kießling repeated this in his 1955 *Sammelbuch* entry.

- 88 Kákósy 2003, 162; Dunand 2006, 21. Though both Sauneron and Dunand may be correct that there was a healing center devoted to Imhotep and Amenhotep at Karnak—the hymn to Imhotep that Sauneron edits in his article does honor both, and briefly praises Imhotep as a healer (Firchow, *Urkunden* VIII, 145, §213 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 207–209, §143.1); see pp. 482–483n.99)—the only sources for incubation that Sauneron could point to were this inscription and the fictional story of Ps.-Thessalos in the *On the Virtue of Herbs* (see pp. 429–430), which is set in Thebes and involves dream-divination at an unidentified sanctuary. Thus an unlikely restoration of this Greek inscription over a century ago has continued to mislead scholars either directly (Sauneron) or indirectly (Dunand; also Kákósy, who cites the hymn and Sauneron’s work on it, though not the inscription).

- 89 Weil 1901, 202, on ll. 4–5.

- 90 To be discussed in Renberg (in preparation), *a* and *b*.

- 91 E.g., *I.Fayoum* II 123, l. 4 (Διοσκ[ούρο]ις σωτήρσι ἐπιφανέσι θεοῖς). Lefebvre in the *editio princeps* of this inscription accepted de Ricci’s restoration of the Karnak/Birbeh inscription as preferable, also suggesting that the epithet σωτήρσι be restored, which is certainly possible (Lefebvre 1914, 93n.5). For the Dioskouroi in Egypt, see now Pernigotti 2009.

With Weil's restoration rejected, the inscription can no longer be considered evidence for incubation—either at Karnak, where another source possibly points to incubation,⁹² or at some other Theban site where the inscription may have originated.

1.8.10 *Talmis, Sanctuary of Mandoulis*

An unusual form of divinatory incubation may be in evidence at a site on the southern periphery of Greco-Roman Egypt, in the Dodecaschoenus region beyond the First Cataract: a Roman temple at Talmis (modern Kalabsha), at which the Nubian god Mandoulis was worshiped under Egyptian guise but also as a Hellenized god,⁹³ primarily serving the garrison of *Legio III Cyrenaica* as well as the local nomadic tribes (*i.e.*, the Blemmyes), and also drawing pilgrims from other parts of Egypt and lands adjoining this frontier region.⁹⁴ The popularity of this local solar god, who in some of the Greek sources was associated with Apollo, seems to have been due in part to his oracular function. This aspect of his cult is revealed not only in a soldier's *proskynema*

92 See Chapter 9.3.

93 The name Μανδούλις is a Hellenized form of *Mrwr*, *i.e.* “Merul” or “Melul.”

94 Construction of the temple was started under Augustus and finished under Vespasian, replacing a smaller Ptolemaic temple. The primary study of this god, his temple and its inscriptions remains Nock 1934, but see now Tallet 2011; the commentaries of Étienne Bernard accompanying his editions of the metrical inscriptions from the site (*I. MetrEg*, pp. 573–616) and Andrea Jördens's annotated translations of the most important of these (Jördens 2013, pp. 299–310) are also of great value. For the Ptolemaic temple and cult, see Laskowska-Kusztal 2010. See also: A. Barsanti in Maspero 1911, 1:61–83; Frankfurter 1998, 108–109, 165–167; Burstein 1998 and Burstein 2000; Dunand 2002; Török 2009, 444–445, 450–452 *et pass.*; and Mairs 2011; cf. Henfling 1980. For Kalabsha in general, see Curto/Maragioglio/Rinaldi/Bongrani 1965. The site featured more Greek graffiti than Demotic, as well as a small number written in Latin. The Greek graffiti were collected in Gauthier, *Kalabchah* along with four Latin graffiti (pp. 1:84 (No. 8), 194 (unnumbered), 265 (No. 39), 282 (No. 32)), and two Latin inscriptions were earlier edited as *CIL* III 77–78, while the Demotic graffiti are in Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus* (Nos. Kal. 1–4) and Bresciani, *Dodecaschoene*, Pls. 22, 25, 29. Stanley Burstein, citing the much greater number of Greek graffiti than Demotic (165 to 34) and the presence of just one Egyptian name and no Nubian names in the Greek graffiti, has cautioned against the tendency to assume that this temple played a central role in the lives of the local Nubians (Burstein 2000, 49–50). For the linguistic backgrounds of the Roman soldiers who left graffiti at the temple, see Adams 2003, 580–583. (See also now Gaëlle Tallet, “Mandulis Apollo's Diplomacy: Echoes of Greek Culture and Hellenism at Talmis (Nubia) in the Roman Period,” in I. Rutherford (ed.), *Greco-Roman Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE–300 CE* (Oxford, 2016), 287–315, which became available too late for consultation.)

inscription primarily addressing “Mandoulis Apollo, who listens well, oracle-giver” (Μανδοῦλιν Ἀπόλωναν εὐήκ|ουον χρησμοδότην),⁹⁵ but also in four roughly contemporary inscribed verse hymns from the early Imperial Period: one in which a *decurion* named Paccius Maximus described a revelatory dream-vision featuring Mandoulis and other gods (known as the “Vision of Maximus”); another that records an unidentified individual’s theological inquiry about the nature of Mandoulis and the god’s response in a vision; and, two similar hymns praising the god’s prophetic powers and each requesting an oracle regarding an imminent journey.⁹⁶ The profound nature of the religious experiences of the two worshipers who saw Mandoulis in a vision is certainly atypical of anything described in other sources for divinatory incubation and more closely resembles some of the passages in the Greek magical papyri concerning ways to obtain direct knowledge of the gods,⁹⁷ which raises the question of whether the sanctuary was visited by those seeking to engage in incubation for conventional reasons, or if only those practicing rites for theological revelations would sleep there.⁹⁸ It is therefore far from certain that Mandoulis at Talmis should be added to the short list of oracular sites for which there is strong evidence that a god communicated both through dreams and another medium, especially since due to ambiguity in one case and damage to crucial lines in the

95 Gauthier, *Kalabchah* 1:282–283, No. 35, ll. 5–6 (= SB I 4607).

96 The first two hymns, *IMetrEg* 168 and 166, are quoted and discussed below; the third and fourth are *IMetrEg* 167 and 170 (see n. 100), both incomplete texts that employ the same language in introducing the request for a favorable oracle: “Be propitious to me, Mandoulis, son of Zeus, and give me a favorable sign” (Ἰλαθί μοι, Μανδοῦλι, Διὸς τέκος, ἥδ’ ἡπίνευσον) (lines 7 and 8, respectively). (For another example of graffito hymns from a sanctuary employing the same opening verse despite being written by different worshipers, see the Athenodoros graffito of Deir el-Bahari (*I.Deir el-Bahari* 208; quoted pp. 458–459) and *I.Deir el-Bahari* 100. It is unclear whether the reuse of opening lines of hymns at sanctuaries was common, as not enough survive.)

97 See n. 108.

98 Burstein has concluded that the “Vision of Maximus” was received in an “incubation dream” (Burstein 1998, 48; Burstein 2000, 47), as has Török 2009, 445, while Gaëlle Tallet also viewed it as likely evidence for incubation at the temple, though she notes that this appears not to have been the primary means of consulting the god, and that it was quite possibly limited to the priestly class (Tallet 2011, 353). Frankfurter suggests that the incubatory aspect of Mandoulis’s cult was indicative of Hellenization, since the practice cannot be detected at Talmis before the Roman Period (Frankfurter 1998, 165–166; cf. Frankfurter 2005a, 239); this, however, may be a function of the sources, and that the temple itself was Roman-era. Whether the temple of Mandoulis was regularly visited by those seeking dream-oracles is impossible to know, and the submergence of the site caused by the Aswan Dam—though the temple itself was salvaged and relocated—means no new evidence should be expected.

other neither vision recorded in these texts is explicitly revealed to have been solicited through incubation.⁹⁹

The earlier of the two texts referring to visions is the 36-line polymetric hymn of Paccius Maximus painted on a wall of the *pronaos* in red letters, one of three graffiti he left at the temple sometime in the late-first century CE while stationed in the area.¹⁰⁰ This is the only text from the temple to refer to sleep and a dream, but the precise nature of the experience is unclear, due to the complicated poetic language the author employed:

99 See pp. 560–561.

100 *I.MetrEg* 168 (see next note). As was recognized more than a century ago by Georges Gastinel, the first twenty-two lines of this hymn spell out the acrostic ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ ΔΕΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ ΕΓΡΑΨΑ (Μάξιμος δεκουρίων ἔγραψα, “Maximus the *decurion* wrote this”), which led him to identify this *decurion* with one named Maximus who had written a *proskynema* graffito at modern Maharraga (*SB* v 8542 (= *CIG* 111 5119); see Gastinel 1895; cf. Burstein 1998, 48n.2 and Burstein 2000, 47n.8). Guy Wagner has since connected the hymn to two other *proskynema* texts from the temple, and identified this “Maximus” as Paccius Maximus (Wagner 1993). One of these inscriptions, a prose text, was left by Paccius Maximus (using his full name) on behalf of himself, several fellow soldiers from *Legio III Cyrenaica*, and some of their spouses (Gauthier, *Kalabchah* 1:276–277, No. 19 (= *SB* I 4597)); the other, a twelve-line painted *proskynema* text that is mostly metrical (*I.MetrEg* 169, cf. Peek 1975, 135–137 and *SEG* 43, 1180), had previously been attributed to the same “Maximus” as the 36-line hymn because lines 8–9 reveal the author’s name through the numerical values of the words (see Cazzaniga/Merkelbach 1965), but Wagner was the first to recognize that his *nomen* was written as an acrostic in lines 1–7, ΠΑΚΚΙΟΣ. Another inscription from the site might also have been composed by the same individual: *I.MetrEg* 167 (= Garulli 2013, 254–255, No. 7), a now incomplete hymn painted just a few meters from Paccius Maximus’s *I.MetrEg* 168, has been linked to him both because of the proximity of the two hymns and “frappantes analogies” between it and *I.MetrEg* 169, the *proskynema* text (Wagner, *ibid.*, p. 148; but see also *I.MetrEg*, p. 591, in which Bernand is more cautious regarding this matter; annotated translations in Jördens 2013, 306–309, Nos. 9.2.2–3). If *I.MetrEg* 167 was indeed by Maximus then it is possible that the term ἡπίνευσον (“give me a favorable sign”) in that hymn and *I.MetrEg* 170 (annotated translation in Jördens, *ibid.*, 309–310, No. 9.2.4) alluded to a dream-oracle (see n. 96; on prayers preceding incubation, see Appendix v). For what can be determined regarding the ethnicity, family, educational background and career of Maximus, see Burstein 1998 and Burstein 2000; for the dating of *I.MetrEg* 168 to the late-first century CE, see Burstein 1998, 49, primarily basing this on the legion’s transfer in 105 CE. More recently, Rachel Mairs in her study of Maximus’s two acrostics (*I.MetrEg* 168, 169) and an unrelated Latin one from the site (*CIL* III 77 (= *CLE* I 271) has argued that he was “a fluent user of Greek” and thus a Roman, either originally from another province or a Romanized Egyptian (Mairs 2011, 285–287, 294–295). For the issues of whether Maximus received help composing and painting these texts, see Mairs, *ibid.*, 292–293.

- μακάριον ὅτ' ἔβην ἡρεμίας τόπον ἐσαθρήσαι,
 ἄερί τὸ ποθεινὸν ψυχῆς πνεῦμ' ἐπανεῖναι,
 ξένα μοι βιοτὴ περὶ φρένα πάντοθεν ἐδονεῖτο,
 ἴστορα κακίης ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχων ἔλεγχον,
 5 μύστην τότε κίκλησκε φύσις πόνον γεωργεῖν·
 ὁ σοφὸς τότ' ἐγὼ ποικίλον ἤρμοζον αἰοιδῆν,
 σεμνὸν ἀπὸ θεῶν κωτίλον ἐπιτυχῶν νόημα.
 δῆλον ὅτε θεοὶς ἀρεστὸν ἡργάζετο Μοῦσα,
 Ἑλίκωνι χλοῆς ἀνθεμον ἀπετίναξα κῶμον·
 10 καὶ τότε μέ τις ὕπνου μυχὸς ἡρέθισε φέρεσθαι,
 ὀλίγον ἐπίφοβον φαντασίης ὄναρ τραπήναι·
 ὕπνος δέ με λέ<ξ>ας ταχὺν ἀπεκόμισε φί[λ]ην γ]ῆν·
 ῥεῖθροις ἐδόκουν γὰρ ποταμοῦ σῶμα ἀπο[λο]ύειν,
 ἱκανοὶς ἀπὸ Νίλου γλυκεροῦ ὕδασι προσ[η]νῶς·
 15 ὥμην δὲ σεμνήν Μουσῶν Καλλιέπειαν
 νυ[μ]φαῖς ἅμα πάσαις μέσ(σ)ην κῶμον αἰεῖδειν·
 Ἑλλάδος τι καὶ γὰρ βραχὺ λείψανον νομίζων,
 γραπτὸν ἀπὸ σοφῆς ἔπνευσα ψυχῆς μου νόημα·
 ῥάβδῳ δέ τις οἶα κατὰ μέλος δέμας δονηθείς,
 20 ἀρμογὴν μέλει συνεργὸν ἐπεκάλουν χαράττειν,
 φόγον ἀλλοτρίοις ἤθεσιν ἀπολιπὼν ἄδηλον.
 ἀρχῇ δέ μ' ἔκλῃζ' ἔπος τὸ σοφὸν πόημα λέξαι·
 λαμπρὸς τότε Μάνδουλις ἔβη μέγας ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου,
 θέλγων βαρβαρικὴν λέξιν ἀπ' Αἰθιοπῶν,
 25 καὶ γλυκερὴν ἔσπευσεν ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα μοῦσαν αἰεῖσαι,
 λαμπρὰ παρεῖα φέρων καὶ δεξιὸς Ἴσιδι βαίνων,
 Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει δόξαν ἀγαλλόμενος,
 μαντικὰ πυθιόων ἄτε δὴ θεὸς Οὐλύμποιο·
 ὡς βίος ἀνθρώποις προορώμενος ἐξέθεν αὐχεῖ,
 30 ὡς ἡμαρ καὶ νύξ σε σέβει, ὦραι δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι,
 καὶ καλέουσί σε Βρεῖθ καὶ Μάνδουλιν συνομαίμους,
 ἄστρα θεῶν ἐπίσημα κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀντέλλοντα.
 καὶ τάδε σοι στείχοντα χαράσσειν μ' αὐτὸς ἔλεξας
 καὶ σοφὰ γράμματα πᾶσιν ἀθωπεύτως ἐσοράσθαι.
 35 [---]
 [εἵκοσι] καὶ δυσὶ τοῖς πρώτοις γράμμασι πειθόμενος.¹⁰¹

101 *I.MetrEg* 168 (= Garulli 2013, 255–257, No. 8); annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 304–306, No. 9.2.1. On this hymn, which is at least briefly touched on by the various studies of Mandoulis, see especially Nock 1934, 59–61 (pp. 361–363 of 1972 reprint), Knuf 2010, and Mairs 2011, 282–287, 293–294 *et pass.* For line 22 I follow the proposed reading in

When I came to contemplate this blessed place of tranquility,
 for the longed-for spirit of my soul to be free to the air,
 a life strange to me whirled about my mind from all sides;
 not able to refute that I was experienced in wickedness,
 nature summoned me then to cultivate toil as an initiate.
 Then in my wisdom I composed an intricate song,
 obtaining from the gods a solemn, expressive thought.
 It was clear that the Muse brought about something pleasing to the gods,
 I shook free my festival song, the flower of a green shoot on Helikon.
 And then a certain chamber for sleep provoked me to be borne away,
 a little fearful that the dream-image would change.
 Sleep, picking me up, swiftly carried me off to a beloved land.
 I appeared to wash my body in the currents of a river,
 gently in ample waters from the sweet Nile.
 I sensed that holy Kalliope, she of the Muses,
 was singing a festival song together with the Nymphs, in their midst.
 And since I was thinking some small bit of Greece remained
 I breathed forth from my wise soul a written thought.
 Like one whose body is driven by the beat of a (rhapsode's) staff
 I summoned harmony as a tool in recording my song,
 leaving for others of a different mind no detectable flaw.
 At the beginning [*i.e.*, of each verse] she called on me to have the wise
 poem say a word [*i.e.*, form an acrostic].
 Then radiant Mandoulis, great one, came from Olympus,
 charming away the barbaric speech of the Ethiopians,

Merkelbach 1969, which has been neither commented on by the editors of *BE* or *SEG* nor accepted by other scholars, of ἀρχὴ δέ μ' ἔκλῃζ' ἔπος τὸ σοφὸν πόνημα λέξαι, which is based on one early editor's reading of ΕΠΟΣΤΟ, rather than Bernand's ἀρχὴ δέ μ' ἔκλῃζεν τὸ σοφὸν πόνημα λέξαι, which depends on another early editor's ENTO (with NT ligatured). (Thus Merkelbach translated lines 19–22 as “Wie einer, der an seinem Leib durch Rhapsodenstab zum Lied passt, einzuschreiben; für andere (Menschen von neidischem) Wesen machte ich, dass ihr Tadel kein Objekt finden kann (weil der Name in der Akrostichis verschlüsselt ist); aber am Anfang (jedes Verses), so hiess sie (Kalliope) mich, sollte das kluge Gedicht ein Wort sagen (= Akrostichis).”) I merely note without adopting the other significant change proposed to the text after Bernand's edition appeared, which merits serious consideration: Peek, shifting the . . . ΚΑΚΑΙΔΥÇΙ . . . seen by an early editor to line 35, suggested that the final two lines formed a couplet that could be restored [οὔνομ' ἐμὸν γνώσῃ δις καὶ δέ] καὶ καὶ δύο π[ρώτων] | [στοίχων] τοῖς πρώτοις γράμμασι πειθόμενος (“You will know my name by relying on the first letters of the two-and-twice-ten first lines”) (Peek 1975, 137–138); see, however, the reservations expressed in Jördens, *ibid.*, 305n.164, on the grounds that line 35 is supposed to have been wholly lost.

and urged me to chant the sweet Muse of Greece,
 displaying radiant cheeks and walking on Isis's right,
 exulting in the greatness of the Romans, exalting their glory,
 delivering Pythian oracles just like an Olympian god.
 How the life foreseen for men prides itself because of you!
 How day and night revere you, and all the seasons together,
 and they call you Breith and Mandoulis, siblings,
 distinctive stars of the gods rising in the heavens.
 And you yourself said that I should record for you these lines
 and wise words for all to gaze upon without flattery.
 [---]
 relying on the twenty-two first letters [*i.e.*, those forming the acrostic].

The best reason to associate this experience with incubation is the reference to a “chamber for sleep” (ὑπνου μυχός), presumably within the temple precinct, since without the presence of some sort of space devoted to ritual sleep there would be no reason to suppose that the dream-revelation was anything but unintentionally received.¹⁰² Whether this episode can be identified as an example of divinatory incubation is made even more ambiguous by the fact that Maximus received literary inspiration rather than the answer to a question.¹⁰³

The other inscription that can plausibly be linked to incubation, on the other hand, does state that the recipient of a vision of Mandoulis had been

102 Despite Burstein's translation of the line as “Then a cave enticed me to enter and sleep” (Burstein 2000, 46), the context—*i.e.*, a worshiper who has been composing religious verse at a sanctuary—as well as the absence of a cave within the complex argues in favor of the interpretation of Bernand, drawn from Weil 1902, 116 and Festugière 1944–54, 1:48n.4, according to which the μυχός was an underground chamber, quite possibly one specifically devoted to sleep, and thus incubation (see *I.MetrEg*, p. 602). However, there seems no reason to conclude, as they had, that this was a *subterranean* chamber: after all, the term μυχός typically referred to an “innermost area” (*LSJ*, p. 1157, s.v. “μυχός”). Perhaps a parallel is to be drawn to Aeschylus's use of μαντιχοὶ μυχοί in reference to Delphi (Aesch., *Eum.* 180; on this term in Greek literature, see Ustinova 2009, 133–137). Tallet, who notes that the μυχός need not have been underground, has suggested that a rock-cut *mammisi* (*i.e.*, chapel associated with the god's birth) within the temple precinct may have been the chamber in question, but that it was not specifically designated as a place for incubation (see Tallet 2011, 353; on the *mammisi*, see A. Barsanti in Maspero 1911, 1:80). See also Knud 2010, 278–279, 282–283, assigning incubation to a “Grotte” in the sanctuary.

103 For the phenomenon—and frequent *topos*—of literary works and even whole literary careers having been inspired by god-sent dreams, see the discussion in Renberg (in preparation), *a*.

seeking the answer to a question, albeit a theological question rather than one typically asked of oracular gods.¹⁰⁴ The anonymous hymn, dating to sometime during the height of the Imperial Period, relates that this worshiper had sought to find out whether Mandoulis was indeed the sun god Helios, Greek counterpart of Rē, and through a revelation regarding Mandoulis's daily journey across the heavens was given the answer that this god was to be identified with both the sun and the abstract but personified god Aiōn ("Eternity"):¹⁰⁵

- ἀκτινοβόλε δέσποτα,
 Μανδούλι, Τιτάν, Μακαρεῦ,
 σημιά σου τινα λαμπρὰ θεάμενος
 ἐπενόησα καὶ ἐπολυπράγμοσα ἀσφαλῶς
 5 ἰδέναι θέλων εἰ σὺ ἴ ὁ ἥλιος· ἄλότηριον
 ἑμαυτὸν ἐποιησάμην πάσης κακείας
 καὶ πάσ[ης ἀθε]ρό<τη>τος καὶ ἀγνεύσας ἐς πολὺν
 χρόν[ον τῇδε τῇ νυκ]τὶ θείας εὐσεβίας ἵνεκ[εν]
 ἔπε[κοιμήθην] (vel ἔπε[θυσάμην]) καὶ ἐνθεασάμενος ἀνέ[γνων].
 10 Νεύω[ν γάρ κατ]έδειξάς μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῷ
 χρυσῷ [ροὶ τὸ σ]κάφος δι[απε]ρῶντα τὸν
 οὐράνι[ον πό]λον· καὶ CTOΠI.A..N δέμματα
 κατὰ δεινὸν νυκτιδρόμον ..NAA.IΠIATON ποιησάμενος
 ENΩ καὶ ἀγίῳ τῷ τῆς ἀθανασίας ὕδατι λουσάμενος

104 The hymn's Egyptian elements have led Tallet to conclude that it was from a priestly milieu, albeit a Hellenized one (see Tallet 2011, 371), and its overall theological nature certainly would seem to support this. Similar inquiries made of oracles are known elsewhere in Roman Imperial times: see especially the famous Oenoanda "theosophical" inscription recording a response from the Klarian oracle of Apollo on the nature of God (*SEG* 27, 933 (= *Steinepigramme* IV, 16–19, No. 17/06/01); see Robert (L.) 1971; cf. Busine 2005, 447, No. 15). See Busine, *ibid.*, 110–112, 195–224 *et pass.* on the phenomenon, which also included some of the "Tübingen Theosophical Oracles" (*e.g.*, *Theosophia Tubingensis* 13, pp. 7–9, ed. Erbse (= 2, pp. 9–10, ed. Beatrice)).

105 Aiōn, a divinity (or divine attribute) without an Egyptian antecedent, can first be detected in the early Imperial Period both in Egypt and elsewhere. On the evidence for Aiōn in this inscription and other sources: see Nock 1934, 78–99 (pp. 377–396 of 1972 reprint); Zuntz 1992 (especially pp. 26–29); Casadio 1999; Dunand 2002, 30–31; and Tallet 2011, 367–371. See also Bowersock 1990, 23–27, focusing on the most likely unrelated cult of Aiōn in Late Antique Alexandria. For the hymn's treatment of the sun's rays entering the sanctuary and hitting the statue at certain times, the subject of lines 15–17, see Tallet, *ibid.*, 361–365, and pp. 368–369 for the opening address and *interpretatio Graeca* of Mandoulis. For the association of Helios with Rē and other Egyptian divinities, see most recently Pachoumi 2015.

- 15 φαί[νη ὡς παιδί]ον· ἦλθες, κατὰ καιρὸν ἀνατολὰς
 ποιο[ύμενος], εἰς τὸν σὸν σηκόν, ξοάνῳ τε σῶ καὶ ναῶ ἔμπνοιαν
 παρέχων καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην· ἔνθα σε ἔγνω, Μανδοῦλι,
 ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, ἀπάντων βασιλέα,
 Αἰῶνα παντοκράτορα· ὦ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων λαῶν τῶν κατοικούντων,
 20 ἦν ὁ Ἥλιος Μανδοῦλις ἀγαπᾷ, τὴν ἱερὰν Τάλμιν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ
 τὰ σκά[πτρα τῆς εὐε]θείρας μυριωνύμου Ἰσιδος.¹⁰⁶

Ray-emitting master, Mandoulis, Titan, Makareus: Beholding certain radiant signs of you I contrived and made a concerted effort, wishing to know reliably if you are the Sun. I made myself a stranger to every form of wickedness and every ungodly act(?), and having been pure for a long time, [on this very night?] for the sake of holy reverence I fell asleep(?) (or, made an offering(?)) and, having beheld (you), comprehended. For nodding [*i.e.*, in assent] you revealed yourself to me in the golden stream bringing your bark across the heavenly vault. And [---] tow-ropes(?) after(?) the formidable night-runner [*i.e.*, the moon] [---] having accomplished (?) [---] and having been washed with the sacred water of immortality, you appeared [as a child(?)]. You came, at the proper moment making your rising, into your shrine, filling with inspiration and great power your cult image and temple. Thereupon I knew you, Mandoulis, as the Sun, all-seeing master, king of all, all-powerful Aion. Oh, most fortunate peoples, the ones inhabiting holy Talmis, a city which Helios Mandoulis loves, which is beneath the scepter of fair-tressed, many-named Isis.

Despite the belief that this religious experience involved incubation, this is not certain, since the text does not specifically refer to a dream, and the term that might refer to incubatory sleep is not only mostly restored (ἐπε[κοιμήθην]), but is not otherwise associated with the practice.¹⁰⁷ While the reference to

106 *IMetrEg* 166 (annotated translation in Jördens 2013, 301–302, No. 9.1). This text has received significant attention, but see especially Nock 1934, Lewy 1944, Dunand 2002, and Tallet 2011.

107 For this restoration to line 9, see *IMetrEg*, p. 581 (following Lewy 1944, 229–230, who argues for a revelation obtained through incubation); see also Tallet 2011, 352, preferring Puchstein's ἐπε[θυσάμην] (Puchstein 1880, 72), which was followed by Nock (ἀγνεύσας ἐς πολλὴν | χρόν[ον τὸ δέον] ἔτι θείας εὐσεβίας ἵνεκ[εν] | ἐπε[θυσάμην]), and thus opting for a waking vision rather than one obtained through incubation. The latter possibility, however, cannot be ruled out, even if ἐπικοιμάσθαι is not used in any literary sources or other inscriptions for incubation: after all, not only is the similar ἐπικατακοιμάσθαι used by Herodotus for incubation (Hdt. 4.172; quoted p. 106), but the various sources for the

achieving ritual purity before making the inquiry and the subsequent reference to this vision occurring at night both suggest incubation, the possibility remains that this individual received a waking vision, perhaps one akin to experiences described in two other sources, but not conventional dream-divination.¹⁰⁸ The best argument for this having been a dream-vision received through incubation, in fact, is Paccius Maximus's reference to receiving a dream within a "chamber for sleep" since even though the two visions were quite different the broad similarities cannot be ignored, and Maximus's statement reveals that there was a place at the sanctuary for this anonymous worshiper to have received a revelatory dream. However, even if one or both individuals did indeed receive his revelation through incubation, this does not mean that it was the primary manner of consulting Mandoulis, especially for those asking about the types of mundane issues typically addressed to oracles: thus it is possible that those seeking divine knowledge (γνῶσις) and spiritual enlightenment would engage in incubation, while other visitors to the sanctuary seeking more generic oracles may have received responses from Mandoulis—described in the aforementioned *proskynema* as "oracle-giver" (χρησμοδότης)—through another medium.

1.9 Cyrenaica

1.9.1 Cyrene, Sanctuary of Iatros

[See pp. 308–309]

1.9.2 Balagrae, Sanctuary of Asklepios Iatros

The Balagrae *Asklepieion* can only be associated with the practice of incubation from indirect literary evidence as well as an inference drawn from a few

practice employ more than a dozen different verbs (see Chapter 1.2), and Greek poetry did have a somewhat difference vocabulary from prose.

108 Arguing in favor of a waking vision is the hymn's similarity to Apuleius's description of Lucius's encounter with the infernal and heavenly gods and vision of the sun flashing in the middle of the night as he undergoes initiation in a holy chamber within Isis's sanctuary (*Accessi confinium mortis et, calcato Proserpinae limine, per omnia vectus elementa remeavi; nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine; deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adoravi de proxumo*) (Apul., *Met.* 11.23.6(7); see Griffiths 1975, 293–308 and Keulen/Tilg/Nicolini/Graverini/Harrison/Panayotakis/van Mal-Maeder 2015, 397–401 on this passage). The inscription also evokes a well-known Roman-era "magical" papyrus, the so-called "Mithras Liturgy," which details the rituals leading to a mystical revelation from Helios-Mithras-Aiōn as well as the revelation itself, and gives no indication that sleep was involved (*PGM* IV 475–829, re-edited with translation and commentary in Betz 2003).

words in an inscription, though questionable archaeological evidence has also been noted in this context.¹⁰⁹ Based on Pausanias's statement that Lebena's *Asklepieion* was an offshoot of Balagrae's, which itself had been an offshoot of Epidauros's, one could reasonably assume that incubation was likewise practiced at this sanctuary, where the god went by the name of Asklepios Iatros.¹¹⁰ Such an assumption can be tentatively supported by a badly damaged sacred law from this *Asklepieion* dating to the Roman Period that if correctly restored refers to a three-day period of ritual purity (ὀφείλοντες | [--- ἀγνισμὸν καὶ καθαρμοῖ]ν ποιείσθαι ἐπὶ ἡμέραις τρεῖς) leading to finding "release from suffering" ([τῆς ἀ]παλλαγῆς τῶν πόνων)—language for which there are parallels at other *Asklepieia*.¹¹¹ This historical link between Lebena and Balagrae is contradicted, however, by a new reading of an official inscription from the Lebena sanctuary that appears to record Asklepios's arrival from Epidauros itself, on the boat of a native of Lebena who had been cured there and returned home with a sacred serpent.¹¹² Since this important text, which appears to have been

109 On the site, see: Sichtermann 1959, 325–335; Wright 1992; Callot 1999, 255–256; and Riethmüller 2005, 1:326–327, 366, 11:406, Cat.-App. No. 490.

110 Paus. 2.26.9: "The Asklepios at the Cyrenaeans' Balagrae is called 'Iatros,' and this one also originates from Epidauros; and from the *Asklepieion* among the Cyrenaeans comes the one at the Cretans' Lebena" (τὸ δ' ἐν Βαλάγκραις ταῖς Κυρηναίων ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιὸς καλούμενος Ἰατρὸς ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ οὗτος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ Κυρηναίοις τὸ ἐν Λεβήνῃ τῇ Κρητῶν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον). This link between Balagrae and Lebena was first treated skeptically in Guarducci 1934, 410–411 and later Melfi 2007b, 125–127.

111 SEG 9, 347 (= LSCG Suppl. 118); dated originally to the second century CE, but redated by SEG 20, 759 to the third or fourth century CE. Use of ἀπαλλαγῆ and related terms was common among the medical writers (see van Brock 1961, 226–229), in addition to showing up in the inscription of Marcus Julius Apellas at Epidauros and in verb form in the "Imouthes Aretalogy," in the context of cures resulting from incubation (IG IV² 1, 126, l. 29 (quoted pp. 169–171); POxy XI 1381, l. 76 (quoted pp. 427–429)). Perhaps significantly, one of the sacred laws from Pergamon that pertains to incubation appears to have employed similar language, if it has been correctly restored as ἐὰν δέ τις θέλῃ τῶν πό[ι]ων (vel sim.) ἀπαλ[λ]άσσεσθαι (I.Pergamon 2, 264, ll. 3–4 (= LSAM 14); quoted pp. 196–197). While reference to "release" from suffering certainly had a medical connotation, the preceding period of purity required by the Balagrae inscription does not necessarily indicate a medical consultation, since such restrictions were fairly common: in addition to the Latin *lex sacra* from the Thuburbo Maius *Asklepieion* that required three days of avoiding sex, beans, pork, barbers and public baths before accessing part of the complex, which cannot be linked to incubation (ILAFr 225, ll. 7–20; quoted pp. 626–627), they are to be found at a number of sites devoted to other cults (see NGSL², pp. 207–213). Thus it is not certain that this document pertains to incubation.

112 I.Cret 1, xvii, 8, ll. 5–10 (quoted p. 191n.181).

inscribed on the wall of the incubation dormitory alongside several healing testimonies, dates to the second century BCE it would seem more reliable than Pausanias's claim regarding Balagrae. Moreover, there was no structure at the Balagrae sanctuary, the remains of which are Hadrianic, that is likely to have served as an incubation dormitory, since the site consisted of the main temple flanked by two small shrines, with a portico enclosing the precinct on all four sides.¹¹³

1.10 Sardinia

1.10.1 *Unknown Hero Sanctuary*

[See pp. 107–108 for a discussion of the unidentified heroes on Sardinia referred to by Aristotle.]

1.11 Hispania Citerior

[While the focus of this book is not the Latin West, where claims of incubation in Roman and Romano-Celtic religion have proven to be unsubstantiated, recent conclusions regarding incubation at two newly studied sites located roughly 200 kilometers apart merit inclusion.¹¹⁴]

1.11.1 *Unidentified Sanctuary at Los Casares (Valdemoro Sierra, Cuenca)*

1.11.2 *Unidentified Sanctuary at Cueva de la Santa Cruz (Conquezueta, Soria)*

In a recent article Francisco Javier Fernández Nieto has concluded that a newly discovered sanctuary at Los Casares with a *hypogaeum* was used for incubation, pointing to the comment of Nicander of Colophon quoted by Tertullian

¹¹³ It has been suggested that an underground chamber, or grotto, beneath the west portico was employed for incubation (see Riethmüller 2005, 1:327, 366 and Melfi 2007b, 125), but although its purpose is unknown its limited size argues against this. Moreover, since this feature was obscured during the Hadrianic rebuilding phase it is even less likely to have been employed for incubation. For a similar grotto beneath a temple of Asklepios at modern Djebel Oust in Africa Proconsularis that likewise has been thought to have served an oracular function and compared to the undiscovered *adyton* at Trikkha, see Benseddik 2010, 11:37–38 + Pl. 8.

¹¹⁴ See Renberg 2006 on the lack of reliable evidence for incubation in the western Mediterranean.

that “Celts . . . would spend the night among the tombs of heroic men” as well as questionable claims regarding Celtic practices in France and, more importantly, the oracular sanctuary of the Lusitanian god Endovellicus at modern S. Miguel de Mota.¹¹⁵ Building on this interpretation and pointing to the same supporting evidence, a year later Fernández Nieto likewise identified a curious site with a cave-shrine at Cueva de la Santa Cruz that dates back to the Bronze Age as an incubation oracle, and although this possibility cannot be ruled out there is no reliable evidence to support it, either.¹¹⁶ As discussed earlier, however, Tertullian’s “Celts” are to be identified as those of Asia Minor, not Celtiberia. Moreover, as is argued elsewhere, scholars’ repeated identification of Endovellicus’s site with incubation because of several dedicatory inscriptions recording divine commands and oracular responses is not based on solid evidence, and is at best speculative.¹¹⁷ So, too, is the identification of the Los Casares site as a *heroon* at which worshipers could engage in incubation by sleeping on one of the terraces near the entrance to the underground chamber, and of the grotto-sanctuary that belonged to one or more unidentified divinities at Cueva de la Santa Cruz as a site that functioned similarly. But ultimately it must be recognized that too little is known about divination in Celtiberia, especially before Roman times, and that there are no reliable sources indicating that incubation was practiced there.

115 Fernández Nieto 2012; see also Fernández Nieto/Alfaro Giner 2014, 345–348. Nicander: Tert., *Anim.* 57.10 (see p. 107).

116 Fernández Nieto 2013.

117 See Renberg 2006, 133–134, omitted from the new studies.

Other Forms of Direct Divination at Sanctuaries: Auditory Epiphanies, Induced Visions, and the Question of Voice-Oracles in Egypt

Most sanctuaries that specialized in providing the opportunity for a worshiper to receive a direct communication from a god or goddess were devoted to the practice of incubation. However, a small number instead appear to have been geared towards enabling visitors to see or hear a god not in a dream, but in waking reality or a trance, receiving an auditory epiphany or even directly encountering the god in some manner.¹ These experiences do not correspond

- 1 Despite the incongruity of the phrase “auditory epiphany,” divine voices that were not received in dreams or accompanied by visible sightings of the speaker must nevertheless be considered a form of epiphany. The distinction is attested by Xenophon, who closes his cavalry treatise by stating that only the gods can give advice on certain matters, since “They know all things, and signal the future to whomever they wish through sacrifices, omens, voices, and dreams” (οὗτοι δὲ πάντα ἴσασι καὶ προσημαίνουσιν ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις καὶ ἐν ὄνειρασιν) (Xen., *Eq. mag.* 9.9; cf. Xen., *Mem.* 1.1.3, listing “voices” among divinatory media but omitting dreams and waking visions). Such a phenomenon also seems indicated by Lucian’s reference, put in the mouth of his character Eukrates, to “oracles, divine pronouncements, and whatever divinely possessed men cry out about, or one hears from inner sancta, or the verses a maiden speaks as she foretells the future” (λέγω δὲ χρησμῶν καὶ θεσφάτων καὶ ὅσα θεοφορούμενοί τινες ἀναβοῶσιν ἢ ἐξ ἁδύτων ἀκούεται ἢ παρθένος ἔμμετρα φθεγγομένη προθεσπίζει τὰ μέλλοντα) (Lucian, *Philops.* 38; for the term ἁδύτων, see pp. 15–16). The phenomenon was recognized by Deubner (Deubner (L.) 1900, 10), though only some of his examples were pertinent (Cic., *Div.* 1.101 and Cic., *Nat. D.* 2.2.6, 3.6.15; Marin., *Procl.* 32; Verg., *Aen.* 7.89–91 (quoted p. 33n.93)), while his other examples were for voices heard in dreams: Plut., *Vit. Cleom.* 7.2–3 (= *Agis et Cleom.* 28.2–3)), in which an *ephor* while incubating has a dream that includes a voice coming to him from a temple; Aristid., *Or.* 49.5, quoting an unidentified voice (φωνή) telling him while he was away from Pergamon that he had been cured, and *Or.* 50.6, another dream likewise received elsewhere, in which a voice told him that he had completed a prescribed regimen; and, Arr., *Anab.* 7.26.2, in which Alexander the Great’s generals while undergoing incubation receive an “oracular utterance” (φήμη), presumably in their respective dreams (see pp. 389–390n.155). A voice heard in a dream emanating from a temple, as was experienced by Plutarch’s *ephor*, would have been quite significant to the dreamer, but of course is irrelevant to the matter of whether in reality voices could be heard at certain temples. (See Hanson (J.) 1980, 1411–1412, on this phenomenon, which he terms the “auditory dream-vision.” This was not unique to Greek religion: for overheard oracular utterances as well as utterances in dreams found in the ancient Near Eastern sources, see Butler

to the technical definition of incubation because they did not involve sleeping at a cult site in order to receive dreams, but in at least one case the practices at the sanctuary had much in common with those associated with incubation. While for the Greek world no one has claimed that this was a widespread phenomenon, among Egyptologists there has been a scholarly tradition that goes back two centuries of stating or implying that voice-oracles could be found at a number of sites—a viewpoint rarely rebutted, and not yet fully. However, most of the frequently cited examples of Egyptian sanctuaries purported to have offered voice-oracles or other types of waking revelations can be shown not to have functioned in this manner, with the architectural and sculptural evidence as well as written sources that have been cited as evidence unreliable. Among the Greek sites in question, the one for which there is the most extensive and complicated information regarding direct revelations is the oracle of Trophonios, which merits a separate analysis from the rest of the (rather limited) sources for the Greek world, while the sources for Egypt likewise must be examined separately.

II.1 Auditory Oracles in the Greek World

The most detailed literary evidence for voice-oracles in the Greek world is from a work of dubious reliability: in Lucian's exposé devoted to Alexander of Abonuteichos and his god Glykon, the author describes how the "false prophet" was able to convince certain visitors that the god had issued "self-spoken" oracles (αὐτόφωνοι), having an associate who was outside the room speak into a tube made of cranes' windpipes that ended in the fake head that Alexander had fashioned for the serpent masquerading as the god.² Regardless of whether this subterfuge was indeed practiced at Abonuteichos, its inclusion by Lucian, who repeatedly highlights practices in the Glykon cult that were modeled on those of other cults, suggests that at certain oracular shrines those consulting the god might be able to hear the responses they were seeking directly from a divine voice. With the possible exception of the sanctuary of Apollo at Patara, however, these sites cannot be identified. The medium of divine communication at Patara is unknown, but could have involved hear-

1999, 151–157; for gods' voices and divine sounds in Roman religion, see Beard 2012, especially pp. 27–31).

2 Lucian, *Alex.* 26. For the Christian writer Hippolytus's description of this trick, see p. 578. The fact that the oracles were described as *self*-spoken distinguishes them from inspired utterances of the sort associated with Delphi.

ing voices or even seeking dreams: Lucian's character Eukrates in *The Lover of Lies* claims to have conversed with both Apollo Pythios and Amphilochos, and then makes a cryptic reference to "the things I saw in Pergamon and the things I heard at Patara" (ἃ ἐν Περγᾶμῳ εἶδον καὶ ἃ ἤκουσα ἐν Πατάρῳ), which suggests that in contrast to the dream-divination practiced at Pergamon those consulting Apollo at Patara would hear him speak, though since the reference to hearing is reminiscent of the *Trophonion* a trancelike experience similar to the one evidently achieved there cannot be ruled out, nor can the utterances of a person.³ The only other noteworthy source referring to Apollo's oracle at Patara is Herodotus, who reports that each new prophetess (πρόμαντις) of the god would be shut inside his temple during her first night of service, when Apollo was believed to be visiting the site, and this apparently would enable her to prophesize.⁴ While Herodotus is silent on the matter, and thus there is no way of knowing what occurred, it has been suspected that the prophetess would receive dreams from the god and these would inspire the oracles she would deliver the next day, though alternative explanations are certainly possible.⁵ The evidence for voice-oracles among the Greeks is thus very limited.

11.2 Visions and Sounds at the *Trophonion*

Face-to-face waking encounters with a god were not typical of Greek sanctuaries, either, though there is reason to think that at one sanctuary such an experience was thought possible: among the most famous and ancient oracles in Greece, the *Trophonion* at Lebadeia provided worshipers the opportunity to make descent (κατάβασις) into a subterranean *adyton* through an artificial chasm—the location of which remains a matter of debate—and consult Trophonios directly, perhaps but not necessarily encountering him (Fig. 25).⁶

3 Lucian, *Philops.* 38; see Zimmermann 1994, 103–105, 109–111. A voice within a dream, examples of which are found elsewhere in literature, cannot be ruled out. For incubation in the cult of Amphilochos, see Chapter 5.5.

4 Hdt. 1.182.

5 See Parke 1985, 185–193; cf. Friese 2010, 397–398, Cat. No. I.11.11.9.

6 According to Plutarch, Sulla in his lost *Memoirs* (Ὑπομνήματα) had recorded that after his victory at Chaironeia he had been approached by a Roman civilian and a soldier who had each consulted Trophonios and, in reporting to him the god's revelations, "They said that they had seen one who in both beauty and greatness of stature was comparable to Olympian Zeus" (τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν) (Plut., *Vit. Sull.* 17.4), which represents a rare literary reference to Trophonios himself having appeared to an inquirer. This episode is complemented by Celsus's reference to Trophonios as one

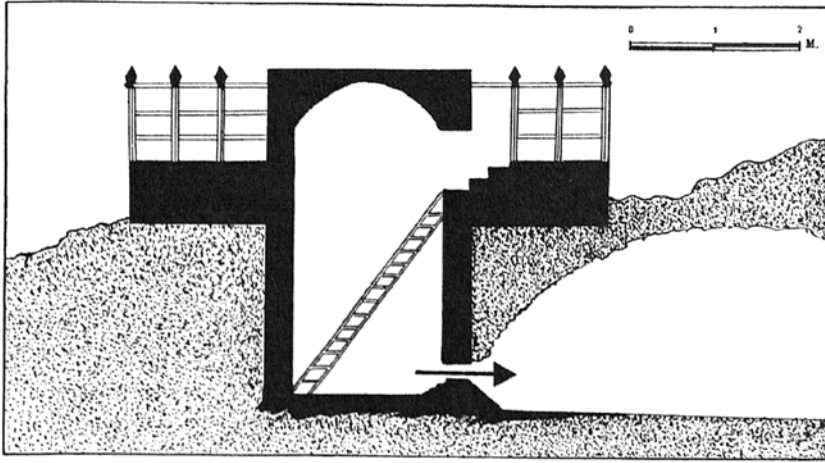


FIGURE 25 Artist's rendition of the means of accessing the oracular area of the Lebadeia Trophonion.

SOURCE: REPRODUCED FROM ROSENBERGER 2001, FIG. 2 (COURTESY OF WBG)

The possibly unique nature of the consultation, done directly and without an intermediary present, was emphasized by some ancient writers: Strabo wrote that “the one consulting the oracle descends himself” (καταβαίνει δ’ αὐτὸς ὁ

of the “gods to be seen in human form and . . . not as deceits, but fully visible” (*C.Cels* 7.35; quoted p. 322). The *Trophonion*'s prominence by the final decades of the Archaic Period is revealed by the fact that it was among the Greek oracles Croesus was supposed to have tested (Hdt. 1.46; see also Hdt. 8.133–134 (quoted pp. 102–103), on the visit by the Persian Mardonios's Carian emissary Mys; for the Croesus episode, see Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 108–109). The most exhaustive study of Trophonios's oracle and cult is Bonnechere 2003a (with some of the pertinent issues discussed in Bonnechere 2002, Bonnechere 2003b, Bonnechere 2007, Bonnechere 2010, and other articles either preceding or following this book). See also: Clark 1968; Schachter 1981–94, III:66–89; Ogden 2001a, 80–85; Johnston (S.) 2008, 95–97; Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 325–331; and Ustinova 2009, 90–96; cf. Friese 2010, 50–52, 142–144, 375–376, No. 1.1.11.10 and Friese 2013, 231, 233. For the topographical issues associated with identifying the oracle's precise site, see Bonnechere 2003a, 3–26 and Waszink (E.) 1968. Regrettably, the work entitled *The Descent at Trophonios's Sanctuary* (ἡ εἰς Τροφωνίου κατάβασις) written by Aristotle's pupil Dikaiarchos of Messana is now lost (Dikaiarchos, frags. 11B–C, 79–81, ed. Mirhady 2001 (= Dikaiarchos, frags. 13–22, ed. Wehrli); title preserved in Ath. 13.594E and 14.641EF (= frags. 80–81, ed. Mirhady)), as is Plutarch's *Concerning the Descent at Trophonios's Sanctuary* (Περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου κατάβασεως) (No. 181 in Lamprias's “Catalog” of Plutarch's works), but undoubtedly would have provided important information regarding the method of consultation. The need to engage in a descent into the shrine perhaps symbolically mirrored a descent to the Underworld, as has been noted by several scholars. See also Bonnechere 2003a, 354–356, listing the ancient sources for *katabasis* at the *Trophonion*, and Aston 2004,

χρηστηριαζόμενος) and Philostratus later called the oracle unique for this reason, “That one [*i.e.*, oracular sanctuary] alone issues responses through the inquirer himself” (μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δι’ αὐτοῦ χρᾶ τοῦ χρωμένου), while Maximus of Tyre noted that the inquirer was “a self-proclaimed oracular pronouncer” (ὑποφήτης αὐτάγγελος).⁷ Though it is certainly possible that those who believed themselves to have consulted the god successfully had fallen into a trance or dreamlike state, and Tertullian’s inclusion of Trophonios in a list of gods such as Amphiaraos who were consulted through incubation supports the possibility that dreams were involved,⁸ no source states that inquirers were supposed to bed down for the night within the oracular chamber and encounter the god in their dreams, as was customary at incubation sanctuaries. Our richest description of a visit to the oracle, Pausanias’s lengthy account of his own consultation, merely states that those entering the shrine “do not learn the future in one single way, but rather one person has seen and another has heard” (οὐχ εἷς οὐδὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ἐστὶν ὅτῳ διδάσκονται τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ πού τις καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἄλλος ἤκουσεν).⁹ This is echoed both by Maximus of Tyre’s statement that those

26–28, comparing the *katabasis* in Trophonios’s cult with that of others, especially Asklepios at Trikka (see pp. 202–203); cf. Schachter, *ibid.*, 111:80.

- 7 Strabo 9.2.38, p. 414; Philostr., *VA* 8.19; Max., *Dissert.* 8.2, ed. Trapp. To these literary sources should be added *IG* VII 3055 (re-edited in Salviat/Vatin 1971, 85–89 and Schachter 1981–94, 111:86–88), a lengthy inscription that begins with a sacred law regarding consultations (ll. 1–7 (= *LSCG* 74 = *SEG* 25, 561)) and continues with a reference to a descent made by Amyntas son of Perdikkas, the heir to the Macedonian throne executed by Alexander the Great (ll. 7–9). The passage is poorly preserved and thus has been read and restored in different ways, but the participle referring to a *katabasis* is clearly present in the text: καταβά[ς ἐν τῷ] ἄν[τ]ρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαντῶ (*IG*), καταβά[ς τάλαν] [τ]ον ὑπὲρ αὐτοσ[α]ντῶ (Salviat/Vatin, *ibid.*, 91), and καταβάς [τῷ] μαγ[τ]ῖ[ον] ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαντῶ (Schachter, *ibid.*, 111:87). (The fact that the inscription specifies that Amyntas himself had descended has led to speculation that this detail was included in order to distinguish Amyntas from those who, like Mys, would bribe or hire someone else to consult the god for them (Hdt. 8.133–134 (see previous note), cited by Schachter, *ibid.*, 111:80n.3; see also Petropoulou 1981, 51–52, suggesting that this passage in Herodotus might indicate that barbarians were forbidden from directly consulting Trophonios, just as they were banned from the Eleusinian Mysteries). If so, mention of Amyntas himself descending could contain an implicit boast that he was accepted by the god. However, it is more likely that this document mentioned Amyntas simply as a way of boasting about the *Trophonion*’s having received a prominent visitor, as was done repeatedly in the “Lindian Chronicle” (*ILindos* 1 2 (= *FGrH* 532); modified edition with commentary in Higbie 2003) and other inscriptions displayed at temples.) [*Addendum*: See now Pafford 2011.]
- 8 Tert., *Anim.* 46.11 (quoted p. 313).
- 9 Paus. 9.39.5–14 (quoting sect. 11; see p. 573 for similar language in sect. 14, and n. 15 for sect. 13 instead referring to “what he had seen and learned”). Pausanias’s experience is contrasted with other literary sources in Schachter 1981–94, 111:82–83.

inquiring of the god “had seen some things, but had heard others” (τὰ μὲν ἰδὼν, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσας),¹⁰ and by a figure named Timarchos in Plutarch’s dialogue *On the Genius of Socrates* after his consultation describing “many things wondrous both to see and to hear” (θαυμάσια πολλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκούσαι).¹¹ For this reason and due to other unusual aspects of the divinatory procedures at the *Trophonion*, it is ill-advised to conclude that those making inquiries engaged in ordinary incubation, though it is nonetheless possible that the sights and sounds in question were experienced in dreams, or, as Pierre Bonnechere has suggested, in a trance-like state “en marge de l’oniromancie” that would be obtained not through incubation, but by means of “modalités dont le principe est proche” that would create the perception that the soul had been freed to journey.¹² Though a journey of the soul may have been an experience shared by few visitors, the *Trophonion* does appear to have been something of a hybrid cult site, sharing ritual elements from incubation sanctuaries as well as other oracular sanctuaries, but achieving revelations in a mysterious manner. In contrast to the direct encounters with the Egyptian god Mandoulis,¹³ however, and despite Plutarch’s fictitious and philosophizing account of one visitor’s consultation, the purpose of consulting Trophonios would rarely have been to obtain a mystical revelation or philosophical insight: in terms of the results of inquiries rather than the unusual process leading to them, Trophonios’s oracle appears to have been quite conventional.¹⁴ Thus what set it apart from other sites, in addition to the physical setting, was the fact that the consultants evidently saw or heard the god while in a waking state, and—rather strikingly—were said to find the

10 Max., *Dissert.* 8.2, ed. Trapp.

11 Plut., *De gen.* 21 (= *Mor.* 590B); see below on Timarchos.

12 The first significant attempt to distinguish the procedures at the *Trophonion* from those at Oropos and other incubation sanctuaries, and to argue against dreams having been the medium of communication, was made by Raymond J. Clark (Clark 1968, countering the position of, e.g., Deubner (L.) 1900, 8n.2 and Pley 1916, 1258). Instead, Clark made the suggestion of a cataleptic trance followed by a long period of unconsciousness, though not sleep (*ibid.*, 64–69, 71–72). More recently, the question has been explored in Bonnechere 2003a, 138–202 *et pass.* (quoting from pp. 185–186); cf. Bonnechere 2002 and Bonnechere 2003b, 176–178, in the latter noting that such “visionary trances” had the “same value” as incubation dreams. However, the view that incubation was involved has persisted (e.g., Wacht 1997, 185–186, Ogden 2001a, 80–85 and Friese 2010, 376, the latter describing the sanctuary’s divinatory method as “vermutlich Inkubation,” though not echoing this in Friese 2013, 233).

13 See Appendix I.8.10.

14 For a list of all historical and fictional consultants of the oracle, see Bonnechere 2003a, 364–367.

experience frightening, and needed time to recover from the shock.¹⁵ Not only was this last detail unconventional, but it argues against the oracle having functioned by means of incubation, since no incubation sanctuary was associated with a shocking experience. Moreover, by the Imperial Period, though probably sometime before, it appears to have been a requirement that those making inquiries of Trophonios first be initiated into mysteries, and again this is different from the requirements at known incubation sanctuaries.¹⁶

Putting aside the more unusual aspects of consultations at the *Trophonion*, there were many similarities between Trophonios and Amphiaraos, another god who was issuing oracles by the late Archaic Period: in particular, both played prominent roles in myths concerning Thebes and became oracular gods who were directly consulted by their worshipers in their respective extra-urban sanctuaries.¹⁷ In addition, as Pausanias's account makes clear,

- 15 The awe-inspiring or frightening nature of the experience is revealed by the proverbial reference to someone who always looked serious as one "who has consulted at Trophonios's" (εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται (Zenobius); ἐν Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται (Plutarch)), since visitors were said to be unable to laugh for some time (Zen. 3.61, ed. Lelli (= *Paroemiogr.* 1, p. 72); Plut., *Proverbia Alex.* 1.51 (= *Paroemiogr.* 1, p. 329)). Echoing this is the Hellenistic writer Semos of Delos's reference to Parmeniskos of Metapontum, a prominent citizen, emerging from the *Trophonion* no longer able to laugh (οὐκ ἔτι γελᾶν ἐδύνατο) (Ath. 14.614A (= *FGrH* 396 F 10)). Pausanias, too, records this sort of reaction, noting that after the inquirer had returned from the inner shrine he would be interrogated by the priests regarding "what he had seen and learned" (ὅπόσα εἶδε τε καὶ ἐπύθετο), and then given over to the care of his relatives, who would carry him back to the lodgings "possessed by fear and equally unaware of both himself and those around him" (κάτοχόν τε ἔτι τῷ δέϊματι καὶ ἀγνώτῃ ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν πέλας) (Paus. 9.39.13). On this phenomenon, see Ogden 2001a, 82–83 and Bonnechere 2003a, 262–269.
- 16 See Bonnechere 2003b on the mystery aspects of Trophonios's cult, with a more extensive discussion in Bonnechere 2003a, 131–217 *et pass.*, and a follow-up discussion in Bonnechere 2010, 62–70. By comparison, as he notes, at the Didyma and Claros oracles there was an option of becoming initiated, but this was required at Lebadeia.
- 17 For the similarities between the two, see Schachter 1981–94, III:70–71, noting the underground nature of both, and Terranova 2013, 259–266; cf. Bonnechere 2003a, 96–97 and Aston 2004, 27 (at n. 34). Such similarities were to an extent recognized in antiquity as well: for example, Aristides referred to them as both giving oracles and being seen (χρησµωδοῦσί τε καὶ φαίνονται) in Boeotia (Aristid., *Or.* 38.21; quoted p. 224n.271). Though there is sparse evidence for Trophonios's physical appearance—he does not even have an entry in *LIMC*, but has been tentatively identified as one of the gods in an Athenian relief, along with his daughter, the nymph Herkyna (Athens, N.M. 3942 (= *LIMC* V, "Herkyna," No. 4 + photo))—it is known from Pausanias's report on Lebadeia that there would sometimes be confusion between his statues and Asklepios's (Paus. 9.39.3–4), and since Asklepios and Amphiaraos were practically doppelgangers it can be inferred that Trophonios and

consulting Trophonios, like engaging in incubation at the *Amphiareion* or any *Asklepieion*, involved an elaborate series of preparations that began several days in advance:¹⁸ one sacrificed in the presence of an official diviner, bathed in the nearby Herkyna River and was anointed by two youths, wore a linen tunic, drank from two sacred fountains in order to clear one's mind and enhance one's powers of memory, sacrificed a ram, and so on. Following this the individual, armed with honey cakes that according to one source were intended to mollify serpents,¹⁹ would pass through a sacred grove into a man-made "chasm," from which by sliding down a hole feet-first he could reach the innermost shrine. In this setting he would receive a revelation, which he would later recall for the priests while sitting on the "Throne of Mnemosyne" (*i.e.*, Memory).²⁰ The other main literary source, Plutarch's *On the Genius of Socrates*, omits mention of the rituals preceding consultation, summing them up simply as "the customary acts associated with the oracle" (τὰ νομιζόμενα περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον). Plutarch does, however, preserve other intriguing details in his highly fictionalized narrative about a presumably dreamed-up individual named Timarchos of Chaironeia consulting Trophonios regarding the nature of Socrates's famous guardian spirit: he has one of the characters in this dialogue tell of how Timarchos had remained in the oracular shrine for two days, initially lying in the dark "for a long time not at all clearly knowing whether he was awake or dreaming" (πολὺν χρόνον οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐναργῶς εἶτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἶτ' ὄνειροπολεῖ), until a sudden sound accompanied by a blow to the head freed his soul and enabled him to see

Amphiaraos looked alike (see Bonnechere, *ibid.*, 107). The most significant difference between their cults was that the inquiries made of Trophonios were essentially the same as those made of other oracles, and he never developed into a healing god. Thus Schachter is right to challenge earlier suggestions that Trophonios was linked to healing or fertility (see *ibid.*, 111:72).

- 18 The rituals before, during and after a consultation are discussed in Bonnechere 2003a, 32–61, which includes a detailed table providing the sources for each at pp. 37–56.
- 19 Philostratus specifies this use for the honey cakes (Philostr., *VA* 8.19.1), whereas Pausanias just states that one was to hold them while sliding into the innermost part of the shrine (Paus. 9.39.11). This practice was alluded to more than a half-millennium earlier by Aristophanes in his brief, mocking reference to the descent (*Ar.*, *Nub.* 506–508), while the sacred law from the *Trophonion* dictated that one was to offer ten cakes (εἰλύται) and ten drachmas to Trophonios before consulting him but does not indicate that the cakes were to be carried with one during the consultation, let alone fed to serpents (*IG VII* 3055, ll. 5–6 (= *LSCG* 74); see n. 7 for other editions). For serpents at the *Trophonion*, see Ogden 2013, 322–325.
- 20 On the "Throne of Mnemosyne," see Bonnechere 2003a, 250–262; cf. Ahearne-Kroll 2013, 48–49. For Mnemosyne's link to the cult of Asklepios, see pp. 250–251n.350.

visions regarding the make-up of the universe through an out-of-body experience, described at great length, which culminated in a lecture about the nature of *daimones* by a voice from an unseen source.²¹ While even Plutarch's speaker describes this as a "tale" (μῦθος),²² the lengthy account does provide some useful information, such as that Timarchos's two-day consultation was unusually long, and that he was accompanied by his family. However, the fact that he is described as either having dreamed or experienced a cataleptic trance is not evidence that the oracle normally functioned through incubation, since there is nothing normal—let alone reliable—about this source, even if Plutarch must have been familiar with the *Trophonion* because his brother Lamprias was associated with the site in some way, perhaps even as priest.²³

Unfortunately, inscriptions reveal little about the oracle. Our knowledge regarding consultations is supplemented by the inscribed *lex sacra* that, like some of the *leges sacrae* surviving from *Asklepieia* and the *Oropos Amphiareion*, specifies the amount one was to pay.²⁴ However, as is also the case for most incubation sanctuaries, none of the relatively limited epigraphical evidence pertaining to the *Trophonion* refers to a divine encounter: presumably the accounts of "everything that each inquirer had heard or seen" (ὅποσα ἤκουσεν ἕκαστος ἢ εἶδεν), which according to Pausanias these individuals were required to record on a *pinax*,²⁵ were rarely written on stone or were inscribed but have not survived. Moreover, there is only a single inscription that even alludes to Trophonios's oracular function: an Imperial-period dedication found on the bank of the Herkyna River that was made to Dionysos Eustaphylos in compliance with an oracle from "Zeus Trophonios" (Διονύσω Εὐσταφύλῳ | κατὰ χρησμὸν Διὸς | Τροφωνίου), but gives no indication of how that oracle was

21 Plut., *De gen.* 21–23 (= *Mor.* 590A–592F) (quoting 590A and 590B). For the question of Timarchos of Chaironeia's historicity, see Nesselrath 2010, 94n.193; for the philosophical aspects of this passage see Schröder (S.) 2010, 164–167, Deuse 2010, and Bonnechere 2003a, 165–178 *et pass.* See also Clark 1968, 65–67 on the unreliable nature of the narrative, noting that in discussing Timarchos's soul being free to travel Plutarch was engaging in philosophical discourse seeking to modify the doctrine of the soul in Plato's *Timaeus* and also to integrate the more recent phenomenon of *ἐκστάσεις* with the older tradition of *καταβάσεις*.

22 Plut., *De gen.* 23 (= *Mor.* 592E).

23 For Lamprias, see Bonnechere 2003a, 178–179, noting the uncertainty of Lamprias's role at the sanctuary.

24 IG VII 3055, ll. 1–7.

25 Paus. 9.39.14; cf. Jul. Obs. 50.

received.²⁶ Overall, given the nature of the sources it is impossible to know for certain what occurred when people consulted the *Trophonion*—especially whether they received dreams, entered trances, or experienced waking revelations—and at best we know that they believed themselves to have seen or heard things directly from the god. Even so, the language employed in some of the sources as well as specific details collectively indicate that the experience was distinct from incubation.²⁷

II.3 Voice-Oracles in Egypt

In contrast to Greece, several scholars have treated voice-oracles as quite common in Egypt, on the basis of written sources and archaeological evidence that, as a reexamination suggests, may not always—if ever—support such a conclusion.²⁸ Putting aside some Egyptian terminology that used to be misun-

26 IG VII 3098. On the conflation of Trophonios and Zeus, evident in Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* (see n. 6), see Schachter 1981–94, III:88–89.

27 The mysterious nature of the oracle as well as the incomplete but tantalizing glimpses at how it functioned have prompted scholars to propose a number of theories regarding the site and explanations for some of the more striking details preserved in the literary sources. See, e.g., Clark 1968, 73–74 suggesting the use of a hallucinatory drug that inquirers would receive when drinking the waters of Lethe or Mnemosyne (i.e., Forgetfulness and Memory) mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 9.39.8), and that the voice that some heard was “probably that of a concealed priest.” That same year, in her own article on the *Trophonion*, Elisabeth Waszink quoted a communication from Hendrik Wagenvoort reaching a similar conclusion, on which she herself did not express an opinion: “Professor Wagenvoort suggests, that there may have been one or more priests in the cave of Trophonius both to help in the production of awe-inspiring effects in Egyptian style, and to help the enquirer to descend: they ἐφείλυσαν him (cf. Pausanias, 11), as he suggests, when he was half-way through the aperture; later on, they helped him to ascend” (H. Wagenvoort *apud* Waszink (E.) 1968, 30; cf. Ogden 2001a, 82). Thus the dubious scholarly claims made regarding voice-oracles and priestly deceptions in Egypt (see next section) have also to a small extent influenced thinking regarding Greek oracles.

28 In addition to scholars who were primarily discussing particular sites or artifacts—among whom Claude Traunecker's discussion in support of his conclusion regarding the temple of Geb at Koptos has been especially influential (Traunecker 1992, 380–384, partly repeated in Traunecker 1997, 38–40)—see the broader treatments of the phenomenon in Frankfurter 1998, 150–152, 156, 178–179 *et pass.* (following Poulsen (F.) 1945, Kákosy 1982b, 600–601, and Traunecker) and Winter 2005, 204–205 (citing Kákosy, Traunecker, and Frankfurter, as well as Maspero 1925, 238 (p. 234 of 1930 translation)), and the older treatment in Thelamon 1981, 240–243 (based on Poulsen and Loukianoff 1936). See also

derstood, the written evidence consists primarily of patristic sources that are of questionable value, while the archaeological sources include both sculptural and architectural remains that in each case have an unusual feature that can plausibly—but not conclusively—be associated with the practice of priests or other cult officials issuing oracles from hiding. Such physical evidence can be divided into three types: statues and other objects with holes (or other features) that might have been used to transmit oracular utterances from hidden locations in such a way as to make it appear that the god was speaking; small chambers, niches or passages at certain temples that are suspected of having been used by temple personnel to speak invisibly to inquirers as the god; and, holes in sanctuary walls that likewise could have permitted those serving at a temple to communicate as the god from hiding. Another problem is that a few archaeological discoveries early in the first half of the last century that were thought to reflect this practice of hidden voice-oracles would in turn be cited when new, seemingly comparable, discoveries were made, and the result has been a cascading effect that has led to the body of evidence associated with speaking statues and voices from hidden rooms or niches becoming unjustifiably large. A site by site, object by object examination of the alleged evidence for the phenomenon suggests the need for great skepticism regarding whether voice-oracles issued in a deceptive manner represented an important or widespread element of Egyptian divination, though it is not possible to rule out that such practices ever occurred.²⁹ If they did, however, the lengthy

Quaegebeur 1997, 18, suggesting that voice-oracles, like written oracles or dream-oracles, would have been sought at times when there was not a festival (and thus no processional oracle).

- 29 See Naether 2010, 52–54, the most recent rebuttal of such assumptions, though one focusing on the archaeological rather than the literary and patristic sources. Others have also made brief comments on the matter: Klaus P. Kuhlmann in an article partly devoted to debunking the belief that there was a voice-oracle at the Siwa *Ammoneion* states that “it cannot be stressed forcefully and categorically enough that all explanations involving ‘speaking’ statues of gods in ancient Egypt are totally lacking in either archaeological or documentary proof” and calls such a practice “alien to Egyptian religious belief and thought” (Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 70); Robert S. Bianchi in his discussion of the Temple of Dendur notes that “there does not seem to be evidence either textual or architectural for the existence of *viva voce* oracles in ancient Egypt, although admittedly such pronouncements were exceptional within the pharaonic cultural record” (Bianchi 1998, 774); and, Heinz Felber in his discussion of the *Demotic Chronicle* likewise recognizes the doubtful evidence for spoken oracles in Egypt (Felber 2002, 71–72). A note of caution was also expressed by Quaegebeur, though he was willing to accept a possible role for voice-oracles at certain sites (see n. 53); similarly, though one of the foremost promoters of the belief in voice-oracles being found in Egypt, Erich Winter notes the lateness of the

pronouncements assumed by some are not likely to have been issued, but rather a very short positive or negative statement.

Of the literary and patristic sources, the most significant is a passage in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History* describing how the Alexandrian bishop Theophilus (patriarch 385–412 CE) exposed deceitful practices of priests who would speak through statues:

οὗτος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν τῆς εἰδωλικῆς ἡλευθέρωσε πλάνης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέσπασε τὰ τῶν εἰδώλων τεμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐξαπατώντων ἱερέων τοῖς ἐξηπατημένοις ὑπέδειξε μηχανήματα. [2] τὰ τε γὰρ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐκ ξύλων κενὰ ἔνδοθεν κατασκευάζοντες ξόανα καὶ τοῖς τοίχοις τὰ τοῦτων προσαρμόζοντες νῶτα, πόρους τινὰς ἀφανεῖς ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἠφίεσαν. εἴτα διὰ τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνιόντες καὶ εἴσω τῶν ξοάνων γιγνόμενοι, ἅπερ ἐβούλοντο διὰ τούτων ἐκέλευον· φενακιζόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπαῖοντες ἔδρων τὸ κελευόμενον. ταῦτα ὁ σοφώτατος καταλύων ἀρχιερεὺς τοῖς ἐξαπατηθεῖσιν ὑπέδειξε δῆμοις.³⁰

This one freed the city of Alexander from the deceit of idolatry. For not only did he tear down the precincts of the idols to their foundations, but he also showed the mechanisms of the deceitful priests to those who had been deceived. For fashioning statues from bronze and wood that were hollow within and attaching their backs to the wall, they ran from these some invisible passageways within the walls. And then going up through the hidden areas and ending up inside the statues they commanded whatever they wished through them. And the ones listening, being fooled, would carry out the command. It is these things that this notably wise high priest showed the deceived populace as he destroyed.

Although this passage could easily represent fabrications or misinterpretations of what was found in the destroyed temples—which would not be the first or last time a Christian writer would provide misinformation regarding pagan practices, whether real or imagined, as a way of discrediting them³¹—

evidence for them and concludes that it was a Greek-influenced phenomenon (Winter 2005, 205). Such statements, however, have not put an end to claims regarding voice-oracles, perhaps because there has been no systematic survey of all of the evidence that has been associated with this issue.

30 Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 5.22.1–2, eds. L. Parmentier & G.C. Hansen, *GCS* n.s. 5 (Berlin, 1998), p. 320.

31 An especially pertinent parallel for this accusation of deceitful practices meant to render the ignorant awestruck is to be found in Rufinus of Aquileia's account of the destruction of the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, since in indicating the presence of seemingly miraculous contrivances the author describes the secretive use of a magnetic stone (*i.e.*, magnetite,

or "lodestone") embedded in the ceiling to make an image of the sun rise and seem to hang in mid-air before the crowd of worshipers (*adsurrexisse populo simulacrum et in aere pendere videretur*) (Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 2(11).23, eds. E. Schwartz & T. Mommsen, *CCS* n.s. 6.2 (Berlin, 1999), pp. 1027–1028). It has not been previously noted, however, that the description of a *lapis magnes* powerful enough to draw up an image of the sun made of the finest iron (*signum solis . . . ex ferro subtilissimo*) is especially dubious, though not completely impossible, in an era before electromagnetism, due to the relative weakness of natural magnets. It would have required an unusually large piece of lodestone (or assemblage of multiple pieces), and also depended on the shape and nature of the image: a solid statue of the god in anthropomorphic form would have been too heavy, whereas a hollow statue or solar disk fashioned from a thin sheet would have been lighter. Moreover, an untethered image might have flipped or rotated uncontrollably as it was drawn upwards. The possibility cannot be wholly discounted, especially since Rufinus's reference to the image being positioned below the magnet *ad libram*, rather than simply meaning "level," may refer to its attachment to a balance-like mechanism that reduced the amount of magnetic force required for it to rise (as implied in Trombley's translation of "in relation to a balance" (Trombley 1994, 1:133)). Moreover, other ancient authors described similar arrangements at other temples. Most importantly, Pliny the Elder, an unbiased source, refers to the Alexandrian architect Timochares before his death having planned to put lodestone in the vaulted ceiling of the *Arsinoeion* he was constructing during the reign of Ptolemy II, so that an iron statue of the queen would appear to levitate (*ut in eo simulacrum e ferro pendere in aere videretur*) (Plin., *H.N.* 34.42.148; see Fraser 1972, 1:25, 11:72–73n.168 and McKenzie 2007, 51), and this shows that the possibility of such science-based wonders was at least being entertained, even if not successfully executed. (But see Auson., *Mos.* 305–317, claiming in the late-fourth century CE—though possibly drawing on Varro's lost *Hebdomades*—that the plan had been carried out, and instead attributing it to Dinocrates, perhaps by error (see Green 1991, 497).) Even so, Rufinus's claim is still highly questionable due to the multiple challenges that were necessary to overcome, as is Augustine's claim that there was a temple somewhere in which magnets in the ceiling and floor permitted an iron image to be suspended in mid-air between them—to the ignorant a sign of divine power—which also would have been difficult to accomplish given the strength of natural magnetic stone and weight of iron (*in quodam templo lapidibus magnetibus in solo et camera proportione magnitudinis positus simulacrum ferreum aeris illius medio inter utrumque lapidem ignorantibus quid sursum esset ac deorsum, quasi numinis potestate penderet*) (August., *De civ. D.* 21.6.2). See also Claudian's poem *Magnes*, in which he describes an unidentified temple in which statues of Mars and Venus fashioned from iron and lodestone, respectively, would be drawn into an embrace using magnetic force (Claud., *Carm. min.* 29, ll. 22–39). Despite such reasons to have reservations, this passage in Rufinus, normally along with the Theodoret passage discussed here, is consistently discussed without skepticism (e.g., Trombley, *ibid.*, 1:132–134; see also Thelamon 1981, 181–185, accepting the veracity of both Rufinus and these other sources making claims regarding the use of magnets). Overall, though, while the evidence of Pliny shows that the use of magnets to manipulate divine images was at least contemplated in antiquity, the Christian sources that mention such practices so as to discredit paganism by branding its miracles fraudulent should be considered untrustworthy polemics rather

it has been described in one particularly influential early study as “the most extensive evidence of talking statues in antiquity,” with support for its veracity being drawn from other literary sources: Lucian’s description of Alexander of Abonuteichos employing a crane’s windpipe that would be spoken into by a hidden accomplice to achieve this sort of deception; a discussion of the same windpipe trick by Hippolytus, a bishop of Rome, in his *Refutation of All Heresies*; and, a possibly fictitious story recounted by the Christian writer Rufinus of Aquileia, which later was briefly echoed by Cyril of Alexandria.³² According to Rufinus, an Alexandrian priest of “Saturn” (*i.e.*, Anubis) would trick married noblewomen by leaving them alone in a shrine and then secretly entering the god’s hollow statue from the back via a hidden passageway and speaking to them through its mouth as a prelude to leading them unwittingly into adultery, until one woman recognized the priest’s voice and reported his offense.³³

Four of these passages are in highly polemical Christian treatments of pagan worship, while the fifth passage appears in a no less savage treatment of a “false prophet” by a pagan author whose attack preceded the other works. At best, therefore, these five passages collectively show that in antiquity one way of discrediting a cult was to claim to reveal secret practices intended to dupe worshipers, just as accusations of impiety or scandalous behavior were occasionally leveled—but they are questionable evidence for the existence of secretly operated voice-oracles, given the obvious agenda of the five authors. Moreover, questions regarding Rufinus’s reliability are raised by the striking similarities between the tale he recounts and two earlier stories: the one preserved in Josephus explaining how a Roman matron named Paulina had been fooled by a priest into engaging in intercourse with a man of mere equestrian

than reliable historical evidence. (For the knowledge of magnetism in antiquity, see Radl 1988. I am grateful to a trio of geologists—Jeremy Bloxham, Andrew H. Knoll, and Raquel Alonso-Perez of Harvard University’s Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences—for generously sharing their knowledge of natural magnets and magnetism.)

32 Poulsen (F.) 1945, 186–188 (quoting 187–188). Lucian: Lucian, *Alex.* 26 (see p. 566). Hippolytus: Ps.-Hippol., *Ref. Haer.* 4.28.7–10, 4.41, ed. Marcovich. Rufinus: *Hist. eccl.* 2(11).25, eds. E. Schwartz & T. Mommsen, *CCS* n.s. 6.2 (Berlin, 1999), pp. 1031–1032. Cyril: Cyril, *C. Iul.* 7, 244 (= *PG* 76, 874B–C).

33 Briefly discussed in Trombley 1994, 1:136–137. The association of Anubis with Kronos/Saturn is known from Plutarch (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 44 (= *Mor.* 368F); see Griffiths 1970, 467–468). While in Ptolemaic times Anubis at best may have had a shrine within the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, in Roman times he appears to have had his own temple (Ἀνουβίδειον) somewhere in the city, as appears to be indicated by Lucian (see Fraser 1972, 1:262, 11:414–415, citing Lucian, *Toxar.* 27–33, but not Rufinus).

rank while he pretended to be Anubis in a darkened shrine at Rome's sanctuary of Isis,³⁴ and the passage in the *Alexander Romance* in which Nektanebos II contrives to sleep with Olympias disguised as Ammon.³⁵

By coincidence, Alexander the Great and Ammon are the focus of the one other episode from literature that has been treated as evidence for voice-oracles: Alexander's visit to the Siwa Oasis and its oracular temple of Ammon in 332 BCE. The most prominent temple to be linked to voice-oracles, the *Ammoneion* has been associated with the practice (and even incubation) by scholars for various reasons.³⁶ This temple is today best known for the visit of

34 Jos., *AJ* 18.65–80. According to Josephus, the ensuing scandal ultimately resulted in Tiberius ordering the sanctuary to be destroyed, for which there is no corroboration. Drawing upon a tomb painting and other sources, David Klotz has recently argued that this episode should be viewed in the context of legitimate Egyptian religious practices, albeit perverted in the case of Paulina, that involved priests of Anubis wearing a mask of the god while sleeping with women wishing to improve their fertility (Klotz 2012*b*). Putting aside the fact that Josephus does not indicate that a desire for children motivated either party, Klotz's thesis can be questioned simply because the tale shares elements with several other Greek and Roman stories of young women seduced and even impregnated by figures whom they thought to be gods—or claiming that this had occurred—and thus need not have reflected any authentic Egyptian practices. (A belief in gods impregnating mortal women—at least, those of royal birth—is also evident in various Pharaonic sources, as detailed in Brunner 1964.)

35 Ps.-Call., *Hist. Alex. Magni* 1.4–7.

36 The view that there was a voice-oracle at this temple, most notably espoused by Ahmed Fakhry (see below), has been more widely held, and persists despite the arguments against it made by Kuhlmann (see next note), as can be seen, *e.g.*, in Traunecker 1997, 39, Frankfurter 1998, 151n.29, 157, and, most recently, Friese 2010, 419–420, No. II.11.1.9. According to Frankfurter, a Roman-era letter by a visitor named Nearchos, who referred to Amun uttering oracles, suggested that in Roman times there was both a traditional motion oracle and “an incubation oracle . . . through which Amun might ‘utter oracles for all mankind’” which evolved from the voice-oracle (Frankfurter, *ibid.*, 157, citing *P.Lond* III 854, l. 9 (= *Chrest. Wilck.* 117 = *P.Sarap* 101)). This interpretation is problematic, however, because Nearchos's phrasing is Ἄμμων πάσιν ἀνθρώποις χρησιμῶς δέει, and the verb χρησιμῶς δέειν is generic for issuing oracles and does not indicate a particular medium of communication. Moreover, when applied to Bes, who undoubtedly issued oracles through incubation, such language was contrasted with dream-oracles, in the context of graffiti referring to him as a god “wholly truthful, dream-giving and oracle-giving” (τὸν πανταληθῆ καὶ ὄνειροδότην καὶ χρησιμοδότην . . . θεόν) (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 500; see p. 495). There is, therefore, no evidence linking the Siwa oracle with incubation. (The Nearchos letter is, however, valuable for a different reason, which Frankfurter notes: it shows that despite Strabo's claim that the oracle had declined it was still—or again—active a century or two later.)

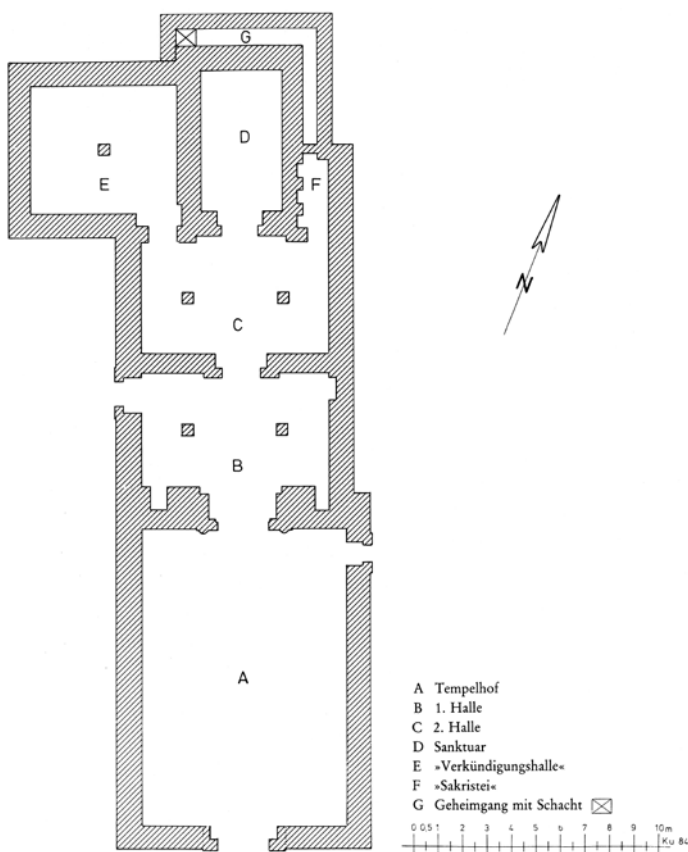
Alexander the Great and the stories associated with his receiving an oracle from Ammon, but in antiquity he was far from alone in consulting the god there: indeed, Alexander's detour to this distant locale was due to his desire to consult such a renowned oracle.³⁷ While there can be no doubt that the *Ammoneion* was an oracular temple, the supposition that oracles could be obtained in any manner other than a traditional motion or gesture oracle—or, in the case of royal consultations, a “god's decree”-type oracle (*wd-ntr*)—is highly questionable.³⁸ The belief that there was a voice-oracle at the *Ammoneion* has chiefly been based on the architectural remains. The original claim was made by Ahmed Fakhry, who did pioneering work on the site's remains in the mid-twentieth century, though without the benefit of formal excavations. Fakhry observed that three niches in the wall between the *cella* and a hidden corridor running parallel to it made the wall thinner at those points, and suggested that these niches were used by priests speaking to inquirers as the god—citing Gaston Maspero's speculative conclusion regarding the nature of hidden chambers at Karnak's temple of Khonsu.³⁹ As more work was done at the site in later years a new theory regarding voice-oracles emerged, instead link-

37 Alexander at Siwa: Diod. Sic. 17.50.6–51.4; Strabo 17.1.43; Arr., *Anab.* 3.3–3.4; Curt. 4.7.5–4.7.32; Plut., *Vit. Alex.* 27.3–5. The definitive study of the temple's history, architecture, and religious functions is by Kuhlmann (Kuhlmann (K.) 1988), who has since contributed several important articles on the excavation and preservation of Siwa, including one report primarily devoted to the oracular temple (Kuhlmann (K.) 1999–2000). For the oracle, see especially Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 127–159 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, the latter a detailed analysis of the sources for Alexander's visit that evaluates them in light of the archaeological evidence (drawing from Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 14–31, 141–157); see most recently Kuhlmann (K.) 2013, a broader work on the oasis that discusses the temple. Kuhlmann concludes that the oracle functioned as a traditional motion or gesture oracle, and in his 1991 article forcefully argues against there having also been a voice-oracle, expanding upon the conclusions of his book (Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 22–23, 127–129; see below). See also Bruhn 2010, especially pp. 111–115 on the history of the oracle in later times (though not addressing the question of a functioning voice-oracle). (I am grateful to K.P. Kuhlmann for his detailed explanations of certain pertinent aspects of the sanctuary's construction.)

38 See Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 133–134 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 75–76. Most recently on “god's decrees,” see Vernus 2013, 339–340.

39 See Fakhry 1944, 43, 87–88, citing Maspero 1930, 234 (p. 238 of 1925 edition), in which he referred to three temples with hidden chambers, one of which, that of Khonsu, he believed could have been used by a priest to issue such oracles (quoted n. 73). Fakhry's corridor is labeled ‘F’ on the main plan of the temple (Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, fig. 2, reproduced here as (Plan 17), and identified as a “Sakristei,” *i.e.* vestry. These niches, as it turns out, could not possibly have been used in the manner that Fakhry suggested, since they are shallow and the wall itself is about a meter wide. In Fakhry's description of this corridor he also linked two upper crypts to voice-oracles: “Near the ceiling we see the opening of two

ing them to a more peculiar architectural feature unknown to Fakhry: a hidden chamber found above the sanctuary, which was accessible only from the roof,



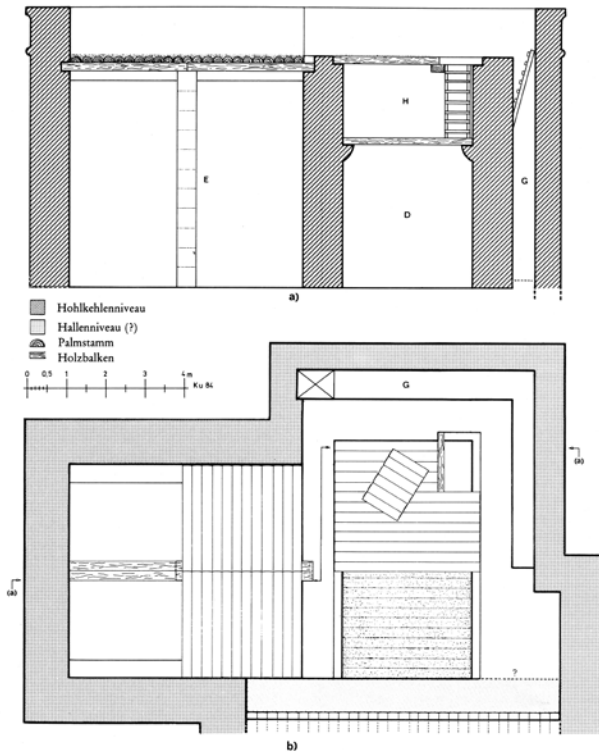
PLAN 17 Siwa Ammoneion.

SOURCE: KUHLMANN (K.) 1988, FIG. 2 (REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION FROM K.P. KUHLMANN)

crypts. The position of the niches and the crypts in this corridor make us think of the connection of this part of the temple with the oracle, and the words which were heard in the 'cella' and supposed to be spoken by 'Amun' were uttered by a priest hiding in the corridor" (Fakhry, *ibid.*, 87–88), with the reference to a priest possibly an allusion to the account in Strabo 17.1.43 (see below). Such crypts, however, do not exist, so it is likely that Fakhry saw but misidentified a light shaft and window that may have been used to ventilate the hall ('C') in front of the sanctuary ('D') (according to Kuhlmann, personal communication). (Fakhry in later works written after he had cleaned and further explored the site was more tentative, considering as alternatives that the upper area might instead have "served as a chapel in special ceremonies" (Fakhry 1971, 28) and that the corridor "might have been used as a crypt for storing the precious utensils of the temple" (Fakhry 1973, 156), but in both cases continuing to entertain the possibility of a voice-oracle.)

and could have been indirectly connected to another hidden corridor less than a meter wide that ran on the other side of the rear and eastern walls of the sanctuary.⁴⁰ This chamber has been thought to have been able to conceal a priest who would simulate the god's voice, issuing oracles to the inquirer below,

- 40 See Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 22–23 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 66–70 on these features. Kuhlmann argues that the corridor, labeled 'G' on the temple's plan (and not connected to 'F'), was not a passageway intended for concealed movement by priests, but rather the result of a second, higher wall that was built so as to screen people outside the temple from seeing priests entering the hidden chamber ("Geheimkammer," labeled 'H'), which was reached by means of a ladder (see Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, figs. 5a-b (reproduced here as Plan 18) + Pl. 22; see also Bruhn 2010, 42, 59).



PLAN 18 *Siwa Ammoneion, showing location of the "Geheimkammer" (H) above the sanctuary (D) in fig. a, and roof from which this hidden chamber was accessed in fig. b.*

SOURCE: KUHLMANN (K.) 1988, FIGS. 5A–B (REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION FROM K.P. KUHLMANN)

and such an interpretation is indeed plausible.⁴¹ However, a no less plausible alternative has been suggested by Kuhlmann, who believes that speaking statues are “alien” to Egyptian religion, and that therefore rather than priests hiding in the chamber in order to fool visitors by speaking as the god they instead were there to listen to prominent visitors’ oracular inquiries so that appropriate responses could be prepared on behalf of Ammon.⁴² While Kuhlmann’s thesis that the chamber was used for listening can no more be proven than that it was used for speaking, it does present a viable alternative, and raises further doubt that there was a voice-oracle at the *Ammoneion*. Regardless of whether either of these interpretations is accurate, this is an issue of secondary importance, since Ammon’s oracles were typically obtained through public processions (*i.e.*, a motion oracle), and only a very small number of visitors, primarily royalty, would ever have been able to engage in direct inquiries of the god within his sanctuary. This group of inquirers alone might conceivably have received oracles from a hidden voice, or even through a dream obtained while sleeping close to the cult statue, but there is simply no evidence for royal figures ever having done either at Siwa. Moreover, the rarity of such distinguished visitors calls into question whether it was indeed worthwhile to engage in additional and complicated construction efforts for the purpose of occasionally being able to eavesdrop on them. So if there *was* a functioning voice-oracle at the *Ammoneion* it would rarely have functioned, just as the opportunities for the priests to spy on those whose lofty status permitted them to enter the innermost shrine would have been few and far between. It therefore seems more likely that there were no voice-oracles being issued at Siwa, and the hidden chamber’s purpose has been misinterpreted: perhaps rather than a chamber intended to hide a person it was merely a space used for storage of temple items (though, of course, this and a more duplicitous secondary purpose are not mutually exclusive).⁴³

A written source for the *Ammoneion* has also been thought to support the idea of Ammon’s priests issuing voice-oracles: according to the geographer Strabo’s summary of the report of Alexander’s court historian Callisthenes regarding the

41 See Traunecker 1992, 381n.1980, citing a talk by Winter (whose own discussion of voice-oracles, Winter 2005, 204–205, does not focus on this chamber, despite discussing other such chambers); cf. Traunecker 1994, 26.

42 See Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 70: “The priests above the sanctuary of Ammon never spoke: quite the contrary, their one and only concern was to listen carefully. Concealed up there, where the wooden beams of the sanctuary’s ceiling formed no real barrier for the petitioner’s voice to carry clearly up to their ears, they were able to gain knowledge of even the most closely guarded secret any royal visitor might have meant to keep between himself and the god.”

43 I am grateful to Robert K. Ritner for this suggestion.

visit of Alexander and his entourage, the priest permitted Alexander alone to enter the temple in his regular clothing, and then that “all heard the oracular delivery outside except Alexander, who did so within” (ἔξωθεν τε τῆς θεμιστείας ἀκροάσασθαι πάντας πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοῦτον δ’ ἔνδοθεν) from a *prophētēs*, which is accompanied by a brief discourse explaining that unlike at Delphi and Didyma, normally at Siwa “oracles are not issued through words, but nods and tokens for the most part” (οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχίδαῖς τὰς ἀποθεσπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλεόν).⁴⁴ Though the reference to hearing an oracle inside the temple, where according to the historian Diodorus Alexander had looked upon the cult statue,⁴⁵ could be taken as an indication that the god was supposed to have spoken to this esteemed visitor, Kuhlmann has plausibly argued for another scenario: after Alexander had spent sufficient time honoring the cult statue and addressing his questions to it, the priest would have reentered the sanctuary and led him to an adjacent hall, where Alexander would have heard the god’s response read aloud to him.⁴⁶ Soon afterwards, this oracle would have been read again before the large audience present for the occasion, as is indicated by Strabo’s comment that “all heard the oracular delivery outside.” Therefore, what would have made Alexander’s consultation unusual is not that he had been spoken to directly by the god, but that as a royal figure he was granted the privilege of entering the temple’s inner sanctum to seek an oracle, unlike normal worshipers who had to attend the traditional oracular procession that was periodically held outside temple.⁴⁷

Unlike the Siwa *Ammonion*, which has not been used as a comparandum for voice-oracles at other sites because of the ambiguity of the archaeological remains, the sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari has been

44 Strabo 17.1.43, pp. 813–814. See Frankfurter 1998, 157, implying that Strabo alludes to the practice, and Fakhry 1944, 43, who must have had Strabo in mind—even though he only refers to Callisthenes, whom Strabo cites, as being the source for the accounts of Alexander’s visit to Siwa found in Arrian and Curtius Rufus—when he stated that “the spoken oracles must have been uttered inside the cella where the inquirer could hear the voice of Amun.” Potential for confusion is also to be found in Diodorus’s reference to Alexander being present as the priests of Ammon moved the god’s statue according to a “voice” (φωνή) (Diod. Sic. 17.51.2), but this would have been the voice of a priest visibly participating in the ritual rather than a disembodied voice emanating from a hidden area (see Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 129–137 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 75).

45 Diod. Sic. 17.51.1.

46 See Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 144–145 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 75–76, 79–80.

47 Kuhlmann has argued that there was insufficient space atop the hill for a public procession involving the god’s statue, and that such processions, which were the occasion for the god to issue oracles through the statue’s movements, would have been held below, along a *dromos* leading to a neighboring temple (Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 136–137 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991).

repeatedly cited as crucial to demonstrating how divination involving the simulation of direct contact with a god *truly* worked, due to an architectural feature: the window-like opening above the door between the Bark Shrine and first room of the inner sanctum (Fig. 19).⁴⁸ This opening gained great significance more than half a century ago when the *dipinto* by the soldier Athenodoros stating that he had heard a divine voice was first published, and it was suggested by the editor that priests or cult officials would use this opening to simulate a god's voice for worshipers engaging in a consultation or incubation.⁴⁹ Such a conclusion is no longer tenable, since more recent archaeological work at the sanctuary has demonstrated that this opening belonged to the original Hatshepsut sanctuary and had been covered up long before Athenodoros's time by the insertion of an architrave, and therefore could not have been the source of the voice this visitor heard (or thought he had heard).⁵⁰ Moreover, it was always a somewhat impractical theory that this opening was used to transmit voice-oracles, for two similar reasons: it seems impossible for Athenodoros not to have seen the priest upon going through the door and entering the small room, as he describes doing, and this sort of deception would have been difficult for cult personnel to achieve if there were multiple individuals in the Bark Shrine at the same time each awaiting an oracular response (though possible if inquirers slept alone). Instead, as discussed previously, it is possible to read Athenodoros's text as a dream-narrative, in which case he *dreamed* of hearing a voice, and Deir el-Bahari should be excluded from the list of cult sites to which worshipers came expecting a god to speak to them.⁵¹

Though no text similar to Athenodoros's *dipinto* was found there, at the Roman-era temple of Isis and Sarapis at Kysis (modern Dush) in the Kharga Oasis a hole in the wall likewise has been linked to oracular activity on the assumption that it was created to link the inner sanctum and a small shrine built behind the back of the temple after the cult's decline in the mid- or late-fourth century CE.⁵² According to this interpretation of the remains, the hole created a direct

48 For the Bark Shrine as the probable locus of incubation at Deir el-Bahari, see Chapter 8.4.

49 *I. Deir el-Bahari* 208, re-edited in Renberg 2013 (quoted pp. 458–459). The opening's presumed oracular role was proposed in Bataille 1950, 12–13 and Bataille, *Hatshepsout*, pp. xxiii–xxiv. See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 60n.228 and Renberg, *ibid.*, 110–111n.25 for references to those following Bataille, to which can be added: Thelamon 1981, 242n.128; Bernand 1988, 54–55; Dunand 1991, 245–246 (also quoted in Quaegebeur 1997, 21–22); Traunecker 1992, 382; and Hirt Raj 2006, 294–295.

50 Noted by Lajtar in *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 60 (and personal communication).

51 See p. 460n.35.

52 The temple and “chapelle adossée” have been discussed in several excavation reports and other studies of the site, though none makes note of the hole: see Sauneron 1978, 7; Vernus 1979, 9; P. Vernus, G. Castel and D. Valbelle in Gascou 1980, 293–308; and Reddé 2004,

conduit between the gods and their worshipers, permitting voice-oracles to emanate through it.⁵³ However, the hole has since been identified as a window that was originally created in the wall as a narrow horizontal slit at the time of construction in order to provide light for the sanctuary, and was forcefully enlarged towards the end of the temple's history—it therefore had an architectural purpose from the beginning, and there is no reason to conclude that it changed to an oracular one.⁵⁴ Moreover, the shrine itself could have had other purposes instead of or in addition to seeking oracles,⁵⁵ and there is no compelling evidence for voice-oracles in the cults of Isis and Sarapis. Similar reasoning regarding an architectural feature has led to the even more problematic suggestion by Jean-Michel Carrié that voice-oracles were issued at the temple of Sarapis at Mons Claudianus, which featured a man-sized niche behind a double wall, identified by Carrié as an oracular crypt.⁵⁶ Though this is plausible, and Sarapis was certainly an oracular god, the documentary evidence for an oracle's presence is less compelling than Carrié indicates: while it is true that two *ostraka* indicate that a local stone quarry bore the name "Oracle of Sarapis" (Χρησμοσάραπης), this need not have alluded to a functioning oracle at the temple, especially since such a name might instead refer to a single oracular revelation;⁵⁷ and, moreover, he indicates that an

93–177 (on the temple, with pp. 107, 176 briefly discussing the shrine). (Peter Dils, however, discusses both in his dissertation (see below).)

- 53 See Dunand 1991, 246 (with figs. 1–2, photos showing the hole from both inside and outside the temple), noting the lack of textual confirmation for the hypothesis, and Frankfurter 1998, 167–168, emphasizing that worshipers even though outside the temple would hear the voice coming directly from the inner sanctum. See also Quaegebeur 1997, 22–23, quoting Dunand's discussion but expressing the need for skepticism, stating, "Plusieurs égyptologues familiers avec le temple de Douch et interrogés à ce sujet ne sont pas partisans de cette interprétation."
- 54 The hole's identification as a window is to be found in Dils 2000, 38–40, 219–220, arguing against the interpretation of Dunand; for the "chapelle adossée," see *ibid.*, 43–46. (I am grateful to Peter Dils for his thoughts on this subject.)
- 55 See Vernus 1979, 9, suggesting that the shrine was used for rituals, the meetings of associations, oracles or incubation.
- 56 See Carrié 2001, 134–136 (with fig. 6, 12). Carrié also cites as a potential parallel Temple A at Hössn Niha, just outside of Nihata in Syria, which has a small crypt accessible through an opening in the front wall beside the stairs (Krencker/Zschietzschmann 1938, Pls. 58, 59c, with discussion of Temple A at pp. 122–131), but there is no sign that this was an Egyptian temple and no written evidence for oracles being issued at the site, and there are other possible explanations for the crypt. Moreover, it does not correspond in terms of placement to any of the small chambers rightly or wrongly associated with voice-oracles at Egyptian sanctuaries (see below).
- 57 *O.Claud* IV 657–658 (see p. 383n.126).

ostrakon attests to such an oracle's existence, though this is not the case.⁵⁸ There is therefore no reliable evidence for a voice-oracle at Mons Claudianus, or at any other temple of Sarapis.⁵⁹

Deir el-Bahari, Kysis and Mons Claudianus are not the only site associated with voice-oracles because of an architectural feature that has been speculatively—and sometimes untenably—interpreted. Most notably, the famous Augustan-era Temple of Dendur now at New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art, which honored the brothers Peteësis and Paüris as *ḥsy.w* (i.e., divinized mortals), was identified with the practice as far back as the late-nineteenth century because a part of the rear wall gives access to a crypt in which, it was thought, a priest might have hidden and delivered oracles, but this has now been shown to have been impossible.⁶⁰ Bes's oracle at the Abydos *Memnonion* has also been linked to such a practice because of the presence of a crypt-like chamber, but its location is too far from the major concentration of Bes-related graffiti for this to be a likely interpretation of the site's remains.⁶¹

58 According to Carrié, "Précisément, l'existence d'un oracle au Mons Claudianus est attestée par un ostrakon ainsi que par le nom de Χρημοσάραπις porté par une carrière du Mons" (Carrié 2001, 135). However, I have been advised that there is no other *ostrakon* referring to an oracle by Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, who also suggests that the quarry referred to by the two *ostraka* was probably Quarry 122, located just above the temple (personal communication).

59 For the problematic claim that the term ἱερόφωνος was linked to voice-oracles at the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, see p. 382n.122. The tunnel leading into this sanctuary's original temple has also been proposed, without any supporting evidence, as the site of a voice-oracle: Traunecker cites Alan Rowe as having reached this conclusion even though the latter was only linking the hidden passage to an oracle without specifying the type (Traunecker 1992, 381, citing Rowe/Rees 1956–57, 490 + plan (facing p. 493); cf. McKenzie/Gibson/Reyes 2004, 90), while Lang also proposes the possibility (Lang 2013, 66). (For the sanctuary's unexplained subterranean features, see pp. 333–336n.10.)

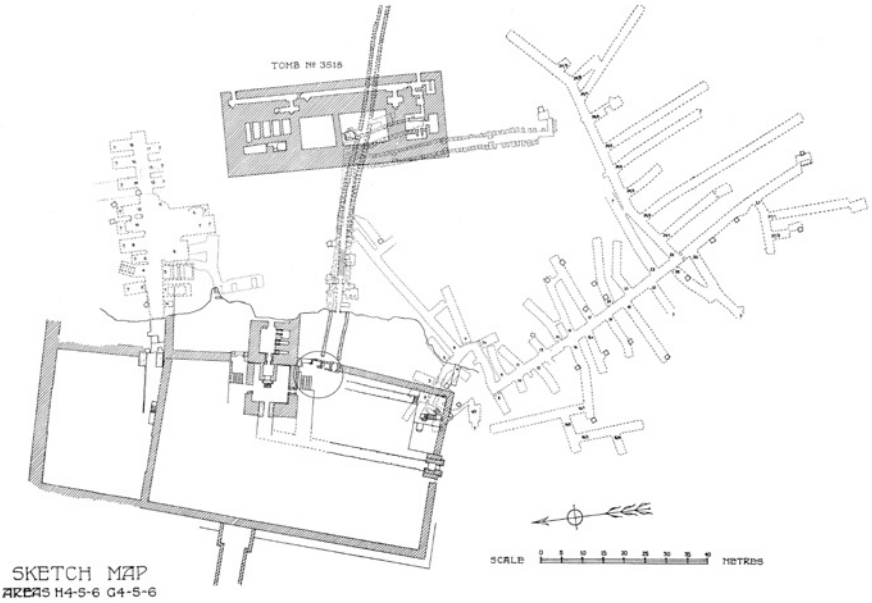
60 See Bianchi 1998, concluding that there is no channel between the crypt and the temple's inner sanctum, and that the wall paintings suggest a traditional motion oracle instead (at pp. 777–779), and thus arguing both against such scholars as Achille C.T.E. Prisse D'Avennes and Erich Winter regarding this temple (Prisse D'Avennes 1879, 357; Winter 1981, 381), and, more generally, those believing in the presence of voice-oracles at certain sites (such as Kákosy 1982b, 600–601 and Traunecker 1992, 379–387, singled out by Bianchi as representatives). Winter has since repeated his position, citing his 1981 article but apparently overlooking Bianchi's work (Winter 2005, 205 with n. 12). On crypts in general, see Traunecker 1994; cf. Traunecker 1980 and Arnold, *Lexikon*, 136, s.v. "Krypta."

61 For the claim, see Frankfurter 1998, 173–174n.126, Frankfurter 2000b, 476, and Frankfurter 2005a, 239, referring to a room in the complex's northwest corner, behind the shrines of Isis, Sethos I and Horus (perhaps the same one briefly mentioned by Maspero (see

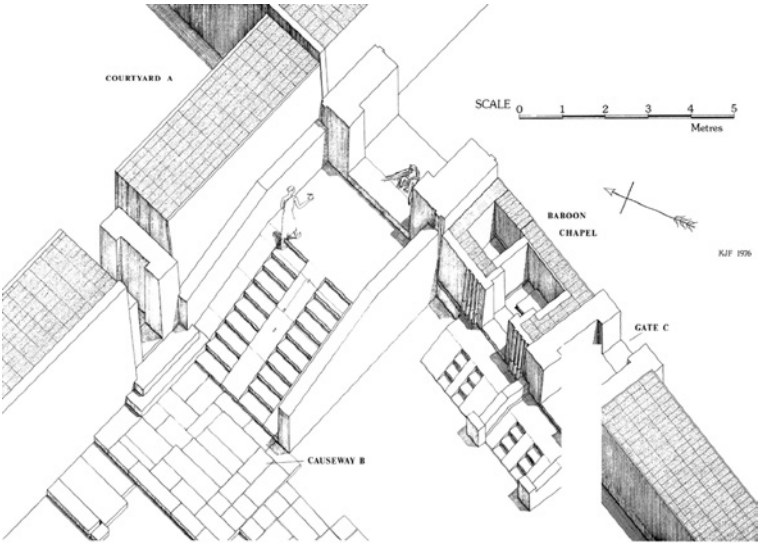
At Saqqâra there has been speculation regarding architectural features in two of the temple complexes: at Osorapis's Sanctuary A some remains have been interpreted as a possible shrine with an oracular image of the god or Isis, behind which was a passage that could have been used by cult personnel to animate the image and emit sounds; and, at the small shrine known as the "Baboon Chapel" (1.30 × 1.40 meters) before the entrance to Thoth's Baboon Galleries, in which an oracular baboon statue may have stood, there was an adjacent chamber (1.30 × 0.95 meters) that was entered separately, and given the thinness of the wall, might have been used by cult personnel in a manner similar to that proposed for the statue at Sanctuary A (Plans 19–20).⁶² In both cases the speculation regarding the structural remains can be supported by the fact that the gods involved were believed to issue oracles both at Saqqâra and elsewhere, but this is not compelling.

n. 73)). This chamber was labeled Room K' by Mariette and Room 13 by Calverley (see PM VI, p. 4). See Chapter 9.2 for Bes's oracle.

- 62 See Smith (H.) 2002, 368–369 for this suggestion regarding the two sites, and for Sanctuary A in general; for the possibly oracular baboon statue, see p. 435n.107. The remains of the Baboon Chapel are described in Smith/Davies/Frazer 2006, 86–87 (with fig. 10, reproduced here as Plan 20) and Davies 2006, 26–27 (with Pl. Ib); cf. Ray, *Texts*, 6–7. As is indicated in these excavation reports, the identification of the separate chamber with voice-oracles is speculative, but is based on its unusual nature: "In view of its lack of any decoration and its rear entrance, it was evidently not intended for public view and its purposes were presumably severely practical. As it was separated from the Baboon Chapel only by the 30cm thick limestone slabs of the N wall of the latter, through which sound would have passed and which could have been pierced by holes or grilles, we suggest that its purpose was to accommodate a priest responsible for oracular responses given by a divine image, most probably of Osiris the Baboon, resting on the dais in the chapel" (Smith/Davies/Frazer, *ibid.*, 87). A document from the Hôr Archive has also raised the possibility of spoken oracles from Thoth, though this is far from certain: according to one proposal, a cult ordinance once reportedly given by Thoth regarding the ibis and hawk cults (*i.e.*, Thoth and Horus) in the "chapel of Thoth" (*pr Dḥwtj*) was "spoken at some point in the past in a chapel of Thoth by that god, presumably through his divine image" (Davies/Smith 2005, 62–64, on *O.Hor* 19, *recto*, ll. 9–13). From a practical standpoint, however, this seems unlikely, as it would have required some of those serving in the cult to believe words that they knew to be uttered by a fellow cult official or priest to have been issued by a god—though it is nonetheless a possibility, if it was believed that the utterances were divinely inspired. More importantly, Davies and Smith follow Ray's problematic reading and translation of lines 9–10, which do not refer to a past event and need not pertain to a pronouncement from Thoth—a collective statement of cult officials is the preferable alternative—and this partly undermines their use of the text as supporting evidence. (I am grateful to Sue Davies for her thoughts on the Saqqâra evidence, and to Joachim F. Quack for explaining the interpretive issues concerning the Hôr text.)



PLAN 19 *Saqqâra, area of Baboon Galleries and associated temple complex in Sacred Animal Necropolis (with area of Baboon Chapel circled), modified.*
SOURCE: EMERY 1971, PL. XIV (© THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY)



PLAN 20 *Saqqâra, detail showing Stairway B and adjoining structures at entrance to Baboon Galleries, including Baboon Chapel.*
SOURCE: SMITH/DAVIES/FRAZER 2006, FIG. 10 (© THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY)

Even though the shrine behind the Kysis temple has not been convincingly identified as a site for voice-oracles, this interpretation of its remains has been used to conclude that there was a voice-oracle of the multifaceted god Tutu/Tithoēs at a shrine built along the rear façade of the Roman-era temple of Khonsu at Shenhur—a good example of the aforementioned “cascading effect” whereby one questionable interpretation forms the basis for another.⁶³ In this shrine, however, there was no window-like hole leading into the inner sanctum, but rather the part of the wall with a false door carved into it is thin and constructed in such a way that there might have been small openings that could be used for delivering voice-oracles from a hidden source within.⁶⁴ This alone would not have been viewed as sufficient evidence for a functioning voice-oracle at the site, but since the image of Tutu/Tithoēs carved onto the wall was accompanied by the epithet “the one who comes to the one who calls him” (*ỉy n ꜥ n=f*) written in hieroglyphics, and there is textual evidence from elsewhere for this god’s oracular function, the possibility was first raised by Jan Quaegebeur.⁶⁵ However, in contrast to his confident assertion that Tutu/Tithoēs issued oracles at Shenhur, Quaegebeur expressed caution regarding his suggestion of a *voice-oracle*.⁶⁶ Arguing in favor of such caution is the fact that this shrine was fully integrated with the temple rather than built as a secondary addition—in contrast to the shrine built behind the Kysis temple in Late Antiquity—and also the conclusion of Traunecker and Françoise Laroche in their study of the shrine’s remains that it did not serve an oracular function.⁶⁷

Also questionable is the conclusion that voice-oracles could be obtained at the temple of Pnepheros and Petesuchos in Karanis, which is based on

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- 63 For the definitive study of this god, see Kaper 2003, supplemented by Kaper 2012; see also Volokhine 2005–07. For the shrine, see Traunecker/Laroche 1980 and Kaper, *ibid.*, 132–136; cf. Quaegebeur/Traunecker 1994, 203. For the temple itself, see Quaegebeur/Traunecker, *ibid.*, 191–207 (with fig. 3 showing the site plan). This god was linked to Hypnos, the Greek god of sleep, in a Macedonian inscription (Demitsas, *Makedonia* 861+871; see p. 678n.2); however, there is no evidence associating him with incubation, there or in Egypt (see Kaper 2003, 207).
- 64 See Quaegebeur 1997, 18–22. (Quaegebeur/Traunecker 1994, fig. 10a–b shows matching crypts between the sanctuary and this outer wall, but they appear to have been related to activities *in* the temple.)
- 65 See Quaegebeur 1997, 23–34.
- 66 Olaf E. Kaper has agreed with Quaegebeur that Tutu/Tithoēs was an oracular god at Shenhur, though he does not address directly the suggestion that this involved voice-oracles, evidently agreeing with Quaegebeur’s cautiousness (Kaper 2003, 135, 151–152).
- 67 See Traunecker/Laroche 1980, 194–196, analyzing the shrine’s possible functions. In their joint study of the temple Quaegebeur and Traunecker made no mention of a possible voice-oracle, which was proposed by Quaegebeur alone a few years later.

the discovery of a small room beneath the large platform that would have supported the cult statues; this room was thought similar to a walled-up chamber behind the cult statue platform in a shrine of an unidentified divinity just to the north at Qaṣr Qârûn, which was linked to voice-oracles as far back as its examination by Edme-François Jomard in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁸ The first mention in print of this possibility for the Karanis temple is to be found in the cautious statement of David Hogarth that “it is far from impossible that both that chamber and this cavity at Karanis were designed for the concealment of an oracular priest.”⁶⁹ Three decades later Enoch E. Peterson treated the matter with seemingly little hesitation, writing that Room x was perhaps used by the high priest and that “From here he could easily make his way to the space within the altar, without being seen by the petitioning devotees, and give his responses in the name of Pnepheros and Petesouchos.”⁷⁰ This conclusion was subsequently echoed by Frederik Poulsen, who wrote with conviction of a priest crouching in the small room in the Karanis shrine and uttering “oracular cries,” and has been followed by others.⁷¹ However, just because a room could be accessed out of sight from worshipers does not mean that anything secret was being done there, and the room in question may have been used for nothing more exciting than storage of ritual items. Therefore, even though the

68 Karanis: PM IV, p. 96. Qaṣr Qârûn: PM IV, p. 97. Jomard, studying the site under the aegis of Napoleon's Commission des Sciences et des Arts, said that because the chamber at Qaṣr Qârûn was small and closed off it was “extrêmement sonore,” and subsequently explained its perceived manner of function: “Quand le dieu du temple étoit consulté, un prêtre chargé de cet office pénétrait dans le caveau, levait la pierre, et sa voix, répondant dans un espace hermétiquement fermé, retentissoit avec force dans le sanctuaire, et imprimait à la voix de l'oracle un caractère extraordinaire. Si ce n'est là qu'une conjecture, c'est peut-être la seule manière d'expliquer l'arrangement bizarre de cette chambre sans issue apparente, et où l'on ne pénétrait que par des souterrains. Quant à l'augmentation de la voix, je m'en suis convaincu par des essais répétés. M'étant placé dans cette salle haute pendant que mes compagnons de voyage étoient dans le sanctuaire, j'articulai quelques paroles, et ils crurent entendre plusieurs voix réunies et retentissantes” (E. Jomard in Jomard/Caristie 1818, 15–16). His examination of the remains put Jomard in mind of Rufinus of Aquileia's description of the subterranean elements of the Alexandrian *Sarapieion* (see p. 334n.10), and Jomard also noted that in Anton van Dale's important seventeenth-century work on ancient oracles “on lit que les voûtes des sanctuaires *augmentoient la voix*, et faisoient un retentissement qui inspiroit de la terreur” (van Dale 1700). (Presumably, Jomard had in mind the tenth chapter, in which Rufinus and other ancient authors describing oracular frauds are discussed.)

69 D. Hogarth in Grenfell/Hunt/Hogarth 1900, 30 (with Plan 11 showing the temple's layout).

70 Peterson 1933, 53–54.

71 Poulsen (F.) 1945, 184. See also Traunecker 1992, 381, Frankfurter 1998, 150–151, and Winter 2005, 205. All four treat both the Karanis temple and nearby Qaṣr Qârûn temple as evidence for this phenomenon.

discovery of a ticket oracle at Karanis addressed to the god “Souxis” within a few years of Hogarth’s speculation shows that the temple was oracular, there is no reason to conclude that this oracle was an unconventional one.⁷²

Though not linked to voice-oracles as early as Qaṣr Qârûn, the temple of Khonsu at Karnak also was claimed to have had a functioning voice-oracle, and this in turn was cited as evidence supporting similar claims elsewhere: according to Maspero, an unexplained crypt well above the floor could have been used by a priest to utter oracles to those within the sanctuary.⁷³ Another site for which such a practice has been suggested is the temple of Geb at Koptos, where a small shrine (2.10 × 1.70 meters) associated with Cleopatra and dating to 47–44 BCE has been identified by Claude Traunecker as the site of a voice-oracle based partly on the presence of an opening in the wall—from which a hidden priest could have spoken—as well as the shrine’s architecture.⁷⁴ Since the nearby Bark Shrine is thought to have functioned by means of a traditional motion oracle, it has been suggested that this shrine, built into the temple’s southwestern corner, was used for private consultations undertaken independently of the festival calendar, most likely involving a divinity representing an assimilation of Geb and Khonsu.⁷⁵ This speculation is matched by Traunecker’s proposal that a chamber, which he terms a crypt, in the temple of Isis at Philae likewise had been used to conceal individuals issuing voice-

72 *PGM* LXXVI (= *SB* XXVI 16506).

73 Maspero 1930, 234 (translation of p. 238 of 1925 edition): “In Pharaonic buildings there are few examples of secret chambers, corridors or cabinets concealed in the thickness of the walls. I know of one at Abydos in the Memnonium of Seti I., another at Medinet Habu in the cenotaph of Ramesses III., and finally, one in the temple of Khonsu to the left of the sanctuary. The last is a veritable crypt near the ceiling, 13 feet from the ground, in the space between two accessible chapels, and was perhaps the hiding-place of the priest who pronounced the oracles.” Maspero continued by explaining that the relative lateness of such hidden features might be attributable to the fact that during Ptolemaic and Roman times, since foreigners were in power, rulers were no longer regularly present to participate in rituals, and thus the items that would only be used during their visits were stored away—an explanation that is undermined by the rarity of such features. For Maspero’s influence on Fakhry, see p. 580.

74 See Traunecker 1992, 49–53, 379–387 (cf. Traunecker 1997, 38–39), followed by Frankfurter 1998, 151–152. Traunecker attributes his conclusion to “la forme architecturale (reposoir en trompe-l’oeil) et surtout la présence d’un réduit communiquant avec la chapelle” (p. 380). For the temple of Geb, see Traunecker 1992, 47–48 (with plan showing the location of the chapel at p. 40, fig. 8), and for the hieroglyphic texts from both temple and shrine, see pp. 238–303.

75 See Traunecker 1992, 384–387.

oracles by means of a window-like opening.⁷⁶ Such an opening is not sufficient to link this chamber, which ran parallel to Room XII for its full length, to oracles, and Room XII itself was decorated with images of Ptolemy II making offerings to Isis and other gods—hardly what one would expect for an oracular setting.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, Traunecker reached the conclusion that there was an oracle there, due to the opening and because the entrance to the adjacent room was hidden. Traunecker did not limit his speculation to Koptos and Philae, also proposing—briefly, and without significant discussion—that chambers at Luxor's shrine of Alexander the Great and Karnak's shrine of his half-brother Philip III of Macedon, as well as some crypts elsewhere, were used for voice-oracles.⁷⁸ Similarly, Erich Winter has identified multiple temples with secret chambers that he links to voice-oracles, though he concludes his brief discussion with a call for an expert archaeologist to examine such chambers in an attempt to determine how likely it is that they were used in this manner—something that a decade later remains quite desirable.⁷⁹ Thus we

76 See Traunecker 1992, 380; cf. Traunecker 1980, 828–829n.61. Noting a lack of parallels among other crypts, Traunecker describes the opening as “une sorte de soupirail” which would have functioned as a “conduit acoustique.”

77 Decorations: PM VI, p. 245 (366–370). For a plan of the temple showing Room XII and the unlabeled room adjacent to it, see *ibid.*, p. 230.

78 See Traunecker 1997, 39, citing basic plans of the two sites (Abd El-Raziq 1984, Pl. 3 for Luxor, Golvin/Goyon 1987, 40 for Karnak), as well as his previous article on crypts for its examples from Luxor, Edfou, and Karnak's Khonsu temple (Traunecker 1994).

79 Winter 2005, 204–205, refers to three sites: the temple of Amun at Debod (citing Roeder 1911, 29, §65 + Pl. 7 and Roeder 1927, 274n.1 + Pl. 13, which note a hidden crypt 1.52 meters high, but make no mention of voice-oracles); the temple of Amun at El-Hiba (citing Kamal 1901, 86, which mentions a single room with a chamber beneath it covered by slabs, and Ranke 1926, Pl. g; see also K.F. Breith in Ranke, *ibid.*, 58–68, discussing at pp. 62, 67 small chambers but not linking them to an oracular function); and, the bark shrine of Alexander the Great at Luxor's temple of Amenhotep III, which had a hidden chamber above the sanctuary (citing Abd El-Raziq 1984, Pl. 3, and evidently unaware of Traunecker's earlier speculation regarding this site (see previous note)). In addition, Winter implicitly approves the suggestion of Charles F. Nims that such a chamber above the entrance to the shrine of the visiting Amun of Karnak at the same temple of Amenhotep III and two other hidden chambers at opposite ends of this shrine were used for oracles (Winter, *ibid.*, 213–214n.19, citing Nims 1965, 128, 131, who also raises the possibility of their use as treasuries). In addition to these hidden chambers which Winter linked to voice-oracles either for the first time or independently of others who also did so, he briefly associates Kom Ombo, a temple of the crocodile god Sobek and falcon god Horus, with the practice by citing Brunton (Winter, *ibid.*, 214n.23; Brunton 1947, 295), but Brunton's claim—possibly from Fakhry, though Brunton's syntax is ambiguous on this matter—consists of no more than

are left with a small, scattered group of architectural features that have been associated with a phenomenon for which there is no reliable evidence, which makes any claims regarding voice-oracles at the temples in question a matter of speculation, no matter how plausible this may seem.

In addition to such temples at which a small chamber, especially one with a hole in a wall, is thought to have been used to conceal a priest speaking to those in an adjacent room (as well as other set-ups possibly permitting a hidden priest to speak), it has been suggested that some of what were essentially mobile chambers found at different sites could function in much the same manner: among the several dozen examples of stone “*naoi*” (i.e., boxlike shrines used for displaying cult images) in the Cairo Museum are four that have a hole in the side and thus have been linked to voice-oracles.⁸⁰ That these

a sentence stating that “There was a somewhat similar arrangement at Kom Ombo” to the one at Siwa that Fakhry for a time had thought evidence for a voice-oracle. (Rather oddly, Brunton refers to a personal communication from Fakhry about the three niches in the wall between the corridor and the sanctuary (see n. 39), but Fakhry himself later linked Kom Ombo to voice-oracles because of different chambers: “Under the floor of the two sanctuaries in the temple of Kom Ombo, there are crypts which served the same purpose” (Fakhry 1973, 156).) Winter also notes two other temples with hidden chambers possibly used for voice-oracles, the Abydos *Memnonion* of Sety I (see p. 587) and funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, attributing this position to Maspero, but does raise doubt regarding these possibilities, without noting that Maspero was only explicitly linking the Khonsu temple to voice-oracles, not all three (Winter, *ibid.*, 205, citing Maspero 1925, 238 (p. 235 of 1930 translation; quoted n. 73)).

In contrast to these secret chambers, Winter also connects the “Great Naos” of Banebdjed at Mendes—a towering, three-sided stone shrine set atop a pedestal of massive blocks—to voice-oracles (*ibid.*, 205), deriving this view from Bernard von Bothmer’s observation regarding the unusual way the upper compartment at the back is divided and that this had yet to be explained (von Bothmer 1988, 206). However, as Winter himself comments, there is no obvious means of access for whoever would be issuing the voice-oracles. So while a person could have fit into the upper compartment of the *naos*—assuming that it was deep enough to do so—and might even have been invisible to those below, the only way for oracles to have been issued from there would have involved a priest clambering up the front and entering the shrine, squeezing past the cult statue, and then climbing up to the compartment. (For photos and sketches of the “Great Naos,” see *Mendes* I, Pl. 1 and *Mendes* II, Pls. 2, 3, 5.)

- 80 The museum’s collection was published in Roeder, *Naos*; see also Wildung 1982. The four *naoi* with holes are: Cairo Inv. Nos. 70007 (Roeder, *ibid.*, 25–28 + Pl. 7, 51a–b), 70010 (*ibid.*, 37–38 + Pl. 8, 51c–d), 70014 (*ibid.*, 45–46 + Pl. 11, 49d–e), and 70019 (*ibid.*, 55–57 + Pl. 15, 49a–c). Traunecker appears to have been the first to make the suggestion linking these to voice-oracles (Traunecker 1992, 381), and was followed by Frankfurter (Frankfurter 1998, 151). However, Frankfurter’s proposed parallel with the small shrines found at the

small shrines were used for direct consultations, however, is quite speculative, even if, as Frankfurter notes, the chambers were “each large enough to accommodate a person.”⁸¹ After all, *naoi* appear to have been most commonly used for displaying cult images, as is suggested by the fact that several had built-in statuettes, and the notion of a priest or cult official being concealed in one is questionable. Moreover, the *naoi* were all open at the front rather than closed, making concealment somewhat difficult. Though the holes could have been used for a concealed tube through which voice-oracles were delivered, this alone is not evidence of such practices, especially since another explanation is possible:⁸² these holes, which are found in a small minority of the *naoi*, could have been used for a mechanical contrivance that would make the statues move as part of an oracular procedure.⁸³

Whereas these *naoi* have received little attention from those discussing the role of voice-oracles in Egyptian religion, another, similarly small, group of cult objects with holes has been repeatedly treated as important evidence: “speaking” statues. Certain sanctuaries have been associated with voice-oracles because of a statue or statuette with a hidden hole that was thought to be employed in such a manner as to deceive worshipers into believing that the god’s image had spoken to them.⁸⁴ That the gods would speak to worshipers was a belief dating back to Pharaonic times, but it is unclear to what extent the written sources for this are religious fictions: for example, the well-documented oracle of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medīna was said to speak,

temple of Khnum at Elephantine and associated by Martin with the oracle in the *Dodgson Papyrus* can be questioned, since these shrines postdate that text, and, as Martin notes, it is not known what preceded them there, and therefore the connection between them and what is described in the text is quite uncertain (see p. 550).

- 81 The four *naoi* range in height from 1.27–2.52 meters, making two large enough for a person to fit easily, and the other two a tougher fit. Frankfurter, like Traunecker, does not specify that the person concealed within a *naos* would have been someone serving a god rather than a worshiper, but this is indicated by the statement’s context.
- 82 Complicating the matter is the fact that these holes are found at different heights (bottom, middle and top), which undermines the possibility that they were used either for pouring in libations or draining tubes for removing such liquid offerings.
- 83 I am grateful to Terry Wilfong for this suggestion.
- 84 Even before the discovery of specific statues that were claimed to have been used for voice-oracles, a role for “statues parlantes” in Egyptian religion was assumed, most notably by Maspero (Maspero 1898; cf. Maspero 1887, 183), and such treatments of the subject influenced those assessing the potential functions of certain objects as they were unearthed or found in the possession of antiquities dealers—making Maspero’s declarations a form of self-fulfilling prophecy about divination.

according to some of the inquirers' texts, but since it is known to have been a typical motion oracle it is not conceivable that the oracle spoke aloud, and therefore such claims should be recognized as euphemisms for the god's communications that were misunderstood in earlier studies.⁸⁵ Indeed, it was fairly common for gods' statements to be translated as "utterances" and for the gods to have been considered to speak, but this does not appear to be an accurate representation of what occurred—except, perhaps, in the case of a "king's oracle," when a written oracle would be brought to a king and read aloud to him.⁸⁶

The repeated references to certain architectural features, statues, and other cult-related objects as evidence for voice-oracles in Egypt—a notion partly inspired by the literary sources discussed above—has fostered the belief that this was indeed a common phenomenon, which in turn has led to suggestions that certain textual sources represent further evidence, and this in a sense represents a form of collective circular reasoning. Most notably, it has been proposed that the prophetic message in the Augustan-era *Oracle of the Lamb*—a work drawing from a tradition that a lamb had spoken during the reign of the semi-legendary king Bakenrenef ("Bokchoris" in Greek sources; reigned 720–715 BCE)—was received through incubation or uttered by a hidden priest representing himself as the ram-god Khnum, and the latter suggestion might

85 See McDowell 1990, 109–110 for Deir el-Medīna's oracle; for this god, see p. 448n.1. A particularly influential study linking speech by a god's statue in certain texts with actual simulation of speech by a priest "who was no doubt supposed to be possessed by the god" was Blackman 1925 (quoting pp. 254–255), primarily discussing P.Brit.Mus. 10335 (ed. Dawson 1925), but also citing the oracle of Amun-Re received by Queen Hatshepsut urging her to reopen the route to Punt that was recorded on the "Punt Portico" (*Urk.* iv 342.11–12, located at PM 11², pp. 344–347; trans. Breasted, *Records* 11, §285). Similarly, early in the last century texts associated with procession oracles and the movement of the bark were sometimes misunderstood, with the verb *hn(n)* ("to nod, assent to"), which signifies a positive response achieved by a cult statue being manipulated (see Naether 2010, 40–41 and Černý 1962, 43–45), being confused with the god's speaking (*dd*). This largely discredited interpretation of such sources is still followed by some (e.g., Shehab el-Din 2003, 263, claiming that "When the divine answer was given as a specific reply (not just yes/no answer), it was claimed that the god talked (*dd*)," and that in such cases the "divine speech" was given by a priest wearing the "divine mask"). But even when these interpretations themselves no longer hold influence, the earlier works that they influenced sometimes do: for example, one of the sources cited by Fakhry that led him to believe that there had been a voice-oracle at Siwa was P.Brit.Mus. 10335, along with Blackman's discussion, and while Blackman's conclusion is no longer accepted Fakhry's work has been cited by others (Fakhry 1944, 43; see n. 79 for one likely example).

86 The primary study of the phenomenon is Römer (M.) 1994, 302–372. See also Kuhlmann (K.) 1988, 133–134 and Kuhlmann (K.) 1991, 75–76.

not have been made if not for the claims made regarding voice-oracles being issued through holes in walls and hidden statues.⁸⁷

While there may be one or two archaeological finds from Ptolemaic and Roman times that can plausibly be interpreted as evidence for statues from which seemingly divine voices would issue, others have been misinterpreted—and often misinterpreted because of too much reliance on questionable comparanda. The result of this on the whole has been that the role of statues in the delivery of voice-oracles has been at least somewhat exaggerated. One discovery associated with a “speaking” statue—and repeatedly cited as a prime example—was made at Kôm el-Wist, where a hollow pedestal measuring .58 × .24 meters that supported a four-footed statue (perhaps a bull) dating to late-Ptolemaic or Roman times was found attached to a concealed metal “tunnel” measuring roughly 2.30–2.50 meters, to which its excavator attributed an oracular purpose.⁸⁸ While no other explanation for the tunnel has been suggested, it is worth noting that its width, roughly eighteen centimeters, is significantly greater than a crane’s windpipe or a tube, which should raise concern over this explanation of the tunnel’s function. Moreover, alternative explanations do present themselves, but have not been advanced previously: the tunnel may have served as a channel for pull-ropes that were used to control mechanical movements of the statue, and it is also possible, depending on the statue’s placement, for the tunnel to have been used to drain liquid offerings. Even if the statue did indeed produce sounds, these need not have been spoken oracles: the limited literary evidence for religiously-themed *automata* found

87 *PRainCent* 3; see Thissen 2002*b* (with translation at pp. 115–119) and Quack 2009*e* (with translation at pp. 45–51); annotated translation by J.F. Quack in Hoffmann/Quack, *Anthologie*, pp. 181–183. The tradition of the lamb speaking is preserved in fragments of Manetho and other literary sources (collected in Thissen, *ibid.*, 137–138, to which can be added P.Lips. inv. 590, col. ii, ll. 2–5, eds. Popko/Rücker 2011). For oracles linked to Khnum and other ram gods, see Kákosy 1966*b* (with brief discussion of this oracle at pp. 344–345). For this explanation of the *Oracle of the Lamb*’s origin linking it to a voice-oracle, see Martin (C.) 1994, 210–211, also raising the same possibility for the “utterances” in the early-Ptolemaic political text with *ex eventu* oracle known as the *Demotic Chronicle* (*P.Chronik*; see Felber 2002, with translation at pp. 75–90; annotated translation in Hoffmann/Quack, *ibid.*, 183–191; the possibility of a voice-oracle has been viewed skeptically by Felber, *ibid.*, 71–72 and Quack 2009*e*, 41). Martin accepts that there were voice-oracles at Kôm el-Wist (see below), Karanis and Siwa (*ibid.*, 210), demonstrating the impact that arguably questionable interpretations of archaeological remains can have on the interpretation of literary sources. Cf. Frankfurter 1998, 150, 152, 206.

88 Cairo Inv. No. 85925. See Brunton 1947; cf. Traunecker 1992, 380 and Traunecker 1997, 39, Frankfurter 1998, 150–151, and Winter 2005, 205, with Traunecker stating, “L’exemple de Kôm el-Wist est indiscutable” (*ibid.*, 1992, 380). For the site, see Habachi 1947 (with Pls. 34–35 showing the location of this find).

in the writings of Hero of Alexandria, such as temple doors that are opened when an altar is aflame or an altar that receives a libation from adjacent figures when a flame is lit (with a serpent hissing in one case), raises the possibility that at Egyptian temples such devices could have been used to amaze onlookers, in which case this statue may have been designed to achieve a similarly miraculous effect through sound (perhaps along with motion), but this is speculative at best.⁸⁹ Overall, nothing can be known for certain about the Kôm el-Wist find, other than that it is thus far unparalleled, and that greater caution should be displayed in using it as evidence for voice-oracles.

Such claims regarding other statues can also be disputed.⁹⁰ Most importantly, a limestone bust of Horus that was thought by the scholar who published it to have been “une statue parlante” can be questioned, but this conclusion has been repeated by others. In what seems a likely case of con-

89 See Heron, *Pneum.* 1, §28 (automatic doors) and 1, §12 and 11, §21 (self-libating altars). For these and other such devices described by Hero, see Schürmann 1991, 173–201. But see Örjan Wikander’s highly skeptical comments questioning whether *automata* were indeed used to provoke religious awe, as well as his observation regarding how few of the creations described by Hero were said to have this purpose (Wikander 2008, 789–790), which draws on the equally skeptical analysis of John G. Landels, who dismisses one by one as potential “temple miracles” the devices that would seem the most likely candidates (Landels 2000, 202–203). It is unknown which, if any, of the ideas described by Hero were ever implemented.

90 To the following can be added the Sarapis bust with an open mouth and hole at the back of the head associated with fraudulent oracular practices by Hornbostel, since it was only seen while in the possession of a Cairo antiquities dealer and described in an unpublished masters thesis but not otherwise recorded, making it impossible to judge the object’s value as evidence for voice-oracles (see Hornbostel 1973, 236 with n. 1, and his broader discussion of Sarapis and oracular statues at pp. 232–238, which is undermined by misuse of some literary sources). The description by the author of the thesis, Nancy G. Reynolds, bears quoting in full, in part because of the details regarding the bust’s nature and in part because she raises the question of authenticity: “In 1946 there existed in the antiquity shop of M. Robert Nahman in Cairo a most unusual head of Serapis of black basalt. This highly-polished colossal piece varied from the normal representations in that it was an oracle bust. The mouth was widely opened; the lower portion of the back of the head had been hollowed to permit the spokesman of the god to press his face close to the mouthpiece. The bust, if authentic, is the only example of its kind, I believe, and offers for the first time, material evidence that the Serapis figure may have been represented in a manner quite different from the image of the Alexandria Serapeum in temples where his healing functions were of primary importance. The closest analogy which I have been able to find is a Serapis bust relief on a small faience seal in the Cairo Museum [CMC J-68124]. Although the mouth is less widely opened, it in no way resembles the serenely parted lips of our other copies and the god appears to be in the very act of speaking” (Reynolds 1948, 123–124).

firmation bias, Grégoire Loukianoff saw the half-meter bust in an antiquarian shop and decided that the narrow channel going from a hole at the back of the head to a point below the right ear was used by a hidden priest speaking from an adjacent room through a tube, rather than as an attachment hole or one with some other purpose.⁹¹ A mounting hole—or, more likely, a partial cavity for joining two pieces—also appears to be the explanation for what has been claimed was a hole used for making a statue excavated at Antinoopolis speak.⁹² The hole through another statue thought to have served an oracular purpose, a marble statue of a female figure identified as the deified Arsinoe II Philadelphos and probably found at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, may not have served a purpose that can be determined, but this uncertainty does not make a speaking statue the best interpretation.⁹³ Finally, there is the problem of a Late Period stone falcon of unknown provenience, measuring more than a half-meter in height, that has an interior channel running from the top of the head to the tail and another from the top of the head to the beak, which has led to its identification as an oracular speaking statue—a conclusion recently espoused by Emily Teeter, who points to the Horus and Arsinoe statues, Kôm el-Wist platform, and chambers at Karanis, Kom Ombo and Dendur (Fig. 26).⁹⁴

91 Cairo Inv. No. 66143; see Loukianoff 1936, 190–192; cf. Traunecker 1992, 381 and Traunecker 1997, 39n.15, and Frankfurter 1998, 150. The back of the bust was flat, suggesting to Loukianoff that it was displayed against a wall. Loukianoff's description of the object is preceded by a brief discussion of previous scholarship (without citations) on the subject of voice-oracles, also noting some flimsy and discredited written sources. It appears that Loukianoff *wanted* the bust to have been used in this manner and thus be a remarkable find, and therefore made his claim with much more certainty than was warranted: "Sans aucun doute nous avons dans ce buste un oracle ancien ou une statue parlante, spécimen unique de ces célèbres oracles de l'ancienne Égypte, dont nous trouvons la mention dans de nombreux écrivains classiques."

92 Giovanni Uggeri, who believed without sufficient basis that the statue was of Antinous, merely speculated that the hole (or, more accurately, shallow depression) might indicate an oracular purpose (Uggeri 1974, 131–132, with Pl. 61), which was repeated without any indication of doubt by Royston Lambert in his somewhat popular treatment of Antinous (Lambert (R.) 1984, 186). Hugo Meyer has rightly noted that the identification of the statue as Antinous based on the surviving fragment is uncertain (Meyer 1991, 190, 251n.1). We are therefore left with a fragmentary statue that may not have been Antinous, and should not be associated with voice-oracles. (I am grateful to Anna Anguissola for her thoughts regarding this statue.)

93 Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 7996; see Iwas 1981, whose interpretation has been followed by Kákosy 1982, 600–601, Traunecker 1992, 381 and Traunecker 1997, 39n.15, and Kleibl 2009, 145. Cf. Naether 2010, 52n.217 (with additional references).

94 Chicago, O.I. 10504; see E. Teeter in Teeter/Johnson 2009, 47, No. 15 and *ead.* in Bailleul-LeSuer 2012, 178–179, No. 23.



FIGURE 26

Stone statuette of falcon dating to Late Period, measuring more than a half-meter in height (Chicago, O.I. 10504).

PHOTO: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (NEG. D. 017932)

FIGURE 27

Side view of stone falcon, showing path of channels running from tail to top of head and top of head to beak, which have been attributed to the statuette's proposed use for issuing voice-oracles.

PHOTO: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (NEG. P. 24592)



FIGURE 28

Top of falcon's head, showing hole leading to channels.

PHOTO: THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (NEG. D. 017934)

While a channel going from tail to beak might plausibly be interpreted as evidence that the statuette was used for voice-oracles, the combination of an opening atop the head and at the beak instead suggests a mechanical contrivance causing movement rather than sound, presumably for the purpose of conveying an oracle visually rather than verbally (Fig. 27) (Fig 28).⁹⁵

95 While an earlier treatment of this statue did not address the channel or its function (Marfoe 1982, 23, No. 11), a few years later Karen L. Wilson and Joan Barghusen became the first to associate it with oracles, suggesting such a mechanical feature: "A narrow passage

Either way, it is not clear that the holes and channel were originally planned, which raises further questions about this statue. Another representation of an animal, a small (17.8 × 11 cm.) wooden mask of a dog or jackal dating to the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1000 BCE), presents a similar problem due to its hinged lower jaw: while this feature originally led the artifact to be identified as an oracular mask, it has more recently been proposed that it was affixed to a pseudo-canopic jar and thus had a funerary context, the precise nature of which is unclear.⁹⁶ However, an oracular function cannot fully be ruled out, since the mask could have been attached to a stone or wooden figure and through the jaw mechanism's movement used to indicate assent. Indeed, it cannot be completely ruled out for either this wooden canine or the stone falcon—or some of the other statues with mysterious holes—that they would be used to issue some form of spoken oracle, albeit one limited to a simple affirmation or rejection, rather than a more lengthy and specific reply.

It must now be recognized just how little evidence there is for voice-oracles at Egyptian sanctuaries, and also that much of the archaeological evidence that is normally cited is itself problematic, having come to be considered reliable evidence through comparison with similarly problematic remains. A related problem has been too much reliance on authorities whose positions are rather speculative, and the views of these individuals have greatly influenced the *communis opinio*, as well as creating the aforementioned cascading effect. Thus, for example, in his discussion of Geb at Koptos, Traunecker, whose conclusions regarding voice-oracles have in turn been cited by others, cites Kákósy's article on "Orakel" in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* as well as Maspero's 1898 discussion regarding speaking statues, but Kákósy based his conclusions on the articles by Loukianoff and Iwas regarding statues with holes, while Maspero's treatment of the subject was general and hypothetical—rendering Traunecker's own

from the base of the statue to the head may have been used for the insertion of cords to manipulate the original beak and headdress. Perhaps in that way the statue functioned as an oracle—a medium through which the god made known his knowledge and purpose" (Wilson/Barghusen 1989, No. 14).

- 96 Louvre N 4096. Charles Boreux had thought the object to be a confirmation of Maspero's supposition regarding the existence of oracular statues (Boreux 1929; see also Chapuis/Gélis 1928, 1:4–5 + fig. 1), but Christophe Barbotin has argued against its having been a "divinatory mask" and proposed as an alternative the funerary role (Barbotin 1992). (I am grateful to Dr. Barbotin for providing both a copy of his discussion and information not available in print, and Terry Wilfong for his views regarding this and the previous artifact.)

discussion unreliable.⁹⁷ Similarly, the hole at Deir el-Bahari that Bataille treated as evidence for voice-oracles—even though this would only have made sense if one person at a time slept in the Bark Shrine, since a deception would not work with many visitors present at once—for sixty years has been cited by those wishing to use voice-oracles to explain a hole in another sanctuary's wall, or even an unusually thin wall that could be penetrated by sound, and now that it has been shown that the hole at Deir el-Bahari could not have been functioning in this manner the claims regarding other sites based partly or wholly on Bataille's interpretation have been undermined. The unreliable Christian sources have also played a role: Hornbostel, for example, cites Hippolytus, Rufinus and Theodoret in his discussion of voice-oracles, and in turn his study has been cited by more recent scholars.⁹⁸ While it is certainly possible for voice-oracles to have been simulated at some sites, perhaps even one or more of those already identified with the practice, and possibly some statues and other objects by means of a contrivance might emit a "yes" or "no" in response to an inquiry (perhaps with some form of movement meant to enhance the worshiper's awe), there remains no clear evidence for voice-oracles, especially those that were long and detailed, and thus all prior claims should be viewed with skepticism, while all such future claims should be made with expressed reservations. Therefore, until such time as unambiguous evidence for voice-oracles in Greco-Roman Egypt is unearthed, it should be recognized that incubation was the only way for worshipers visiting a sanctuary to seek a message directly from the mouth of a god.

97 Kákosy 1982b, 600 and Maspero 1898, cited in Traunecker 1992, 380nn.1971–1972 (with Traunecker, *ibid.*, 380–387 in turn being cited as an authority on voice-oracles in Quaegebeur 1997, 22). See n. 91 for Loukianoff's reliance on literary sources that ultimately prove nothing.

98 Hornbostel 1973, 235.

Sources for “Fertility Incubation” from Greece, Egypt and the Ancient Near East

III.1 Introduction

A phenomenon closely related to therapeutic incubation, and often practiced at the same cult sites and invoking the same gods, is the practice that can be termed “fertility incubation”: seeking a god’s help with a fertility problem, rather than a health crisis, through dreams.¹ Given the vast range of evidence for prayer and rituals (not to mention medical treatments) meant to resolve male and female fertility issues, it is not surprising that some afflicted individuals would have sought aid from a god through incubation, just as mythological and real individuals would consult other types of oracles regarding such matters.² While some have briefly remarked on the phenomenon or

1 I have previously noted the phenomenon of “fertility incubation” briefly in Renberg 2006, 116–117 with n. 48, in a discussion of the story of Augustus’s mother Atia conceiving him after spending the night with other matrons at a temple of Apollo in Rome, though this was more likely done so they could perform fertility rites than for them to seek a dream from the god (Suet., *Aug.* 94.4).

2 The most prominent, but by no means only, example of a literary figure seeking help achieving offspring is Aegeus’s visit to the oracle of Delphi and subsequent encounter with Medea (Eur., *Med.* 663–758). A real-life example of such an inquiry is to be found in an episode recorded in an epigram from Delphi dating to 361/0 BCE and designated “die antiken Haarwunder” by its original editor, Otto Weinreich: a man had consulted the oracle regarding his desire for children and, if the badly damaged text has been correctly understood, received a response telling him that his wife would give birth—perhaps after specified rituals, though this is unclear—and that he should bring the god an offering of the child’s hair, and eleven months after the consultation a daughter with a full head of hair was born to him (*SEG* 16, 341, ll. 1–11 (= *FD* III.1, 560 + 561); see Weinreich 1925 and Fontenrose 1978, 225, No. H34, with discussion at p. 19; cf. LiDonnici 1995, 45–46). (The inscription continues with a badly damaged epigram pertaining to the birth of another girl who bore the name Pytho (ll. 12–18).) See also Fontenrose, *ibid.*, Appendix B, Sect. IV.xi for the “quasi-historical” and “legendary” responses from Delphi on the matter of children, and *I.ChrestDodona* II, pp. 566–567, s.v. παῖς for examples of inquiries made at Dodona. For a general treatment of the “plague of infertility” afflicting the ancient Greeks as well as the various types of efforts made to cure this problem at the individual and communal levels, see Cole 2004, 146–177; for a brief but useful overview of the evidence for fertility issues being brought to healing sanctuaries, see

particular instances, especially in the context of the Asklepios cult, the sources have not been collected previously, and “fertility incubation” has generally gone unrecognized as a religious phenomenon.³ There is no way of knowing what percentage of visitors came for this purpose, but evidence from the cult of Asklepios, which is the most well documented regarding this phenomenon, clearly shows that promoting fertility among those with trouble fathering or conceiving children was far from a rare occurrence.⁴

III.2 Greek Cults

The earliest evidence for fertility-related incubation in the Greek world is to be found in the testimonial inscriptions from the Epidaurian *Asklepieion*, with the six pertinent testimonies recounting a range of situations: Asklepios in her dream touches a woman named Andromache with his hand so that she will be able to bear children;⁵ another woman conversed with the god in a dream regarding what the gender of her child should be, and later bore a son as desired;⁶ two similar testimonies feature women interacting with serpents

van Straten 1981, 98–100; cf. Chaniotis 1995, 330, for the limited evidence in the confession and dedicatory inscriptions of Lydia and Phrygia.

- 3 Among those to pick up on the pattern relatively early was Oppenheim, who associated the Egyptian tale *Setna* II, the Hittite potency ritual, and Epidauros testimonies with one another, though without identifying the broader phenomenon of fertility incubation (Oppenheim 1956, 194–195). His work was preceded by earlier discussions of the evidence from the Asklepios cult to be found in the Epidauros testimonies (Weinreich 1909, 28; cf. Deubner (L.) 1900, 32–33n.1) or in these and one of the Lebena testimonies (Herzog 1931, 71–75). Subsequent studies have occasionally noted Asklepios's role in curing fertility problems (*e.g.*, Aleshire 1989, 41 and Forsén 1996, 144–145), but incubation linked to fertility is more rarely noted (*e.g.*, Dillon 1994, 245n.29).
- 4 A passing comment in a letter by Libanius concerning one of his doctors illustrates well Asklepios's role in promoting fertility, though it does not indicate whether incubation was involved: “At this late point Marcellus has become a father, having set his heart so much on this title and supplicated himself at temples, and now he has children, gifts of Asklepios” (Μάρκελλος ὁψέ ποτε γίγνεται πατήρ μάλα ταύτης ἐπιθυμήσας τῆς κλήσεως καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκετεύσας καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ τὰ τέκνα, Ἀσκληπιοῦ δῶρα) (Lib., *Ep.* 362.5, ed. Foerster; see *PLRE* I, “Marcellus 2”).
- 5 *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 60–63 (= Test. No. 31). See LiDonnici 1995, 109n.28 for the possibility that the woman in question was a queen of the Molossians.
- 6 *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 82–86 (= Test. No. 34). The text has been heavily restored by Herzog and LiDonnici, but this appears to be the situation described.

in their dreams and later bearing multiple children;⁷ and, two other testimonies feature remarkable stories of women who were pregnant but unable to give birth for three and five years, respectively, until they sought the god's help.⁸ Epigraphical sources indicate that the practice of fertility incubation continued as the cult spread elsewhere, including Lebena. The one pertinent testimony from that site tells of the god having ordered (προσέταξε) a childless man to send his wife to the *Asklepieion* so that she would be able to undergo incubation, and her having become pregnant soon after dreaming that the god had held a cupping instrument (σικύα) over her stomach.⁹ (It is not stated whether the god's initial instruction was received through incubation, or the man had dreamed of Asklepios without visiting the sanctuary.) In addition, the goddess Molpadia/Hemithea, who appears to have healed through incubation, is reported by Diodorus to have helped women in childbirth, so it is quite

7 According to one testimony, the woman dreamed that the god came to her with a serpent with which she had intercourse (ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς δράκοντα μεθ[---] | φέρων παρ' αὐτάν, τούτῳ δὲ συγγενέσθαι αὐτά), leading to the birth of an unspecified number of children within a year (εἰς ἐνιαυτόν) (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 128–131 (= Test. No. 42)). The other testimony, if correctly restored, only states that the serpent—perhaps the god in serpent form, though since the other testimony distinguishes god from serpent this would not necessarily have been so—lay upon her stomach, and she later gave birth to five children (*IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 116–119 (= Test. No. 39)). Or, perhaps the serpent did not merely lie on the woman's stomach, and this turn of phrase—δράκων ἐπὶ τᾷ γαστ[ρὸς κείσθαι]—is a euphemism for sexual intercourse, assuming that the verb κείσθαι was indeed inscribed. (LiDonnici 1995, 113n.51 speculates regarding whether this woman bore quintuplets or produced five children over time and returned to thank the god years later, “perhaps when the woman reached the end of her childbearing years,” which appears to be correct because in contrast to the other testimony the fact that all children were born within a year is not specified, and the *lacuna* restored by previous editors so as to read [καὶ ἐκ τούτου] | παῖδες οἱ ἐγένοντο πέντε does not appear to have space for εἰς δὲ ἐνιαυτόν or a similar phrase.)

8 *IG* IV² 1, 121, ll. 3–22 (= Test. Nos. 1–2). See n. 14 for Test. No. 2.

9 *I.Cret* 1, xvii, g, ll. 5–11 (= Gironne, *Iamata*, 83–85, No. III.2b = Melfi 2007b, 169–170, No. 13 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 121–125, No. 5): Φαλάρει Εὐθυχιῶνος Λεβη[να]ῖοι οὐ γινομένῳ τέκνῳ ἰόντος ἐν π[εντή]||[κ]οντα ἡδὴ φέτεθι προσέταξε τὰν γυ[ναῖ]|κα ἐφειδῆσίνονσαν ἀποσστήλῃαι καὶ [ἐπ]|εὐθ<όνσ>αν ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἐπέθηκε τὰν σικ[ύαν] ||¹⁰ [ἐ]πὶ τὰν γαστέρα κήκέλετο ἀπέρπεν [ἐν] | [τά]χει κήχύσατο (“To Phalaris son of Eutychion, of Lebena, since he had no child though already at fifty, (Asklepios) commanded that he send his wife to sleep (at the *Asklepieion*), and when she entered the *adyton* he placed the cupping instrument on her stomach and instructed her to leave quickly, and she became pregnant”). See Nissen 2009, 246 and Sineux 2004a, 137–138 *et pass.*; for the instrument and procedure, see Prêtre/Charlier, *ibid.*, 124–125.

possible that she also would have been called upon to help the childless conceive, with this aid sometimes being sought through incubation.¹⁰

III.3 Greco-Roman Egypt

Good evidence for fertility incubation also exists in Egyptian sources, both documentary and literary.¹¹ Like Asklepios (and possibly Amphiaraos and Molpadia/Hemithea), the Egyptian Imhotep was widely recognized and valued as one who helped childless couples conceive, and sometimes this help may have been obtained through incubation, though the best source, the hieroglyphic funerary stele of Taimhotep from Saqqâra, is uncertain evidence because it does not indicate where her husband had received the dream promising the couple a son (in return for his donating a decorative program to the god's temple).¹² Isis, too, may have assisted those with fertility problems in this manner at her Menouthis sanctuary, according to a patristic source on the Late Antique philosopher Asklepiodotos travelling to the sanctuary and seeking a dream-oracle so that he and his wife could have a child.¹³ The sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari, where Amenhotep healed through incubation in the company of Imhotep/Asklepios and Hygieia, was also visited by those with fertility problems, but the two Demotic sources attesting to this do not specify that Amenhotep's help was sought in this manner.¹⁴ That the people in Egypt

10 Diod. Sic. 5.62–63 (quoted in Chapter 4.4).

11 There is also some rather questionable evidence for fertility incubation: the so-called “Bes chambers” at Saqqâra have been linked to the practice by some due mostly to the presence of phallic figurines and Bes's perhaps overstated association with fertility (see Appendix 1.8.3). (See now the novel, and perhaps fanciful, suggestion by David Klotz that these chambers would be the setting for “incubation sessions” during which priests of Anubis disguised as this god would sleep with women as a fertility rite, a practice which he proposes may also have occurred in the cult of Banebdjed (*i.e.*, the “Ram of Mendes”) (Klotz 2012b, 396 with n. 81). Regardless of whether or not this ever occurred, it did not involve dreams and thus cannot be considered incubation.)

12 Brit.Mus. EA 147 (1027); for this and related texts, see p. 431n.91. For another reference to Imhotep's powers over human fertility, see p. 424n.79; cf. *I.Philae* 1 8 (with commentary). For the cult of Imhotep in general, see Chapt. 7.4 (as well as parts of Chapt. 8).

13 Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, pp. 16–19, ed. Kugener 1907 (quoted pp. 374–375).

14 A Demotic letter by an individual named Osoroeris offering the god a very significant amount of silver—showing the great value he placed on having offspring—if his wife would conceive and another large amount if she would give birth shows that Amenhotep, like Imhotep, was called upon to encourage fertility (*P.Götterbriefe* 12; see p. 482). The other text, the letter of Senamunis, remains unpublished (see p. 482n.98). (Osoroeris's letter shows awareness of a problem illustrated in one of the Epidaurian testimonies, in

would employ one or more forms of divination, perhaps including incubation, to consult the gods regarding fertility matters might also be seen in an element common to a number of personal names indicating that a consultation had taken place regarding a person's conception, birth, or future—if so, it would mean that some people bore for their entire lives an allusion to a god having helped in some way with their conception or birth.¹⁵

The important role sometimes played by incubation in treating fertility problems is also indicated by fictional sources, particularly those with Egyptian roots.¹⁶ The most prominent of these is the beginning of the second tale of Setna Khaemwaset (“*Setna II*”)—the actual opening of which is lost—

which a woman engaging in incubation had asked Asklepios to become pregnant but then was unable to give birth for three years because, as he revealed in a dream that she received after returning to the sanctuary, she had not thought to ask to give birth as well (IG IV² 1, 121, ll. 9–22 (= Test. No. 2)). As the two very different texts illustrate, conception and birth could be treated as distinct, and it was not necessarily enough for someone seeking offspring to pray for the former but not the latter. As noted previously, this testimony was quite possibly intended as a cautionary tale warning of the need to phrase prayers precisely (see p. 238n.309).)

- 15 This phenomenon concerns the large group of Egyptian theophoric names with the element *ḏd-ḥr-* (“The face of (the god) has spoken”), long thought to reflect an oracular consultation by the mother before her child's birth (see Quaegebeur 1973; cf. Quaegebeur 1977*b*). Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether such consultations, if they did occur, were for help conceiving, or if as traditionally thought they only took place once a woman was pregnant and would concern her unborn child. The large number of attestations of such names does suggest the latter, though names with this element may reflect different circumstances rather than the same sort of consultation in each case. (I am grateful to David Frankfurter for drawing this possibility to my attention.)
- 16 This is briefly noted by Ryholt, who cites examples of “stories where someone cannot beget a son through natural means and is granted one through divine intervention” (Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 60–61), including the episode involving a “great goddess” who promises a son to the title character of the unpublished *Nakhthorshen*, a tale preserved on a Roman-era papyrus concerning a figure who appears likely to have been one of two 25th-Dynasty rulers (P.Carlsberg 400, being prepared for publication by Ryholt; see Ryholt 2004, 504–505). Also of note are episodes in two tales from the ancient Near East which appear to pertain to questions of whether a king or prominent figure would have offspring, though not necessarily how to achieve this. The earlier of the two is in a damaged passage from a historical epic about a Kassite king, Kurigalzu II, who engaged in incubation perhaps intended to divine whether the queen would bear him an heir (Brit. Mus. 47749, rev., 5'–8'; see pp. 51–52). A similar situation may be found in the Ugaritic *Legend of Aqht* (see pp. 42–43n.15), since Butler has noted that it does not necessarily pertain to infertility, but rather the inability of Dan'el and his wife to achieve *male* offspring until he had successfully sought the advice of El (Butler 1998, 221).

in which the prince's wife Meheweskhe receives a dream from an unidentified god who was most likely Ptah or Imhotep, probably while in a temple:

[...rs]we.t ðw=w mt ðrm=s [d ðn m]tw.t n Mh-wšh.t [tʒ hm.]t n Stme nt sdr
 ty [n] ʒ[bw(?)] e t phr.wt | [... ð-ir twe n rst]y.t hpr m-šm hr-rʒ [nʒ 'wy.w] n t
 mw n Stme pʒ[y=t h]y ð-ir=t gm w'e.t n šw [ðw=f] rt n-ðm.w | [...] r-r=w
 hke s.t ðrm nʒy=s nny.w mtw=t tð-n'=s 'n [mtw=t ðr=s] n phr.wt mtw=t tð | [s.t
 n mw mtw=t swi=s... ðw=t šp n w' mw n ðwr] (n)-dr.tʒ=f n pʒ[ʒ] g[r]h n rn=f
 rs n Mh-[w]sh[.t h]n tʒ rswe.t ðw nʒy nʒ.w-nw=[s] r-r=w ðr=s r-h mt ʒ [nb
 r-d=w n=s n rswe.t sdr=s r]-twn [Stne] pʒy=s hy šp=s h[n w' mw n ð]wr (n)-dr.
 tʒ=f hpr pʒy=[s ssw n ðr hsmn ðr=s] pʒ nhʒe | [n shm.t ðw=s ðwr.t ðr=w 'n-smy
 n-ðm=s ð-ir=hr Stne ðw] hʒtʒ=f [nfr] r-dbʒ.tʒ=s n pʒ m-šs {n}-m[hʒ=f n=s] sʒ šʒ=f
 n=s sh sdr=f [n=f S]tm[e] n w' grh | [ð-ir=f pry r-r=f rswe.t ðw=w] mt ðrm=f d
 M[h-]wšh.t [tʒ]y=k hm.t šp=[s n pʒ grh] pʒ hm-hl nt-ðw=w r ms[.tʒ=f ðw=w r tð
 rn]=f r Sʒ-Wsir nʒ-šʒ | [... rs Stm]e hn tʒ rsw.t ðw nʒy nʒ.w-nw=f r-r=w nʒ-[nfr
 hʒtʒ=f n] pʒ m-šs hpr(?) pʒy=s ibt 'i[o] n [ð]wr pš[=s] s n | [tby.w n ms m]s=s
 w' hm-hl hwtý tð=w ðr-h s.t Stme [tð=f] rn=f r Sʒ-Wsir r-h tʒy-d=w s.t n rswe.t.¹⁷

17 P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, col. i, ll. 1–9, ed. Griffith (see pp. 79–80n.115); trans. R.K. Ritner in Simpson, *Literature*, 472; cf. Dunand 2006, 11 and Lloyd 2006, 85). I am grateful to Robert K. Ritner for providing the version of the Demotic text on which he based his translation. Both text and translation have been slightly modified following suggestions by Quack (personal communication): *sdr.t* in line 1 has been changed to *sdr* because the *t* serves no syntactic function; *n-ðm=w* in line 2 has been converted to *n-ðm.w* in order to reflect an adverb rather than preposition with following suffix; the reading of *qm qmny.wt* (“gourds”) has been changed to *nny.w* (“roots”) in line 3 (as per J.F. Quack, *Enchoria* 25 (1999), 45, §17), and Quack, who had earlier cast doubt on the proper translation of *šw* (*ibid.*), has suggested a reading of cilantro/coriander instead of “melon vine” (see *CDD*, s.v. “šw” for the different interpretations); *ðr=s* has been inserted into line 4; *ssw*, rather than *nw*, has been used to restore the *lacuna* in line 5, based on a line in *Setna* 1 (P.Cairo CG 30646, col. iii, l. 7), and the translation slightly modified, while in line 7 *pry* rather than *ptr* is restored for phonetic reasons; the number 10 has been added to both line 8 and the translation (following F. Hoffmann in Hoffmann/Quack, *Anthologie*, pp. 119 and 340n.j) and before this *ðr* has been tentatively replaced with *hpr* (following Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, pp. 191–192); the *lacuna* at the beginning of line 9 has been restored with a reference to birthing bricks and the end of line 8 has been emended accordingly with *pš[=s] s* (based on Hoffmann/Quack, *ibid.*, pp. 119 and 340n.k and Ryholt, *ibid.*, pp. 192–193, the latter discussing the formula “she spread herself over birth bricks” (*pš=s r tby.w n ms*) in texts unavailable to Ritner); and, in the Demotic alone the name “Setna” has been changed from *Stne* to *Stme* in order to reflect the papyrus’s spelling. In addition, Quack has suggested that in line 7 the restoration *ðw=w* (“should be named”) be replaced with *ðw=k* (“you shall name him”), in reference to the child’s being named Si-Osire, which also differs from the translation by F. Hoffmann in Hoffmann/Quack, *Anthologie*, p. 119.

[Setna and his wife Meheweskhe desire a child so she sleeps in a temple and there sees . . . a] dream, while they spoke with her, [saying: "Are] you Meheweskhe, [the wife] of Setna, who sleeps here [in the temple] to gain a remedy? [. . . When] tomorrow [morning] has come, go to the entrance [of the] cistern of Setna, your husband. There you will find coriander growing. [. . .] to them. Break it with its roots, and grind it. [Make it] into a remedy and put [it in water and drink it. . . . You will conceive in a fluid of conception] from him on that very night.

Meheweskhe awoke [from] the dream, with these being the things that she had seen. She acted in accordance with [every]thing [that she had been told in the dream. She lay down] beside [Setna] her husband. She conceived in a fluid of conception from him. Her [time for menstruation] came, [and she showed] evidence [of a woman who has conceived. It was announced to Setna, and] his heart was very [happy] on account of it. [He] bound [on her an] amulet, and he recited for her a spell.

Setna slept one night [and dreamed that they] spoke with him, saying: "Meheweskhe, your wife, [has] received [conception in the night.] The child who will be born [shall be named] Si-Osire. Many [are the wonders that he will do in the land of Egypt.] Setna [awoke] from the dream, with these being the things that he had seen, [and his heart was] very [happy.] Her [ten] months of pregnancy came about(?), and she spread [herself] upon [the birth bricks] and she bore a male child. Setna was informed of it, [and he named him] Si-Osire in accordance with what had been said in the dream.

Although what precedes this episode is lost, it can be inferred that Setna and his wife had both been seeking to conceive a child, and that she had deliberately solicited the god's help, apparently by incubation. The dream she received provided a pharmacological solution for the problems she and her husband were having, and subsequently Setna himself dreamed that a divine figure spoke to him concerning his unborn son, who proves to be the focus of this particular Setna tale. A parallel for this can be found in the one surviving Greek novel set in Egypt: Heliodorus's *Ethiopian Tale*, in which the letter of the Ethiopian Queen Persinna refers to her having finally become pregnant after ten years of childlessness when her husband King Hydaspes received a dream advising him to engage in intercourse.¹⁸ Although the letter does not specify

For a possible parallel identified by Ryholt in a portion of the unpublished Demotic *Life of Imhotep* (P.Carlsberg 85), in which the birth of the pharaoh Djoser appears to be foreseen in a dream, see Ryholt 2009, 314 (on text, see p. 423n.77).

18 Heliod., *Aeth.* 4.8.

that the king had engaged in incubation, the *Setna* episode and preponderance of evidence for fertility incubation suggests that the dream was solicited in this manner. Among this evidence is a possible parallel found in a somewhat similar episode in an unnamed Demotic tale (referred to as the story of the *Doomed Prodigy Son*), the earliest fragment of which dates to the fourth century BCE if not earlier, which features a prophet of the god Horus-of-Pe and his previously barren wife conceiving when he sleeps with her following a prophetic dream that he might have received through incubation.¹⁹ Whether this was the case is uncertain, since while the prophet, whose name is omitted, did receive the dream after praying for a son and apparently following some instructions that are not preserved, the surviving text of this papyrus likewise does not indicate where the dream was received. That this occurred at the god's sanctuary is certainly possible, but depends in part on a restoration: in addition to the phrase *sdr=f n=f [n] pꜣy grh [n-]rm=f* ("He slept [in] this very night") in one line, the editor has restored the end of the following line as *pꜣ hm-ntr [n] Hr-n-[Py iw]*, "The Prophet of Horus-of-[Pe came home]," which if correct might imply that he had slept at the sanctuary.²⁰ This passage, therefore, cannot be taken as clear proof for the concept of fertility incubation being known to the Egyptians of the Late Period, but does show that their dreams may well have dealt with such matters on occasion. Similarly problematic is an incubation episode in *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyon*, since a badly damaged description of one character sleeping at the temple of the lion god Miysis is followed by fragments of narrative that together suggest that his dream had concerned finding a woman and fathering a son with her, but nothing is preserved that refers to a fertility problem or states that he had sought advice on such a matter, and only the phrase "gold for a son" might reveal that he had asked for a son.²¹

III.4 The Hittite Ritual of Paškuwatti

The earliest example of a fertility ritual involving dream-divination, though not fertility incubation *per se*, is to be found in a Hittite source: a ritual attributed to woman named Paškuwatti that was intended to let a man suffering

19 P.Petese Tebt. A, col. viii, ll. 19–24, ed. and trans. Ryholt, on which see P.Petese I, pp. 47–48, 86; cf. Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 201n.206. (I am grateful to Franziska Naether for her thoughts on this text.)

20 P.Petese Tebt. A, col. viii, ll. 23–24 (trans. Ryholt). See Ryholt, *Narrative Literature*, p. 201 for these and similar phrases for sleeping in dream narratives.

21 *Wenamun*, frag. 1, col. ii, ll. 18–21, 27–29; see p. 511n.73.

from impotence be able to father children, which is preserved in a cuneiform copy dated to the thirteenth century BCE and thought to have been composed originally in Middle Hittite.²² Unlike other incubatory practices, in this case the ritual itself was intended to cure the patient, while the role of dream-divination was to confirm that it had worked; moreover, while the initial rituals took place in a temporarily consecrated area the dream appears to have been solicited after the man had returned home, and thus was not conventional incubation. In addition to offerings and incantations for the goddess Uliliyašši, a divinity of the open steppeland whose reason for association with this ritual is unknown (other than that it takes place in an uncultivated place in the steppe), a central element of the process involved the afflicted man ritually giving away a spindle and distaff and receiving a bow and arrows—symbolically exchanging feminine objects for masculine and thus curing his emasculated condition—while Paškuwatti intoned, “I have just taken femininity away from you and given you masculinity in return. You have cast off the (sexual) behavior expected [of women]; [you have taken] to yourself the behavior expected of men!”²³ The patient then appears to have been given the opportunity to have intercourse with a virgin, and if this failed to arouse him the procedure continued after Paškuwatti had engaged in votive prayers on the man’s behalf and the party had returned to a “house” that is thought to have been that of the patient.²⁴ Following this and additional rituals spread across three days, a bed would be set up before the offering table and

... The patient lies down, (to see) if he will see in a dream the goddess in her body, (if) she will go to him and sleep with him. Throughout the three days in which [I (*i.e.*, Paškuwatti)] entr[eat] the goddess he reports whatever dreams he sees, whether the goddess shows her eyes to him (or) whether the goddess sleeps with him.²⁵

The latter would signal success by indicating that he had been found by the goddess to be sufficiently pure, but the former would prompt Paškuwatti to

22 *KUB IX 27+(+)* (= *CTH 406*), ed. Hoffner 1987, with translation and commentary (= Mouton 2007, 129–141, No. 29); online edition <http://www.hethiter.net/:CTH 406>, ed. Mouton. See Oppenheim 1956, 194, Beckman 2010, 27–28, Mouton 2003, 84 and Mouton 2007, 65–66, 70–72.

23 *CTH 406*, §4 (trans. Hoffner).

24 For the identification of this site as the patient’s house, see Hoffner 1987, 286.

25 *CTH 406*, §15 (trans. Hoffner).

continue performing the ritual until the desired dream was received.²⁶ This type of incubation, therefore, is comparable to other forms of Hittite divination in which a yes/no answer would be sought: here, a sexual dream involving the goddess would signify that the man's purity level would permit a cure, but the dream itself was not the medium through which the cure for impotence was obtained.²⁷ This stands in contrast to the aforementioned instances of fertility incubation, in which the dream was vital to the individual's having the ability to bear or father offspring, rather than simply confirming that this would occur.²⁸ Moreover, in Paškuwatti's ritual the patient is practicing what is essentially divinatory incubation, whereas fertility incubation was closely related to therapeutic incubation, if not a form of it: as is clear especially from the sources for Asklepios promoting fertility, the individuals seeking the god's help do not appear to have had to engage in rituals distinct from those performed by people with an illness, and thus fertility incubation seems to have been different from therapeutic incubation only in its goals, not its execution. Thus true fertility incubation is only known to have been practiced among the Greeks, and most likely the Egyptians as well.²⁹

26 For the dream as an indicator of purity, see Mouton 2012, 82–83 and Mouton 2007, 65.

27 The dream appears not to have been essential to this sort of ritual, as is indicated by a similar ritual for restoration of virility preserved in another Hittite text from the same period: attributed to a woman named Anniwiyani, this ritual involved some of the same materials and objects as Paškuwatti's, prominently featured a virgin, employed symbols for manliness and womanliness, was set in uninhabited steppeland, and required a three-day period for invoking a tutelary divinity, but did not seek confirmation of purity by means of a dream (*VBoT* 24 (= Sturtevant/Bechtel, *Chrestomathy*, 100–126 = *CTH* 393); see Hoffner 1987, 281–282).

28 Similarly, another Hittite text reveals a different role for divinatory incubation in the process leading up to childbirth. Fertility, however, was not the issue, but rather the purification of the birth-stool: according to its description of the birth ritual, a *patili*-priest (*i.e.*, a purificatory priest primarily linked to birth rituals) questions a woman who is approaching parturition regarding her dream, and if it is found to be a pure dream she is permitted to place her hand on the birth-stool, but if not she may only stretch her hand towards it (*KUB* IX 22+, col. iii, ll. 24–37 (= *CTH* 477.1 = Beckman 1983, 86–115, Text H (at pp. 94–97) = Mouton 2007, 159–161, No. 40, cf. pp. 63–64; re-edited with translation in Mouton 2008, 83–94); see also Mouton 2003, 83–84, Mouton 2004, 297, and Mouton 2013, 230–236).

29 There is also a potential example to be found in the hagiographical *Life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger*, in which his mother is described as having spent time at a shrine of John the Baptist praying that she would have a child, finally receiving a dream promising that her wish would be granted and instructing her to spread incense there (Anon., *Vit. Symeonis iun.* 2; see pp. 779–780).

Proxy Incubation and Priestly Incubation

While the overwhelming majority of sources for incubation concern individuals seeking oracles or medical help for themselves by sleeping at a sanctuary, scattered sources from the ancient Near East as well as the Greek and Greco-Egyptian worlds show that sometimes one individual would engage in incubation on behalf of another. The evidence for obtaining dream-revelations indirectly shows two similar but unrelated phenomena: at certain sanctuaries priests or other cult officials would be the ones who engaged in incubation,¹ just as at other types of oracular sanctuaries they were the ones who consulted the god, but it was also common for ordinary individuals to seek dreams for a family member or close associate who was unable to do so in person.² Although

- 1 A contrast should be drawn between such figures seeking dreams on behalf of others and those who are reported to have sought dreams for themselves. After Ḳor of Sebennyts (see Chapter 7.1) the latter group is best represented by the priest Harsiesis, whose dream of Amun-Re may have been obtained through incubation (P.Leiden T 32, col. vii, ll. 28–33; see pp. 741–742). A murkier example might be seen in the *ostrakon* recording that a “caretaker” (*ḳꜣw.ti*) had slept in a courtyard of Amun at Karnak, raising the question of whether this minor cult official could do so there only because he served at the temple (see Chapter 9.3). (This is reminiscent of the New Kingdom inscription recording that an overseer of Amun’s sacred land named Djehutiemhab had received a dream from Hathor, possibly by sleeping close to her cult statue (Theban Tomb No. 194, Text 119, ll. 1–16, ed. Seyfried 1995; see p. 83).) A source from the kingdom of Mari is likewise a potential example, since it appears to indicate that a priestess had engaged in incubation on her own behalf (*ARM XXVI/1*, No. 232 (= *ARM X*, No. 100); see p. 60). A likely example exists in fiction as well: in Petronius’s *Satyricon*, the Priapus priestess Quartilla refers to having a fever the night of Encolpius’s crime and asking for a remedy in her dream (*medicinam somnio petii iussaque sum vos perquirere*), and since it appears that she was sleeping at her secret shrine it must be this god to whom she had turned for help, engaging in incubation (Petr., *Sat.* 17; see Schmeling 2011, 51–52).
- 2 Such a use of proxies to obtain dream-oracles is part of the broader phenomenon of oracular inquiries through all sorts of media being made on behalf of others. In addition to the various documentary and literary sources recording that this had occurred, there are papyri preserving the actual requests. Particularly instructive examples of this are two that feature a total of three Demotic letters to the same individual providing detailed requests for questions to be put by him before Amun at Qaṣr Ibrim (*P.QasrIbrim* 1–2; see Muhs 2013, 174–178), and a Demotic letter from an official to a friend at Elephantine asking him to consult Isis about which of two women to marry (P.Berlin ÄM P. 13538, ed. Zauzich, *P.BerlDem* 1; translation and

there has been some recognition that incubation would occasionally be performed by other parties, the sources for priests and proxies doing so have not all been collected and evaluated.³ These two practices, however, deserve more attention than they have received, in part because they do not fit well with the typical psychological explanations for how incubation worked: as has been written by numerous scholars, those engaging in incubation were emotionally predisposed to receive certain dreams by means of autosuggestion, which certainly is a plausible explanation for the phenomenon in general. However, a neutral proxy or priest cannot always be expected to have had the same level of interest or emotional investment as the person he was helping. Moreover, it is striking in general that the dreams of other people—whether priest or cult official or else relative or friend—could be trusted and believed to be authoritative, and that those writing to others so as to share a dream-oracle concerning them expected that they would heed these revelations as if the recipients themselves had been dreaming.⁴

commentary *PElephEng* C.6 (C.J. Martin)). There is insufficient information to determine whether the friends or associates engaging in proxy incubation typically had a closer relationship with the inquirer than those who were consulting an oracle functioning by means of another medium—and thus only needed to convey a question to a cult official—but in all such cases it stands to reason that, as was the case with those offering prayers on behalf of someone else, those seeking dream-oracles as proxies would be at least somewhat close to the person for whom they were acting, given the amount of time and effort involved.

- 3 See, e.g., Oppenheim 1956, 188 (possibly the first to use the term “priestly incubation”) and Dillon 1994, 249–250 (focusing on “incubation by proxy,” while noting the role of priests at the *Charonion* and other sites), while Dillon 1997, 176–177 puts the phenomenon in the broader context of “pilgrimage by proxy” to different types of oracular sites. More recently, both priestly and proxy incubation have been briefly discussed in Kim 2011, 31. See also Fernández Marcos 1975, 75–76, employing the phrase “la *incubatio* vicaria” in the context of certain miracles attested at Epidauros and the shrine of the saints John and Cyrus at Menouthis.
- 4 The foremost example of this is the letter of Zoilos of Aspendos to the Ptolemaic finance minister Apollonios telling him that Sarapis wanted him to build the god a temple (*PCairZen* 1 59034; see pp. 421–422). Regardless of whether Zoilos’s dreams were indeed as he described them or he was trying to take advantage of a devout—and thus gullible—individual, he clearly expected to be taken seriously (see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 194–195n.61). See also the bilingual letter in which the writer switches from Greek to Demotic when describing a dream somehow pertinent to the recipient, “so that you would know in what way the gods know you” (*PCairo CG* 10313+10328+30961; see Chapter 9.5), and the long oracular revelation in the *Dodgson Papyrus*, which may well be the result of divinatory incubation by an individual whose status is unknown on behalf of a man who had sinned against Osiris and wished to know the god’s will regarding this matter, though since the oracle is thought to have been ultimately intended for temple authorities handling the blasphemy case it is possible that the man consulting the divinized

Not surprisingly, some examples of “proxy incubation,” as it can be termed, involve health matters—in such cases the person who needed the god’s aid might have been too ill or young to travel to the sanctuary, and had to rely on a family member.⁵ This is especially evident for the cult of Asklepios, though perhaps only because of the much greater volume of written sources for incubation at his sanctuaries. It can first be seen in one of the fourth-century BCE Epidaurian testimonies, according to which a woman had come from Lacedaemon on behalf of a daughter suffering from dropsy and engaged in incubation, which prompted both her and her daughter back home to receive the same dream of Asklepios successfully operating.⁶ Proxy consultations of Asklepios continued into Late Antiquity, as is to be seen in Libanius’s personal letters about seeking help for his gout by having others sleep at the Aegae *Asklepieion*,⁷ something possibly done earlier for the sophist Aristides.⁸ The only general statement by an ancient author recognizing the phenomenon of proxy incubation, however, applies to the cult of Sarapis: as Strabo wrote of the Canopus *Sarapieion*, the temple was one “honored with much ceremony, which brings about cures, even the most highly reputed men have faith in it and sleep within it themselves on their own behalf or others do so for them” (τὸ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλῇ ἀγιστεῖα τιμώμενον καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἄνδρας πιστεύειν καὶ ἐγκοιμάσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἐτέρους).⁹ Proxies were not used solely for therapeutic incubation, however: at the Theban *Amphiareion*, according to Herodotus, Mys had a foreigner consult Amphiaraos on his behalf,¹⁰ and Ammianus Marcellinus indicates that proxy consultations were typical at the oracle of Bes at Abydos in Late Antiquity,¹¹ while the Ptolemaic letter written in Greek and introducing a Demotic

“Child who was born (in) Elephantine” was primarily acting on behalf of these authorities (see Appendix I.8.6).

5 The point has previously been made by Łajtar (*I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 51–52).

6 IG IV² 1, 122, ll. 1–6 (= Test. No. 21). The daughter’s age is not indicated, so she was either too young to travel and therefore, as must have been fairly common, a parent had to engage in incubation on her behalf, or she was old enough to travel but too ill to do so.

7 See especially Lib., *Ep.* 706–708 and 1300, ed. Foerster, discussed in Appendix XII.

8 Aristid., *Or.* 49.15 refers to one of his “foster fathers,” Neritos, receiving a dream from Asklepios that included an oracle for Aristides as well as a prescription, but does not state whether this dream was obtained through incubation, and this does not appear likely.

9 Strabo 17.1.17, p. 801 (quoted pp. 339–340). It cannot be ruled out that the “others” alluded to could have been priests rather than friends or family.

10 Hdt. 8.134 (quoted pp. 102–103). For the rule against Thebans consulting the oracle themselves, see p. 671n.26.

11 Amm. Marc. 19.12.3–4 (quoted pp. 493–494).

dream-narrative might pertain to divinatory incubation by proxy,¹² and this also appears to be the case with the papyrus from the Ptolemaios Archive preserving eight dreams received by his associate Nektembēs.¹³ Although upon first consideration it may seem odd that people would ask others to dream for them, such a practice makes sense in the context of ancient religion: first, it was common for people to go to a sanctuary to pray for the recovery of a loved one or someone else who was ill, just as it was common to visit oracles and make inquiries on behalf of others; and second, various sources from the ancient Near East, Egypt, Greece and Rome show that it was not unusual to receive unsolicited dream-messages at least partly intended for someone else.¹⁴ Thus it should not be surprising that as far back as Mesopotamian times there is evidence for individuals deliberately seeking a dream on behalf of another.¹⁵

As with proxy incubation, what can be called “priestly incubation”—admittedly a slight misnomer, since cult officials other than priests apparently would instead be involved at some sites—was practiced in a wide variety of cults, with the earliest sources belonging to the ancient Near East.¹⁶ In the Greek world the practice of relying on priests or others serving a god to engage in

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- 12 P.Cairo CG 10313+10328+30961; see Chapter 9.5. Not enough of the papyrus survives to determine whether the recipient Achilles had requested that Ptolemaios seek a dream-oracle on his behalf, though it can be inferred from his comment “it also(?) seemed good to me that I should fully inform you about my dream” that Achilles was not expecting such a report.
- 13 *UPZ* I 79, with discussion in commentary at pp. 364–365 (see pp. 418–419); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 349–350.
- 14 Among the examples not discussed above due to their unsolicited nature are: the Pharaonic-era “Oracular Amuletic Decrees,” which sometimes refer to others receiving a dream pertaining to the wearer’s well-being (see p. 84n.126); a funerary epigram from Rome stating that the deceased had appeared to a kinsman in a dream and delivered a message intended to comfort his grieving mother (*CIL* VI 21521; see Renberg 2010c, 167–168); and Aristid., *Or.* 48.35, recounting an occasion when a *nakoros* of the Pergamon *Asklepieion* had received the same dream as Aristides regarding the therapeutic approach he should take.
- 15 Most notably, in the work of historical fiction *Sargon and Ur-Zababa* the current king Ur-Zababa asks his cupbearer, the future king Sargon, to engage in dream-divination on his behalf (quoted p. 45). See also Sasson 1983, 284 with n. 12, on the possibility of individuals dreaming on behalf of others in Mari during the early second millennium BCE, which suggests proxy incubation or else some form of private dream-divination.
- 16 To be excluded from such a discussion is a Middle Babylonian diplomatic letter of the twelfth century BCE that Oppenheim considered evidence that *barû* priests would engage in incubation, but that cannot be linked to a specific type of diviner or incubation despite its reference to a dream, as a new edition of this fragment reveals (*Brit.Mus.* 104727 (at *recto*, l. 9), now joined with Sm. 2116 and re-edited by Llop/George 2001–02 as Text A₂,

incubation was primarily associated with Egyptian cults, apparently never becoming a feature of worship at *Asklepieia* or most other sanctuaries of Greek divinities, with the cult of Pluto and Kore at Akaraka becoming the one clear exception.¹⁷ The earliest document potentially pertaining to a high priest of Mari's patron god Itūr-Mer engaging in incubation is from the royal archives and dates to the early second millennium BCE: a woman prominent in the royal court named Addu-dūri was informed of a dream-oracle that was intended for the king and received by this god's high priest from the goddess Bēlet-bīri, the "Lady of Divination," and even though the document does not overtly indicate that incubation played a role it is possible to infer this because another

along with a new copy, Brit.Mus. 55498+55499; see Oppenheim 1956, 223 and Butler 1998, 238, the latter stating that other priests could have been involved).

- 17 For Akaraka's *Ploutonion-Charonion* complex, see Chapter 4.3. The only other Greek sanctuary at which surviving sources suggest that priestly incubation may once have been practiced would be Dodona, if the group known as the Selloi did indeed "lie upon the ground" for this purpose (see pp. 100–101). Evidence that priestly incubation was more widespread among Greek cults than the sources might suggest can perhaps be seen in Vergil's description of a pre-Roman oracle of Faunus at Albunea, which indicates that a priestess would engage in incubation at the site on behalf of those making inquiries: while the reliability of this passage as evidence for an actual cult site that might have existed at Tor Tignosa is highly suspect, certain elements of Ovid's treatment of incubation at the same Faunus shrine reveals that both poets were drawing on elements of *Greek* religion and giving them a Roman veneer (Verg., *Aen.* 7.81–106 (partly quoted p. 33n.93); Ov., *Fast.* 4.641–672; see Renberg 2006, 106–108 (overlooking Horsfall 2000, 96–110 on the *Aeneid* passage) and Sineux 2007a, 170–172; cf. Ogden 2001a, 91–92, Fantham 2009, 47, 84, and Friese 2010, 412, Cat. No. 11.1.11.8). However, another possible explanation for the portrayal of this site as functioning through priestly incubation is that associating a *priestess* with the practice—the only time this is done in any of the surviving sources for incubation among the Greeks—makes the sanctuary even more exotic and mysterious, like the Sibyl's cave at Cumae, and thus signals that priestly incubation was atypical in Greek religion. (While the Vergil passage may be evidence, albeit unreliable evidence, of priestly incubation, it tells us nothing about royal incubation having been a practice in Greece or Italy, as it had been in the ancient Near East: the fact that Latinus is able to engage in incubation himself (ll. 92–101) may simply be attributed to the fact that Faunus is his father. Ovid, however, shows Numa successfully engaging in the practice and envisioning Faunus, but this can hardly be relied on as evidence for actual practices among early Italian rulers.) It is also worth noting that according to one version of the Kronos myth, he forever sleeps and receives prophetic dreams in a mountain cave on a mysterious island where spirit servants (δαίμονες) who had once been his comrades (ἑταῖροι) provide oracles attributed to "dreams of Kronos" (ὀνείρατα τοῦ Κρόνου), which they obtain by visiting the area of the cave (Plut., *De fac.* 26 (= *Mor.* 941F–942A); cf. Plut., *De def. or.* 18 (= *Mor.* 420A)). Though not an example of priestly incubation, this fictional account does closely resemble the practice in certain respects.

document states that a woman named Kakka-Lidi had seen a dream at this temple, suggesting that if incubation was possible at Itūr-Mer's temple then the high priest may have obtained the divine communiqué there as well.¹⁸ Priestly incubation in the ancient Near East is unambiguously referred to in later sources, especially a well-known Hittite document from the fourteenth century BCE, the "Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II."¹⁹ In a brief passage of this lengthy prayer the king seeks an explanation for a devastating plague from the gods, appealing to them to communicate directly with him or indirectly through one of his subjects, and one option he suggests is that the priests engage in incubation. Other Hittite sources also appear to refer to priests engaging in divinatory incubation, though somewhat ambiguously, and even if so it is uncertain whether it was on behalf of others.²⁰ The practice also appears to have been alluded to in a letter to the Assyrian king by the crown prince's *ummānu* (i.e., "master, scholar"), though it is not certain that dream-divination was involved:

To the king, my lord: your servant Balasî. Good health to the king, my lord! May Nabû and Marduk bless the king, my lord! Concerning the . . . about which the king, my lord, wrote to me—the *dream rituals* should be performed on the 13th day, in the morning. On the 13th day the [moon] will be cover[ed] with the crown of splendour. Afterw[ards], [. . .] on the 14th day, [the moon] will be seen in opposition to the sun, a good oracular utterance will answer you. May Aššur, Bel, Nabû and Šamaš bless the

18 ARM XXVI/1, Nos. 238 and 236, respectively (see pp. 59–61nn.61, 64).

19 CTH 378.IIA (quoted p. 58).

20 KUB III 87 (= CTH 216; see pp. 59–60n.62), KUB LV 21 (= CTH 635), and KUB LV 43 (= CTH 683.1); see Mouton 2004, 294–295 on these passages; for KUB LV 21, see Taggar-Cohen 2006, 180–181. In the case of KUB LV 21, it is the reference to a priest sleeping in the temple courtyard that may indicate unusual circumstances, and thus incubation (see Mouton 2003, 78); this contrasts with the extensive *Instructions for Temple Personnel*, which at one point discuss priests and temple officials being required to sleep at the temple each night, but doing so due to practical considerations such as the need to patrol the site (CTH 264, §10; ed. and trans. Taggar-Cohen, *ibid.*, 33–139). Whether KUB LV 43, §15 pertains to incubation, on the other hand, depends on the interpretation of a single word: whereas Gregory McMahon translates the crucial passage about the priest's activities after engaging in libations as "he spends the night . . . before the god" (rev., col. iii, l. 28'; text and trans. McMahon 1991, 152–153, with commentary at 161–162), Mouton prefers to translate *šešzi* as "he sleeps" and concludes that the purpose was divinatory incubation (Mouton 2004, 294–295). If this text does indeed refer to incubation it would be yet another example of this form of divination being practiced during Hittite festivals (see p. 735n.2).

king, my lord! May they give life of distant days, old age and fullness of life to the king, my lord! The 13th day is a propitious day; let them perform it.²¹

As the final line suggests, the king was to have someone—presumably priests or official diviners, and thus at a temple—engage in certain rituals on his behalf on that date; however, the word *mušutat*[i] in line 10 is of uncertain meaning, and therefore the translation of “dream rituals” is conjecture.

In Egypt, a form of priestly incubation may be initially known from a New Kingdom “Opening of the Mouth” text,²² but the more relevant sources are from Ptolemaic and Roman times. The *ostrakon* preserving the prescription obtained for a man named Teos from Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari (or elsewhere in the vicinity of Thebes) by “Imhotep” may be an example, depending on whether it was the god who spoke to him on Amenhotep’s behalf or a priest or cult official with a theophoric name, and it is also not certain that the medium of communication was a dream.²³ Better evidence for sanctuary personnel engaging in incubation on behalf of others is to be found in the Ḥor Archive, in which this servant of Thoth reports having undergone incubation on behalf of an individual whose name and title are uncertain.²⁴ Two other *ostraka* in this archive may likewise show that Ḥor had solicited dream-oracles for others who had health problems, but the texts are too damaged to be certain: in one, Ḥor appears to have consulted Thoth regarding a sick man who was dissatisfied with a remedy he had previously received,²⁵ while in the other Ḥor seems to have been seeking from Isis a prescription for the ailing Ptolemaic queen (presumably without her knowledge) by means of a dream, though no reference to a dream is to be found in the surviving lines.²⁶ Indirect evidence for the practice might also be found in a Late Antique patristic source, since in favorably comparing the healing cult of the saints Cyrus and John to that of Isis at Menouthis, Cyril of Alexandria—or, more likely, a pseudonymous author—states that “No one among us contrives dreams” (οὐδεὶς γὰρ

21 SAA X 59 (trans. Parpola). See p. 744n.28 for two other letters to an Assyrian king that may likewise reflect the practice of ritual experts engaging in dream-divination on behalf of a king.

22 Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, Scenes 9–10 (see p. 93).

23 U.L.C. Ostrakon Sup. no. 188 (see pp. 479–481).

24 *O.Hor* 12–12A (see pp. 436–437).

25 *O.Hor* 32 (see p. 444).

26 *O.Hor* 28 (see p. 445).

ἡμῖν ὀνειράτα πλάττεται), which could allude to those who had been serving Isis there sometimes dreaming on behalf of worshipers.²⁷

Over time, the role of incubation in ancient religion appears to have evolved so that ordinary individuals could directly solicit dreams from the gods instead of relying on others to do so for them, but at some incubation oracles priestly incubation appears to have been the sole manner of obtaining a dream-revelation. There is reason to conclude that this was the case at Egyptian cult sites where sacred animals were entombed, perhaps because such areas were generally off-limits to ordinary worshipers, as certain evidence from Saqqâra and elsewhere suggests.²⁸ At some sites the reliance on priests might not have been based on religious scruples, but rather a much more practical concern: that the sanctuary in question was too small to accommodate hosts of worshipers spending the night. At *Sarapieion A* on Delos, for example, there was insufficient room for large groups of people to spend the night, and since one dedicatory inscription might refer to a cult official “asking for cures” there is a chance that if incubation was practiced there it would have been by such individuals rather than ordinary worshipers.²⁹ In one case, however, it is alleged that the reason for permitting only priestly incubation was not practicality, but deception and fraud: according to Lucian, at the famous (or infamous) oracle of Glykon established in second-century CE Paphlagonia by Alexander of Abonuteichos, this self-appointed priest supplemented the oracles already being issued at the site with “nocturnal oracles” (νυκτερινοὶ χρησμοί) that he claimed to have received in his dreams as he slept upon the scrolls bearing inquiries, supplementing his income by receiving large kickbacks from the interpreters (ἐξηγηταί) who flourished by explaining Alexander’s convoluted responses.³⁰ If Lucian’s overall description of Glykon’s cult is basically accurate, even if greatly exaggerated or fabricated in some respects, this passage would indicate that worshipers at certain cult sites were content to let priests engage in incubation on their behalf, since many of the practices Lucian describes correspond to those known at other oracular sites. Still, even if this was being done at multiple Greek sanctuaries, the reason for priestly incubation at such sites—theological, practical, or other—remains a matter for speculation.

27 Ps.-Cyril, *Oratiuncula* III (= PG 77, 1105A). For *Oratiuncula* III and the question of its reliability as a source for Isis and the two saints at Menouthis, see pp. 370–374.

28 See pp. 446–447n.141.

29 *I.Delos* 2116 (quoted pp. 354–355).

30 Lucian, *Alex.* 49. There are no sources revealing such a practice elsewhere, so Lucian’s description of the “false prophet” sleeping atop visitors’ written inquiries appears to stem from the author’s imagination.

The Language of Pre-Incubatory Prayer

One of the aspects of ritual incubation about which we know the least is the precise nature of the prayers associated with the practice, and how these might have differed from other prayers.¹ No sources preserve examples from Greek religion, and at best we are told by Artemidorus a little about the types of prayer that the gods did and did not welcome from those requesting dreams, and *how* to pray for these.² Thus the only examples we have for incubation prayers—as is largely true of prayers associated with dream-divination in general—are from Greco-Roman Egypt.³ But even in Egypt sources written in Greek are almost non-existent, and limited to the use of the term ἐπίνευσον (“give me a favorable sign”) in hymns from the temple of Mandoulis that may allude to a solicited dream.⁴ The Demotic sources, however, are more valuable. Of greatest significance is an unpublished *ostrakon* from Krakow featuring an account of a visit to Deir el-Bahari for the purpose of incubation, which includes a prayer used by this worshiper to summon Amenhotep, combining a personal appeal with formulaic language.⁵ The Ḥor Archive has another

1 For pre-incubatory prayers in ancient Near Eastern sources, all literary, see Zgoll 2006, 329–330 (citing, e.g., Gudea, Cylinder A, cols. viii, l. 13–ix, l. 4; *Gilgamesh*, Tablet IV, ll. 42, 87, 129, 170; *Atrahasis*, Tablet 11, col. iii, ll. 7–10); see also Maraval 1985, 227–228, on the limited evidence for the prayers employed by Christians before incubation, and Fernández Marcos 1975, 35–37, on the typology of Christian prayers associated with the practice (none of which is said to have been a specific invocation for an epiphanical dream). Greek prayer in general has been the subject of numerous studies: see in particular Versnel 1981, Pulleyn 1997, and Jakov/Voutiras 2005, as well as the selection of Greek and Roman prayers in Chapot/Laurot 2001. For Egyptian prayer, see Assmann 1999 and the collections of translated texts in Foster/Hollis, *Hymns* and Barucq/Daumas, *Hymnes*; for the ancient Near East see Lenzi 2011, and de Roos 1995 for the Hittites specifically.

For the possibility that one of the inscribed testimonies from the Epidauros *Asklepieion* was intended as a cautionary tale regarding the need to word prayers precisely, see p. 238n.309.

2 Artem. 4.2, p. 308, ed. Harris-McCoy; see Boter/Flinterman 2007, 597–604 and Harris-McCoy 2012, 529–530.

3 For rare evidence from outside of Egypt, see the Dacian text that uses the phrase *Exi cum visu!* (“Exit and become visible!”) in the apparent context of seeking Bes’s appearance for a consultation in an undisclosed setting (*AE* 1982, 836; see p. 493n.24).

4 *LMetrEg* 167, 170 (see p. 555n.100).

5 Krakow, M.N. XI 989 (see Chapter 9.3).

example of prayer preceding incubation: in one of these *ostraka* Ḳor of Sebennytos describes supplications and invocations that preceded a dream he received at the Sacred Ibis Galleries of Saqqâra, including his asking the gods Osorapis and Osormnevis to “come to me” (*im n-i*):

*im n-i pȝy-i nb Wsir-Ḳp irm Wsir-Mr-wr | <im n-i> pȝy-i nb ʿ Wsir-Ḳp pȝ ntr ʿ
irm nȝ ntrw nty ḥtp (n) R-stȝw Pr-Wsir-Ḳp | irm R-stȝw Ḳp-nb-s irm nȝ nty ḥtp
ḥr tȝ ȝt (n) tȝ štyt Pr-Dḥwty | (n) Mn-nfr: sdm ḥrw-i pȝy-i nb Wsir Mr-wr irm nȝ
ntrw nty ḥtp n | R-stȝw Ddit irm nȝ nty ḥtp (n) tȝ ḥȝst ȝbt n'Iwnw.⁶*

Come to me my lord Osorapis and Osormnevis: <come to me> my great lord Osorapis, the great god, and the gods who rest (in the) necropolis of the Serapeum and (the) necropolis of Ḳepnēbes, together with those who rest in the hill of the crypt (of) the House of Thoth (in) Memphis: hear my voice my lord Osormnevis(?) and the gods who rest in the necropolis of Djedit, together with those who rest (in) the eastern desert of Heliopolis.

With this as a comparandum, it appears possible, if not likely, that some of Ḳor's other preserved prayers for which we lack a ritual context were intended for a similar purpose, even if they appear to be ordinary cletic addresses to the gods seeking their presence for the purpose of listening to prayers rather than delivering dream-oracles.⁷ Indeed, the use of the phrase “come to me” (*im n-i* masculine, *im.t n-i* feminine) appears not to automatically signal a request for a direct visit from a god: in a dream-narrative preserved on a papyrus from the Ptolemaios Archive, this individual recounts a dream in which he had started a prayer to Sarapis and Isis with ἐλθέ μοι θεά θεῶν (“Come to me, goddess of goddesses”), and from the context it is clear that he was not praying for a direct

⁶ *O.Hor* 13, ll. 3–7 (trans. Ray, modified to reflect Quack's correction to line 5; see p. 436n.108).

⁷ *O.Hor* 10 (= Kockelmann 2008, 11–17, No. 2; annotated translation in Quack 2013c, 263–264, No. 11.2) is of particular interest, as it consists of seven different invocations of Isis, and these may have been employed for soliciting dreams (as suggested by Ray in *O.Hor*, p. 131). However, since the text predates Ḳor's move to Saqqâra it is impossible to know whether it pertains to his activities there, despite its Memphite elements. It is therefore difficult to accept Ray's speculation that the appeals in *O.Hor* 10 may have been used to invoke the dream recorded in *O.Hor* 1 (*O.Hor*, p. 48). In contrast, the invocations of Isis on the *verso* of *O.Hor* 11 and in *O.Hor* 65 seem less likely to pertain to incubation, though these texts are too damaged for any certainty.

epiphany.⁸ Thus without context it is not possible to know whether an invocation seeking a god's presence was a traditional address intended to ensure that an individual's prayers would be heard, or one meant to have the god appear in a dream or waking encounter.⁹

In addition to these documentary sources, such invocations could also be found in Demotic literature, as is to be seen in the second Setna Khamwas tale, in which Horus-son-of-Paneshe makes offerings and libations and then begins his prayer for a revelation with the invocation "Turn your face to me, my lord Thoth!" (*my-w (sic) hr=k r hr-y pzy=y nb Dhw.ty*), before receiving a dream-oracle in which Thoth himself appears.¹⁰ Dream-divination in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri is also pertinent: see, for example, the ritual that involved keeping pure for three days, making an offering of frankincense, writing on a strip of tin that was to be placed under one's pillow a magical invocation (*i.e.*, one naming magical divinities and employing *vores magicae*, or "magical words"), and speaking the following prayer for a dream-oracle:

κύριοι θεοί, | χρηματίσατέ μοι περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος | ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί,
ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις ὥρ[αις]. | πάντως δέομαι, ἱκετεύω, δοῦλος ὑμέτερος | καὶ
τεθρονισμένος ὑμῖν.¹¹

Lord gods, reveal to me concerning such-and-such a matter this very night, in the coming hours. I completely beg, I supplicate, as your slave and the one enthroned by you.

Moreover, if one scholar's treatment is correct, certain descriptions of rituals and invocations employed for dream-divination that are found in the Greek magical papyri can reveal otherwise lost information regarding consultations

8 UPZ I 78, ll. 23–28. The same phrase is also used in the Greek *Dream of Nektanebos*, likewise at the beginning of a prayer to Isis in a dream, and in a context unrelated to seeking a dream (UPZ I 81, col. ii, l. 19). See Kockelmann 2008, 42–43 for other uses of these Egyptian and Greek phrases in hymns, incantations, and prayers.

9 For a pair of *ostraka* that might have served as invocations of the goddess Ai/Nehemanit in the context of receiving a dream or vision, *P.Zauzich* 7–8, see pp. 736–737n.6.

10 P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822, col. v, ll. 7–15 (quoting l. 8; trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III:146); see p. 502.

11 PGM VII.740–755, quoting ll. 743–747; for a similar prayer in the same papyrus, see p. 506n.36. There is also a magic gemstone of unknown provenience inscribed with a prayer for a dream-oracle (*IG XIV* 2413, 16; quoted p. 4). For dream-divination in the magical papyri, see p. 15n.39.

at Abydos, but even if this is incorrect it is at least possible that the language gives a sense of the actual prayers at the site.¹² Thus between these magical papyri referring to Abydos and the few other sources noted above it is at least possible to have a sense of the nature of pre-incubatory prayers in Egypt, but for the rest of the ancient Mediterranean world little more is likely to be learned.

¹² See Effland 2014, 199–201; for Abydos, see Chapter 9.2.

Dietary Restrictions, Fasting and Incubation

The *leges sacrae* from Pergamon and nearby Yaylakale all specified that those engaging in incubation must not be polluted by recent sexual activity, and given the fundamental importance of purity in Greek religion, including sexual purity, this is not especially noteworthy.¹ However, sources for incubation at *Asklepieia* and certain other sites reveal that fasting or, alternately, abstention from some foods was a ritual requirement, and this may well reflect external influences on those cults.² This can be seen in the lengthiest of the three *leges sacrae*, which features requirements for abstention from at least two types of food, goat meat and cheese.³ While no source for the cult of Amphiaraos likewise specifies the need for sexual purity (though it can be assumed), by the Imperial Period incubation at the *Amphiareion* appears to have been preceded by abstention from wine (and possibly beans), and fasting in general. However, despite earlier claims to the contrary by modern scholars, as well as the general nature of Tertullian's statement that "It is a superstition that when at oracles fasting is required for those intending to incubate, in order to bring about purity" (*Superstitio, ut cum apud oracula incubaturis ieiunium indicitur, ut castimoniam inducat*),⁴ in his detailed discussion of these issues Sineux has convincingly argued that fasting before incubation can only be associated with the *Amphiareion* and the *Charonion* in Caria.⁵ The best source for the *Amphiareion*'s rules regarding consumption of food and drink prior to incubation is Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, in which the sage states

- 1 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161 and *I.Pergamon* 2, 264 (Pergamon); *SEG* 60, 1333 (Yaylakale). See Chapter 3.4.4.1. The classic work on purity in Greek religion remains Parker 1983; see also Paoletti 2004.
- 2 Such dietary abstention, like sexual abstention, was a requirement by no means limited to *Asklepieia* or incubation sanctuaries in general (see Parker 1983, 357–365 and *NGSL*², p. 211, to which should be added Ov., *Fast.* 4.657–658, indicating that at Faunus's grove one was to abstain from sex and meat consumption before engaging in incubation).
- 3 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, l. 12; see also pp. 210–211n.229, on a *lex sacra* from Rhodes that most likely comes from either a *Sarapieion* or *Asklepieion* and mandated such bodily purity as well as purity of soul.
- 4 Tert., *Anim.* 48.3.
- 5 See Sineux 2007a, 120–129, and, more broadly, for fasting and dietary restrictions before incubation and other forms of divination, see Arbesmann 1929, 97–102 and Arbesmann 1949–51, 9–32; see also Wacht 1997, 212–215. *Charonion*: Strabo 14.1.44, pp. 649–650 (quoted pp. 296–297).

that Amphiaraos's priests would have people fast for one day and avoid wine for three before engaging in incubation.⁶ The evidence for abstention from beans, however, is indirect and more speculative than Sineux's treatment of the two potential sources recognizes: the *Geoponica*, following a discussion of Pythagoras's famous restriction on consuming beans, states that "Amphiaraos was the first who abstained from beans, on account of his divination through dreams" (πρῶτος δὲ ἀπέσχετο κυάμων Ἀμφιάραος, διὰ τὴν δι' ὀνείρων μαντείαν),⁷ which might reflect a custom at the *Amphiareion* but need not, while a one-line fragment from Aristophanes's play about visitors to this sanctuary preserves a comment about the rejection of lentil soup—"You who revile lentil soup, the sweetest of dishes" (ὅστις φακὴν ἤδιστον ὀψων λοιδορεῖς)⁸—which has unnecessarily been taken as evidence for an official restriction.⁹

Regardless of whether Sineux is right that there was a restriction on eating beans before engaging in incubation, he appears to be most likely correct in seeing in these broader elements of abstention and fasting the influence of Pythagoreanism,¹⁰ which is also in evidence both in the Pergamon *lex sacra* and a Latin one from the temple of Asclepius at Thuburbo Maius, dating c. 150–200 CE, that restricted anyone who had recently engaged in certain activities or eaten certain foods from entering part of the sanctuary:

*Iussu domini | Aesculapi | L(ucius) Numisius L(uci) f(ilius) | Vitalis |⁵ podium
de | suo fecit. | Quisq(uis) intra | podium ad|scendere vo|let a muli|ere, a*

6 Philostr., *VA* 2.37.2.

7 *Geoponica* 2.35.8.

8 Ar., *Amphiaraos*, frag. 23 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2.

9 See Sineux 2007a, 125, plausibly linking the line in Aristophanes to a cult regulation; arguing against this, however, is that the *Geoponica*, which Sineux cites, was written in the tenth century, and thus may reflect a practice that did not yet exist in Aristophanes's time. Moreover, as discussed below, it is quite possible that cult regulations regarding beans significantly postdate the Aristophanes play as well. Though uncertain, the avoidance of beans may be explained by Cicero when he notes that the Pythagoreans believed that the flatulence they cause interferes with the soul's disengagement from the body as one sleeps, thus preventing reliable dreaming (Cic., *Div.* 1.62 (cf. 2.119), with commentary in Wardle 2006, 263–264; for a possible medically-based explanation, see Parker 1983, 364–365; see also Waszink (J.) 1947, 511–512 and Ogden 2001a, 77–78).

10 See Sineux 2007a, 127–128, to which can be added Iamb., *VP* 106–107. See also Terranova 2013, 238–241, overlooking Sineux's discussion.

suilla, | *a faba*, *a ton*|*sore*, *a bali*|*neo commu*|*ne custodi*|*at triduo*; | *cancellos*
| *calciatus* | *intrare no*|*lito*.¹¹

By command of Lord Aesculapius, Lucius Numisius Vitalis, son of Lucius, built this platform from his own resources. Whoever wishes to ascend the platform must keep from women, pork, beans, barbers and the public baths for a three-day period; it is not permitted to enter the latticed gates in shoes.

Assuming that a Pythagorean influence has rightly been detected in the cults of both Asklepios and Amphiaraos, this would raise the question of whether that influence had been present from the beginning or began in Roman times (and thus would be neo-Pythagorean). The issue is made more complicated, and probably insoluble, by two problems: the fact that epigraphical evidence for dietary restrictions in *any* cult dates no earlier than the second century BCE (though oral transmission of such regulations before this appears likely), and the possibility that the Pythagoreans' dietary restrictions did not originate with them, but rather were adopted from regulations at one or more sanctuaries.¹² Also at issue is whether practices in the cult of Asklepios would have influenced those at the *Amphiareion*, which appears possible but far from certain: after all, Philostratus refers to fasting at Oropos, and a fragment of Cratinus's fifth-century BCE play *Trophonios* appears to refer to fasting before consulting this god,¹³ and the similarities between Amphiaraos and Trophonios were comparably strong to those between Amphiaraos and Asklepios, but there is no reason to think that Trophonios's cult was ever influenced by an Athenian cult, as Amphiaraos's was.¹⁴ Overall, even though the sources show that the cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos could be just as concerned with general matters of purity as any other cult, these are matters that cannot be settled with certainty, barring the discovery of further evidence.

11 *ILAfr* 225 (= Benseddik 2010, 11:85–86, Thuburbo Maius, Dedication No. 1); see Renberg 2006, 138–139 and Renberg 2006–07, 112.

12 See Parker 1983, 359 with n. 12. For an example of a dietary restriction from Egyptian cult dating to the second century BCE, a *lex sacra* prohibiting consumption of goat meat and mutton before offering sacrifices (*NGSL*² 7), see p. 244n.326.

13 Cratinus, *Trophonios*, frag. 233 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* IV. Sineux 2007a, 127 has interpreted frag. 236 as an interdiction against eating them before consulting Trophonios, but from the original context in Ath. 7.325E it is impossible to determine just why one character was bemoaning no longer being able to eat certain fish.

14 See p. 571.

Were the Sexes Separated During Incubation?

A sacred law from one site clearly stating that men and women were to be separated during incubation has influenced the interpretation of archaeological remains from this and three other sites as reflecting such a practice, from which it might be inferred that such a practice was at least somewhat common. There is, however, literary, epigraphical, papyrological and iconographical evidence—including from the same site—to show that the two sexes would be intermingled, or at least be sleeping in plain view of each other rather than being sequestered. Moreover, it appears likely that some of the archaeological evidence from the dormitories themselves has been misinterpreted. Overall, as close scrutiny reveals, the evidence for the sexes incubating separately is quite limited, and there certainly is no reason to conclude that such a policy was commonplace.

The best evidence for separation at a site is the *lex sacra* from the Oropos *Amphiareion* that states unambiguously, “Within the incubation dormitory the men are to sleep separately and the women are to sleep separately, the men in the area to the east of the altar and the women in the area to the west” (ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίοι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἄνδρας χωρὶς | δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡ[[ὸ]ς τοῦ βωμοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡσπέ[ρης]).¹ From the date of this inscription it is clear that it pertains to the older stoa, which has been too poorly preserved for meaningful analysis regarding this issue; however, the well-preserved newer stoa’s remains give no indication of its having been divided in half so as to comply with such a restriction. As discussed in a previous chapter, the separation of the sexes might have been effected by means of a screen or another barrier that left no traces, but it is also possible that nothing more than general awareness of an invisible line between the altar and the back of the stoa was needed, if the tradition continued.² Thus without the inscription there would have been no reason to suspect that sleepers were separated by gender at Oropos, as the archaeological remains do not indicate that any group of worshipers would be separated from the others.

¹ *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 43–47 (see pp. 275–277).

² It has also been suggested that the small, screened rooms at each end of the stoa were used to segregate the sexes, but if so it is unclear whether each room would be for a different gender or the two rooms were only to be used by women. On this stoa and the associated issues, see pp. 277–281.

While no inscription from any *Asklepieion* provides similar evidence that men and women were to sleep separately, and indeed there is no documentation of any other sort to support the conclusion that this was customary for the cult of Asklepios, the *Amphiareion* inscription in some cases has guided the interpretation of the remains of the incubation dormitory at Epidauros, where the north and south aisles of this two-colonnaded structure have been thought to have each served a different gender.³ However, it is now believed that the outer aisle was open and used to display the steles bearing the miraculous healing testimonies, whereas the closed off and thus secluded inner aisle would have been for incubation—and there is no particular reason to conclude that within this inner aisle the sexes slept separately.⁴ With Epidauros excluded as a comparandum, and a similar claim regarding the Kos *Asklepieion* dismissed because the incubation dormitory has not been reliably identified,⁵ a suggestion regarding the Athenian *Asklepieion* is undermined: the East Stoa, which served as the incubation dormitory following its completion in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE, should not be thought to have been built as a two-storied structure in order to keep the sexes apart.⁶ Such a conclusion is undermined primarily by the likelihood that the previous incubation dormitory was a more conventional single-story stoa built atop the rock ledge and there was no known barrier between the sexes there, and also because the need

3 In his monumental study of Greek stoas, J.J. Coulton suggested that a screen wall that split the “*Abaton*” down the middle may have been intended to separate men and women (Coulton 1976, 89n.8, citing the Oropos inscription; see *ibid.*, 237–238 on the building itself). Much earlier, when Building E was thought a viable candidate for original incubation dormitory at Epidauros, Fernand Robert had pointed to the Oropos practice in suggesting that its north-east and south galleries served as separate sleeping quarters for men and women (Robert (F.) 1933, 390–391; *contra*, see LiDonnici 1995, 8–9; on Building E, see pp. 126–129). Cf. Riethmüller 2005, 1:385.

4 See p. 131.

5 The Oropos inscription is the main reason that Paul Schazmann concluded that Building D on Terrace II of the Kos *Asklepieion*, which had two chambers of the same size, enabled men and women to sleep separately for incubation, but this structure is not clearly identifiable as an incubation dormitory (see pp. 146–148).

6 This was the suggestion of Coulton, citing the Oropos inscription and Epidauros structure (Coulton 1976, 89, with general discussion of two-story stoas at pp. 89–91; see p. 146). Though two-story stoas were rare, in this case the sanctuary’s size and topography appear to have been the primary reasons for employing this architectural approach. It was, after all, quite expensive to build a two-story stoa instead of expanding outwards—and it is questionable whether such an expense would have been born to keep the sexes separate, when the far cheaper option of constructing a wall would have sufficed. (I am grateful to Jesper Tae Jensen for his thoughts on these issues.)

for a second story can more credibly be attributed to the sanctuary's success and a growth in demand, and the relatively limited space for new construction within the *temenos*. Furthermore, literary evidence found in Aristophanes's *Plutus*—if that work was indeed set in this *Asklepieion*, rather than the one at Peiraeus—likewise undermines it.⁷ In Karion's comic account of the night he had spent with his master and the god Wealth awaiting Asklepios's treatment of the latter's blindness, he describes lying awake and being tempted by a bowl of porridge placed close to an old woman.⁸ This episode can have only two interpretations: either the men and women were intermixed, or they were separated but in full view of each other and thus not walled off or screened off.

Although it is possible to dismiss this passage and the close proximity of male and female worshipers that it indicates as belonging to an Aristophanic fantasy world, there is no particular reason to do so.⁹ In fact, there is reason to think that at certain incubation dormitories no such separation was in effect, though not all of the evidence for mixed-gender incubation comes from a Greek cult.¹⁰ The only potential visual evidence, however, not only comes from a Greek cult, but from the same one that produced the sacred law quoted above: a broken relief that is believed to have been dedicated to Amphiaraos at Oropos, which represents an elderly man and woman lying beside each other.¹¹ Unfortunately, as discussed in a previous chapter, the conclusion that this scene shows a married couple engaging in incubation, though likely, is uncertain, and there might be some other explanation for why the two figures are in bed.¹² Furthermore, even if it does show incubation and was given by these two individuals after successfully engaging in the practice at the *Amphiareion*, it is possible that they were shown side by side due to the practical necessity of fitting both of them in the frame, even if—as dictated by the

7 For the issue of where Aristophanes's scene was set, see pp. 185–186n.167. Presumably, the Peiraeus *Asklepieion* would have functioned in a similar manner, so even if the scene was set there it would still be pertinent to the sanctuary in Athens.

8 Ar., *Plut.* 672–695. Ehrenheim has rightly seen this passage as evidence that “there seems to have been no fixed rule” regarding separation of the sexes (Ehrenheim 2009, 242).

9 See, in contrast, Dillon 1994, 244–245: “Aristophanes in the *Ploutos* paints a picture of male and female suppliants who were together in the *abaton*, but the comic scene need not preclude segregation.”

10 Even though not from a Greek cult, these other sources nonetheless are at least somewhat pertinent, either because they come from an Egyptian cult site with known Hellenic influences (Saqqâra) or a Christian one with a Hellenic heritage (Constantinople).

11 Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 3.

12 See pp. 282–283n.27.

Amphiareion's rules—they had slept apart.¹³ It is also a problem that the relief has not been given a narrower date than that of the fourth century BCE and the original incubation stoa was replaced in the middle of that century, making it impossible to know whether the seen was set in the newer one or the older one, in which the sexes were supposed to be separated.

The most curious piece of evidence pertaining to this issue comes not from Greece, but from the Saqqâra *Sarapieion*, where some unknown individual in the mid-third century BCE left a graffito making the cryptic comment that “There are countless mischievous ones in the incubation chamber” ([ἐ]ν ἐνκομητηρίῳ | μύριοι σινάμ[ωροι]).¹⁴ Just as it is impossible to know whether this incubation dormitory was associated with Osorapis/Sarapis or Imhotep, or else another god worshiped in the area, it cannot be determined just what the “mischievous ones” were up to or who they were. It is certainly possible, according to one of the suggestions of Georges Nachtergaele, that this alluded to men and women intermingling in a manner improper for a sanctuary, but there are other plausible interpretations as well, such as that the graffito refers to a group making some sort of trouble for other worshippers.¹⁵ Moreover, as Nachtergaele notes, it might apply to those running the incubation chamber rather than those sleeping there. Even if the graffito did refer to sexual liaisons, there is no way to tell whether such activities represented a violation of posted cult regulations regarding the sexes sleeping separately—regulations perhaps “more honored in the breach.”¹⁶ There is, however, one piece of evidence

13 See, however, the relief from Rhamnous that, thanks to a recent join, can now be recognized as apparently showing two individuals separately engaging in incubation (Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1). Aristophanes's lost play *Amphiaraios* might have provided valuable information regarding this issue, especially since one of the fragments, in which the husband asks his wife about a noisy rooster that is perhaps signaling the break of day, appears to indicate that the two had incubated in close proximity, as noted by Sineux (Ar., *Amphiaraios*, frag. 17 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2; see Sineux 2007a, 161, 178). On this play, see p. 104.

14 *SEG* 49, 2292 (see pp. 411–412).

15 Nachtergaele in his study of this graffito pointed to the Oropos *lex sacra* decreeing the separation of men and women, suggesting that at Memphis such an arrangement was also in effect (Nachtergaele 1999, 354–355). Legras has accepted the interpretation of Nachtergaele that the term pertains to men and women, but possibly goes too far in suggesting that they were *enkatochoi* (i.e., “recluses”; see pp. 731–733), and that the message may have been written by a pilgrim upset by their unwholesome activities (Legras 2011, 91).

16 If this graffito pertains to the nearby *Asklepieion* then the famous “Imouthes Aretalogy” might be relevant, since it describes the narrator of this almost certainly fictional story having engaged in incubation at a sanctuary of Asklepios—commonly identified as Imhotep's at Saqqâra—while his mother stayed awake and looked on (*P.Oxy* XI 1381, ll. 79–145; see pp. 427–429). In Aristophanes's *Plutus* the ailing god Wealth is accompanied by Karion and the others, likewise suggesting that those engaging in incubation would sometimes be

for the sexes sleeping together that is much less ambiguous: three of the miraculous cures reported in Byzantine times to have been obtained in the most famous church of Kosmas and Damian at Constantinople, the *Kosmidion*, occurred with men and women sleeping close to one another.¹⁷ Although a Christian source might seem too anachronistic to be relevant, this is not a significant concern, since even if Greek incubation and the form of incubation practiced by the Christians were wholly unrelated phenomena, on the surface there would have been a sufficiently close resemblance between the two practices for each to help us to understand the other; and, moreover, if the more moralistic Christians had no concerns about men and women intermingling it is unlikely that their pagan predecessors had been more Puritanical.

There is no way to know to what extent other sanctuaries had rules regarding the separation of the sexes that mirrored those at Oropos, nor can we know to what extent such rules were observed when they were in effect. Indeed, with the elimination of the speculative archaeological evidence from Epidauros, Athens and Kos, all of the other evidence suggests that most sanctuaries made little, if any, attempt to mandate separate sleeping areas for men and women. This should not necessarily be surprising since, after all, Greek religious beliefs did not require such a separation: engaging in sexual relations was already forbidden at Greek sanctuaries, regardless of whether they had incubation facilities, so as to prevent pollution, and therefore the general restriction on such activities would have made a regulation specifically keeping the sexes apart during incubation superfluous, if the purpose was to ensure ritual purity.¹⁸

joined by healthy family members or associates. This may have been the case at Saqqâra as well, at least in this particular incubation dormitory. But, even if so, it is questionable whether rules against the sexes sleeping together would have been intended to keep a mother apart from her ailing son, so ultimately the “Imouthes Aretalogy” cannot be taken as conclusive proof regarding this matter.

- 17 *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 24–26; for the *Kosmidion* and the cult of Kosmas and Damian, see p. 763. See Ehrenheim 2009, 260 on the issue of the sexes sleeping together or in close proximity at this church.
- 18 On the general subject of sanctuaries and sexual purity, see Parker 1983, 74–75; for sacred laws posted at some *Asklepieia* forbidding entrance to those who had recently engaged in sex, see pp. 242–244. An additional illustrative example, previously overlooked, is to be found in a passage in Achilles Tatius’s *Leukippe and Kleitophon*: as Melite, the rich widow whom Kleitophon has married, reproaches him for wanting to delay consummating their marriage, she asks him “For how long are we to sleep together as if in a temple?” (μέχρι τίνος ὥς ἐν ἱερῷ συγκαθεύδομεν) (Ach. Tat. 5.21; see also 5.26, in which Melite berates Kleitophon for their sexless marriage). Although it is possible that Melite’s question alludes to the

Moreover, those who were devoted enough to a god to spend a night at his sanctuary engaging in rituals and prayers—not to mention directly and indirectly spending money to do so—presumably would have been quite unlikely to engage in an unquestionably impure act that would jeopardize their chance of success. Therefore, the ban at Oropos is more likely to have been intended as a way of maintaining good order, so as to avoid the type of situation possibly alluded to in the Saqqâra graffito.¹⁹ How typical it was is impossible to determine, but it does appear that such a restriction on the sexes sleeping beside each other was not a ritual necessity, but rather a prudent one recognizing human nature and the need to prevent some individuals from engaging in non-sexual activities that might awaken or distract those truly seeking to sleep and dream—and perhaps also a restriction anticipating and seeking to prevent occasional lapses leading to impure acts.

need for couples who were incubating simultaneously to avoid being “mischievous,” it is more likely that it simply pertains to a general restriction on sexual activities in sanctuaries that lodged overnight visitors: either way, from the context it is evident that men and women could sleep side by side at sanctuaries but were not to act impurely.

- 19 The points regarding bans on sexual relations being standard and the likelihood that the Oropos sacred law was instead meant to keep order were made by Sineux (*Sineux 2007a*, 161), arguing against Dillon’s statement that this rule was intended to maintain sexual purity (*Dillon 1994*, 244).

Illustrated Catalog of Incubation Reliefs from the Cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos

While incubation is known to have been practiced among the Greeks at numerous sanctuaries devoted to many different divinities over the better part of a millennium, for reasons that can only be guessed at the artistic representation of this practice in stone appears to have been limited to Attica and the border zone in which Oropos was situated.¹ Due to this geographical limitation, the reliefs that clearly or possibly show an incubation scene all come from the two cults in this region in which incubation is known to have played an important role: those of Asklepios and Amphiaraos.

VIII.1 Asklepios at the Athenian and Peiraeus *Asklepieia*

There are up to seventeen Classical reliefs or relief fragments dating from the late-fifth to early-third centuries BCE that can be interpreted with varying degrees of certainty as showing incubation scenes and are either known or suspected to have originated at the Athenian *Asklepieion*, as well as two full reliefs from the Peiraeus sanctuary—one of them now lost—that clearly show incubation scenes.²

1 For the very small number of dedicatory reliefs from other places that potentially represent incubation see Appendix IX.

2 On these reliefs, see now the essential work of the late Georgios Despinis, who recently produced a fully illustrated catalog of the Asklepios reliefs from Athens—but not Peiraeus—in which he freshly identified some fragments as having come from incubation reliefs, presented new joins and interpretations, challenged previous conclusions regarding certain reliefs, and provided comprehensive bibliographies for each as well as such basic information as dates, proveniences and measurements (Despinis 2013, 85–97 *et pass.*), while also presenting an important new join for the Rhamnous relief of Amphiaraos discussed below (Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1). Older studies still worth consulting include: Hausmann 1948, 38–60 (with catalog); Holtzmann 1984, 891–892; van Straten 1995, 68–70 (with list of reliefs at p. 68n.180); and Sineux 2007b; cf. Terranova 2013, 299–304. See also Grmek/Gourevitch 1998, a general survey of representations of illness in Greek and Roman art (with Attic reliefs at pp. 17–19), and two significantly earlier studies that were the first to examine the phenomenon in detail, Ziehen 1892 and Sudhoff 1926.



FIGURE 29 *Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 1 (Peiraieus Mus. 405).*

PHOTO: EPHORATE OF WEST ATTICA, PIRAEUS AND THE ISLANDS

VIII.1.1 *Peiraieus Asklepieion*

While the one surviving incubation relief from Peiraieus, due to its quality and composition, has been reproduced more times than any of the incubation reliefs and fragments from Athens, the lost relief has been largely overlooked by scholars.

Ask.-Peir. 1 (Fig. 29)

Collection: Peiraieus Mus. 405

Primary publication(s): Hausmann 1948, 166, No. 1 + fig. 1; Mitropoulou, *Attic Votive Reliefs*, 63–64, No. 126 + fig. 183; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 105; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 219, “Pireo 17,” cf. p. 47 + fig. 65; Leventi 2003, 133–134, No. R13

A new study of the reliefs as well as a complete catalog is being prepared by Jesper Tae Jensen, preliminarily entitled *Healing Dreams: The Votive Reliefs from The Athenian Asklepieion at the South Slope of the Akropolis* (personal communication). There is also currently a project under way to produce a new corpus of the dedicatory reliefs in the National Museum in Athens, which will include the vast majority of incubation reliefs. (Since Despinis presents full bibliographies for each Asklepios relief and both he and other scholars have given detailed descriptions of the reliefs, and there are also these ongoing projects aimed at further study of the reliefs, for the present catalog there has been no intention of duplicating those efforts—instead, the focus is on providing illustrations as well as brief descriptions and basic bibliography.)

Additional bibliography: Petropoulou 1985, 173, No. 2 + Pl. 2; Sineux 2007*a*, 165–166; Sineux 2007*b*, 13–19 (with additional references)

Description: Asklepios, behind whom stands Hygieia, placing his hands on the shoulder of a female patient sleeping atop a *klinē* and animal skin, while her family looks on

Discussed/cited: Pp. 186–187, 219, 223, 224n.271, 225, 256, 258n.370, 274

Ask.-Peir. 2 (Fig. 30) (Fig. 31)

Collection: Lost, no inv. no. (Found built into the wall of a private house in the area)

Primary publication(s): Ziehen 1892, 234–235 + fig. 5; Hausmann 1948, 170, No. 53; van Straten 1995, 282, No. R30 + fig. 68, cf. pp. 68–69

Additional bibliography: von Eickstedt 2001, 34–35 + fig. 19

Description: Asklepios, an unidentified female figure and a goddess standing by a patient on a *klinē*, with the goddess (a daughter of Asklepios?) perhaps treating him or her while the god supervises from the foot of the couch, and four worshipers and a servant with sacrificial pig approach in procession from the left

Discussed/cited: Pp. 137n.49, 187, 225n.274, 254, 258n.370



FIGURE 30 *Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2* (lost).

PHOTO: DEUTSCHE ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT (ATHENS)
(NEG. D-DAI-ATH-PIRÄUS 1)

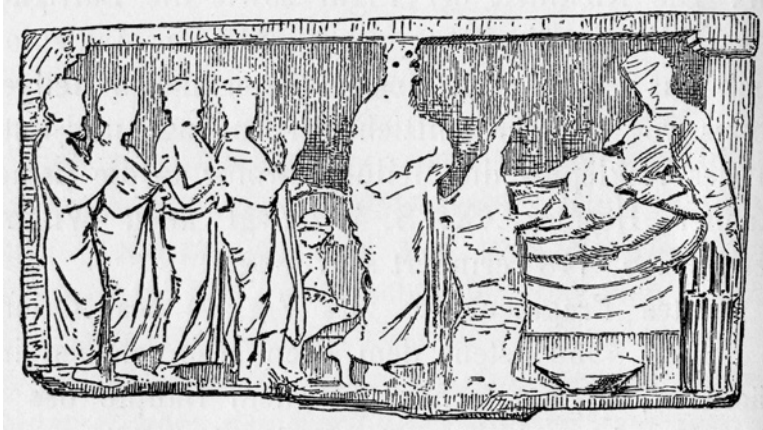


FIGURE 31 *Cat. No. Ask.-Peir. 2 (lost).*

SOURCE: REPRODUCED FROM ZIEHEN 1892, FIG. 5

VIII.1.2 Athenian Asklepieion

There are six reliefs or relief fragments that can be interpreted as showing incubation scenes with at least some amount of confidence, due both to their contents and—with some exceptions—their having been found at or near the sanctuary.

Ask.-Ath. 1 (Fig. 32)

Collection: Kassel, Staatl. Mus., Kunstsammlungen Sk. 44, Inv. No. 75

Primary publication(s): Bieber 1910, 2–5, No. 1 + fig. 1 + Pl. 1, 1; Bieber, *Skulpturen Cassel*, 37, No. 75 + Pl. 33; Hausmann, 174–175, No. 109; van Straten 1995, 280, No. R22, cf. p. 69; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 89 + photo; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 203, “Atene 164,” cf. p. 103 + fig. 96; Despinis 2013, 89, No. 7 + fig. 47

Description: Right half of a relief, preserving only the shoulders and back of the head of a male patient (apparently atop a *klinē*), behind whom Asklepios is seated while tending the patient, as a man, woman, two children and a maid with a *kistē* look on from the right

Discussed/cited: Pp. 222n.267, 225n.275, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 2 (Fig. 33)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2373

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:636, No. 355 + Pl. 140; Hausmann 1948, 166, No. 2; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 106 + photo; Edelmann 1999, 215, No. F 21; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 200, “Atene 122,” cf. pp. 47–48 + fig.



FIGURE 32 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 1* (Kassel, Staatl. Mus., *Kunstsammlungen Sk. 44*, Inv. No. 75).
 PHOTO: KASSEL, STAATL. MUS. (NEG. A40686)



FIGURE 33 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 2* (Athens, N.M. 2373).
 PHOTO: K. XENIKAKIS (ATHENS, NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)

33; Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 142, No. 274; Leventi 2003, 137, No. R19 + Pl. 18; Despini 2013, 94–95 + fig. 54

Additional bibliography: van Straten 1976, 3; Despini 1999, 207–208, 211–212

Description: Bottom half of a relief originally said to have been found near the Kerameikos—though this has been challenged by Despini—and previously identified as representing the preparation of a corpse (*e.g.*, Svoronos), but identified by others (*e.g.*, van Straten, Kaltsas, Despini) as an incubation scene with Asklepios and Hygieia standing on the right while two smaller figures attend to a figure on a bed, apparently by hoisting him onto it or repositioning him so that he can be cured

Discussed/cited: Pp. 183n.161, 225n.274, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 3 (Fig. 34) (Fig. 35)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2441

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:646, No. 381 + Pl. 156; Hausmann 1948, 170, No. 57; Edelmann, *Menschen*, 238, No. U87 + fig. 36 (photo); Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 201, “Atene 130,” cf. 103–104 + fig. 97; Despini 2013, 85–86, No. 3 + fig. 43

Inscription: [--- ἀν]έθηκε Ἀσκληπι[ιῶν] (*IG* II² 4418/19)

Description: Fragment of a relief with Asklepios standing behind a male figure, most likely one of his sons, who is treating the head of a patient on a *klinē*, apparently by performing a head operation (though this possibility has been disputed by Despini on the grounds that the unidentified figure is holding the patient’s head with both hands)

Discussed/cited: Pp. 219, 225n.274, 258n.370



FIGURE 34 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 3*
(Athens, N.M. 2441).
PHOTO: JESPER
TAE JENSEN



FIGURE 35 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 3*
(Athens, N.M. 2441).
SOURCE: REPRODUCED
FROM ZIEHEN 1892,
FIG. 3



FIGURE 36 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 4 (Athens, N.M. 2462).*

PHOTO: D. GIALOURIS
(ATHENS, NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM)



FIGURE 37 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 4 (Athens, N.M. 2472).*

PHOTO: NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM, PHOTO
ARCHIVE

Ask.-Ath. 4 (Fig. 36) (Fig. 37)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2462+2472

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:644, No. 379 + Pl. 154 (N.M. 2472) and 645–646, No. 381 + Pl. 156 (N.M. 2462); Hausmann 1948, 170, No. 47 (N.M. 2462); *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 109 (N.M. 2462); Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 201, “Atene 134” (N.M. 2462); Despinis 2013, 77–79 + figs. 39–41 (N.M. 2462 + 2472)

Additional bibliography: van Straten 1995, 68n.180

Description: Two fragments identified by Despinis (based on the thickness of the stone and similarities in style and technique) as coming from the same relief: the one from the left side (N.M. 2462) preserving only a portion of the body of a god, presumably Asklepios, as he leans over and touches with his right hand the head of a patient resting on a pillow, while the one from the right (N.M. 2472) shows a bearded worshiper facing in their direction and raising his right arm in a gesture of prayer, accompanied by a boy who is mostly lost and two poorly preserved female figures, with traces of a *klinē* and what Despinis, following van Straten's initial identification of the fragment as part of an incubation scene, interpreted as the feet of the figure who was lying on it wrapped in cloth



FIGURE 38 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 5*
(Athens, N.M. 2488).
PHOTO: NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM, PHOTO
ARCHIVE



FIGURE 39 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 6*
(Athens, N.M. 2505).
PHOTO: NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM, PHOTO
ARCHIVE

Discussed/cited: Pp. 219, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 5 (Fig. 38)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2488

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:645, No. 381 + Pl. 156; Hausmann 1948, 181, No. 172; Petropoulou 1985, 173, 175, No. 4 + Pl. 4; *LIMC* II, "Asklepios," No. 110; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 201, "Atene 136," cf. p. 47; Despinis 2013, 86–87, No. 4 + fig. 44

Description: Relief fragment preserving only the torso and head of a figure lying on his back atop a *klinē* and animal skin

Discussed/cited: Pp. 256, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 6 (Fig. 39)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2505

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:646, No. 382 + Pl. 157; Hausmann 1948, 181, No. 173; Petropoulou 1985, 173, No. 3 + Pl. 3; *LIMC* II, "Asklepios," No. 112; Edelmann 1999, 239, No. U 95; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 201, "Atene 139," cf. p. 47; Despinis 2013, 87–88, No. 5 + fig. 45



FIGURE 40 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 7*
(Athens, H.L. PA 282).
PHOTO: EPHORATE OF
ANTIQUITIES OF ATHENS



FIGURE 41 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 8* (Athens, N.M.
1008).
PHOTO: NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM,
PHOTO ARCHIVE

Description: Relief fragment preserving just the lower-right portion, in which the head of a bearded figure can be seen resting on a pillow atop a *klinē* and animal skin, in a pose reminiscent of more complete incubation scenes

Discussed/cited: Pp. 137n.49, 256, 258n.370

In addition, eleven fragmentary reliefs from the Athenian *Asklepieion*, or perhaps other sites in some cases, have been thought by at least one scholar to show incubation but are not as easily identified as such, and in certain cases this is quite doubtful.³

Ask.-Ath. 7 (Fig. 40)

Collection: Athens, H.L. PA 282

Primary publication(s): Despinis 2013, 93–94 + fig. 53

³ In addition to Despinis's recent contributions to this list of potential incubation relief fragments, which includes ones that he was the first to identify (Cat. Nos. Ask.-Ath. 8, 9), an important list was compiled in van Straten 1995, 68n.180.



FIGURE 42 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 9 (Athens, N.M. 1340).*

PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, PHOTO ARCHIVE

Description: Fragment from the middle of a relief found in the Roman Agora near the Tower of the Winds, on which to the right can be seen beneath a sheet the lower leg and foot of an individual lying on a bed, while standing above him to the left is a headless male figure who has been identified as Asklepios (in part because of traces of his staff), and beside whom can be seen the hand of another figure, perhaps Hygieia

Discussed/cited: Pp. 225n.273, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 8 (Fig. 41)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 1008

Primary publication(s): Kastriotis, *Glypta*, 171, No. 1008; Mitropoulou, *Anathēmatika*, 11, No. 1 + fig. 1; Despinis 2013, 95–96 + fig. 55

Description: A fragment from the upper-left portion of a relief in which only Asklepios's head and upper torso as well as his downward-reaching right arm are preserved, which originally was thought to be from a

funerary scene (Kastriotis) but Despinis, following Mitropoulou, has identified as at least as likely to come from an incubation relief in which the god was extending his arm to heal a patient

Discussed/cited: Pp. 219, 642n.3

Ask.-Ath. 9 (Fig. 42)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 1340

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* 1:259–260, No. 37 + Pl. 34; Hausmann 1948, 166, No. 5; Edelmann 1999, 192, No. B 50; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 197, “Atene 85”; Leventi 2003, 130, No. R5 + Pl. 10; Despinis 2013, 81–84 + fig. 42

Additional bibliography: Neumann (G.) 1979, 50–51; Lawton 2009, 83, No. 12, cf. p. 77; Kranz 2010, 32

Description: Fragmentary relief missing most of the scene’s center, with a fully preserved worshiper preserved at the far right and at the far left Hygieia, and Asklepios partly preserved—and, judging from the angle of his feet and lower legs, possibly stooping over a now missing patient who would have been lying on a structure or bed (or *stibas*, as Despinis speculated) atop the large rock that is partly visible at the bottom of the scene

Discussed/cited: Pp. 137n.49, 642n.3

Ask.-Ath. 10 (Fig. 43)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 1841

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:633, No. 338 + Pl. 133; Hausmann 1948, 178–179, No. 151; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 54 + photo; Droste 2001, 65 + Pl. 12b; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 200, “Atene 119,” cf. pp. 47–48 + fig. 32; Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 225, No. 473; Despinis 2013, 90–91, No. 10 + fig. 50

Additional bibliography: Sineux 2007b, 21–24

Inscription: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Διοφάνους τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου [Ἀζηνιέ]ως (*IG* II² 4482; represents a Roman-era rededication, as one of several objects inscribed with the name of an annual priest active c. 50 CE (*PAA* 6, No. 366490); cf. Despinis, *ibid.*, 120–121 + figs. 75–77 and Aleshire 1989, 85, 373)

Description: Largely complete but partly damaged relief featuring two divinities, an ailing figure receiving treatment, and two worshipers looking on from the left side, that permits two basic interpretations, but is ambiguous as to its overall meaning and might not have been intended to represent incubation: according to some (most recently Sineux), the figure sitting beside the male patient lying on a *klinē* is Asklepios and the male divinity towering over the scene on the right and perhaps assisting in some way is one of his sons; Despinis, however, noting both that it is unusual for just Machaon or Podalirios to be shown with Asklepios, and also problemati-



FIGURE 43 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 10 (Athens, N.M. 1841).*

PHOTO: K. XENIKAKIS (ATHENS, NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)

cally arguing that the relief may well have originated elsewhere and been rededicated at the *Asklepieion*,⁴ concludes that the seated figure is likely to be a physician rather than Asklepios, and that it is probably a healing divinity other than Asklepios standing on the right. (If Despinis is correct and a human is shown seated beside the patient it is possible that the relief might have been intended to honor and give credit to both an immortal physician—Asklepios or another—and his mortal protégé, at least one parallel for which is epigraphically attested in the form of a dedicatory inscription thanking both Asklepios and the patient's doctor for a recovery.⁵ Or, if the figure standing to the right is Asklepios the relief could be another example of a dedication to a patron god showing a member of the associated

4 While neither the seated nor standing figure can clearly be identified as Asklepios—in part because of damage to the stone—Despinis is not on firm ground in suggesting that the relief originated at another healing god's sanctuary and was then brought to the *Asklepieion* by this priest and dedicated there: dedications were the property of a god and could only be removed with permission. Thus the relief most likely originated at the *Asklepieion* in Classical times, and was rededicated there roughly three centuries later by an individual or group whose identity is not indicated.

5 Robert (L.) 1937, 384–389 (= Samama, *Médecins*, 384–385, No. 274 = Prêtre/Charlier, *Maladies*, 169–173, No. 13), from Kibyra; Asklepios's name has been restored in a potential parallel, *StudPont* III 25 (= Samama, *ibid.*, 425–426, No. 325 = Prêtre/Charlier, *ibid.*, 221–225, No. 22).



FIGURE 44 *Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 11* (Athens, N.M. 2455).
PHOTO: IR. MIARI
(ATHENS,
NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM)



FIGURE 45
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 11 (Athens,
N.M. 2475).
PHOTO: K.
KONSTANTOPOULOS
(ATHENS, NATIONAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM)



FIGURE 46
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 11:
Reconstruction of thymiaterion
from Athenian Asklepieion
showing approximate positions
of the fragments featuring
Asklepios and a presumed
patient (Athens, N.M. 2455 +
2475)
SOURCE: REPRODUCED
FROM BESCHI 1969, PL. 71,
WITH PERMISSION OF
ARCHEOLOGIA CLASSICA

profession—in this case, a physician—working his trade, like the Archaic and Classical reliefs and painted vases or terracottas showing craftsmen.)

Discussed/cited: Pp. 137n.49, 225, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 11 (Fig. 44) (Fig. 45) (Fig. 46)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2455+2475 + Athens, A.M. 2665 (lost)

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:647, No. 384 + Pl. 159 (N.M. 2455) and III:645, No. 380 + Pl. 155 (N.M. 2475); Walter, *Reliefs*, 23, No. 31 + photo (A.M. 2665); Hausmann 1948, 170, No. 51 (N.M. 2455) and 175, No. 112 (N.M. 2475); Beschi 1969; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 107; Despinis 2013, 201–206 + figs. 159–167 (N.M. 2455+2475 + A.M. 2665)

Inscription: [Ἀν]τίκληια [---] (Beschi, *ibid.*, 224 + Pl. 70, 2; Despinis, *ibid.*, 205 + fig. 165)

Description: An object recognized as a triangular *thymiaterion* (i.e., altar for burning incense) by Beschi, who combined two non-joining relief fragments (N.M. 2455+2475), along with a fragment featuring decorative patterns, to form a scene on one side showing Asklepios handing a *kantharos* (i.e., drinking vessel) that may contain a remedy to a female worshiper, to



FIGURE 47

Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 12 (Athens, N.M. 2489).

PHOTO: JESPER TAE JENSEN

which Despinis has now added a fragment from another side that features a young, beardless man above whom is the right arm of a larger figure thought by earlier scholars (*e.g.*, Walter) to represent his crowning by Athena, Boulē or Demos, but identified by Despinis as Asklepios's arm due to the similarity with the scene on the first side—which would argue against Hausmann's tentative suggestion that the woman had envisioned the god giving her a cure during incubation (Hausmann, *ibid.*, 60; *contra*, see Beschi, *ibid.*, 220; issue not noted by Despinis), or that the female was even Antikleia

Discussed/cited: P. 230n.285

Ask.-Ath. 12 (Fig. 47)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2489

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:645–646, No. 381 + Pl. 156; Hausmann 1948, 170, No. 46, cf. p. 49; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 201, “Atene 137,” cf. p. 47; Despinis 2013, 91–92 + fig. 51

Description: Relief fragment featuring only the bare torso of a god, presumably Asklepios, apparently engaged in treating a patient on his left by touching his head, while a small male figure looks on beside him—though against the conventional interpretation Despinis viewed the scene as featuring a master with a slave who is leading a sacrificial animal

Discussed/cited: P. 219

Ask.-Ath. 13 (Fig. 48)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 2925

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:655, No. 409 + Pl. 186; Hausmann 1948, 166, No. 6; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 104; Leventi 2003, 139, No. R26 + Pl. 22; Despinis 2013, 92–93 + fig. 52

Additional bibliography: Kranz 2010, 57

Description: Left side of a relief in which Asklepios is shown standing with two female figures—previously thought to be Hygieia and an unidentified



FIGURE 48
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 13 (Athens, N.M. 2925).
 PHOTO: TASSOS VRETTOS (ATHENS,
 NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)



FIGURE 49
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 14 (Athens, N.M. 3325).
 PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
 MUSEUM, PHOTO ARCHIVE

daughter, though Despinis opts not to identify them—at an altar in a libation scene, which Hausmann, but not Despinis, thought included part of a couch

Ask.-Ath. 14 (Fig. 49)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 3325

Primary publication(s): Kastriotis 1914; Mitropoulou, *Kneeling Worshipers*, 40–41, No. 14 + fig. 15; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 202, “Atene 144”; Despinis 2013, 88–89, No. 6 + fig. 46

Description: Fragment showing a god, most likely Asklepios, appearing to treat a patient who is missing but whose presence is indicated by a pillow, while a woman who is presumably related to the patient kneels at the god’s feet in supplication

Discussed/cited: P. 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 15 (Fig. 50)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 5045 (Side B)

Primary publication(s): Wulfmeier, *Griechische Doppelreliefs*, 133, No. WR 23; Despinis 2013, 96, 170–171 + fig. 124

Description: Small fragment from an *amphiglyphon* (i.e., a two-sided *pinax*) that on one side may have featured an incubation scene, from which only two pillows are preserved (or, as suggested by Despinis, a single pillow that



FIGURE 50
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 15
 (Athens, N.M. 5045 (Side B)).
 PHOTO: NATIONAL
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL
 MUSEUM, PHOTO ARCHIVE



FIGURE 51A & B
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 16 (Athens, A.M.
 2452 (Side A, left, and Side B, right)).
 PHOTOS: COURTESY OF MINISTRY
 OF CULTURE AND SPORTS,
 EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES
 OF ATHENS



FIGURE 52
Cat. No. Ask.-Ath. 17
 (Athens, A.M. 3005).
 PHOTO: SOCRATIS
 MAVROMMATIS
 (© ACROPOLIS
 MUSEUM)

has been folded). (Side A, featuring the torso and damaged head of a man and traces of a female figure behind him, cannot be interpreted.)

Discussed/cited: Pp. 219, 258n.370

Ask.-Ath. 16 (Fig. 51)

Collection: Athens, A.M. 2452 (Side B)

Primary publication(s): Walter, *Reliefs*, 145–146, No. 311 + photos; Hausmann 1948, 170, No. 52; *LIMC* II, “Asklepios,” No. 113; Wulfmeier, *Griechische Doppelreliefs*, 120, No. WR 4 + Pl. 4, cf. pp. 51–53; Despinis 2013, 89–90, No. 9 + fig. 49

Description: Fragment from an *amphiglyphon* that on Side B shows the lower body of a figure thought to be Asklepios standing beside and extending his right arm above a more poorly preserved male figure who appears to be bending over something or someone now missing—perhaps a sick person engaging in incubation, as some have suspected (Walter, van Straten (*supra*, n. 3)), with Side A's trio of worshipers at an offering table showing gratitude for a cure (Wulfmeier)

Ask.-Ath. 17 (Fig. 52)

Collection: Athens, A.M. 3005

Primary publication(s): Walter, *Reliefs*, 49, No. 79 + photo; Hausmann 1948, 169, No. 38; Despinis 2013, 89, No. 8 + fig. 48

Description: Perpendicular fragment featuring a headless Asklepios standing and looking to the right, towering over a smaller standing figure, perhaps female, who faces right—suggesting the possibility of there having been a patient in a sickbed in the missing portion (as inferred by Walter)

VIII.2 Amphiaraos at the Oropos and Rhamnous *Amphiareia*

Significantly fewer dedicatory reliefs survive from the cult of Amphiaraos than from Asklepios's, and thus the number of incubation reliefs is correspondingly smaller. Nonetheless, Oropos has produced one of the two most impressive and important reliefs portraying therapeutic incubation, as well as a fragmentary relief that likewise shows an incubation scene. This may also be true of another broken relief that most likely originated at Oropos but was found elsewhere in the region and a problematic relief from the minor *Amphiareion* at Rhamnous.

VIII.2.1 *Oropos Amphiareion*

Amph.-Orop. 1 (Fig. 53)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 3369

Primary publication(s): V. Leonardos, *ArchEph* 1916, 119–120 + fig. 2; Hausmann 1948, 169, No. 31 + fig. 2; van Straten 1981, Appendix A 16.1; *LIMC* 1, “Amphiaraos,” No. 63; Edelmann, *Menschen*, 189, No. B24; Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 209–210, No. 425; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 216, “Oropos 5” + fig. 134, cf. pp. 132–133; Vikela 2015, 223, No. R 27

Additional bibliography: Herzog 1931, 88–91; Petrakos 1968, 122, No. 18 + Pl. 40α; Steinhart 1995, 32–38; Vikela 1997, 218; Petsalis-Diomidis 2006a, 209–210; Sineux 2007a, 167–168, 203–206 *et pass.*; Sineux 2007b, 19–21; Versnel 2011, 405–406; Despinis 2013, 78–79; Ogden 2013, 367–368; Terranova 2013, 300–303

Inscription: Ἀρχῖνος Ἀμφιαράωι ἀνέθηκεν (*I.Oropos* 344 + Pl.)

Description: Full relief with multiple scenes, on the left showing Amphiaraos using an instrument to treat the right shoulder or upper-arm of a male patient (identified in the dedicatory inscription as Archinos), who in the middle is also represented as sleeping at a cult site (as signified by a large *pinax*) while a serpent licks the same area, and who on the right stands and makes a gesture of prayer; atop the frame a pair of eyes, possibly symbolizing that a dream had been seen (see Pp. 273–274n.6)

Discussed/cited: Pp. 215n.239, 219n.252, 223, 258n.370, 272–274, 277n.13, 292, 315n.22



FIGURE 53 *Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1 (Athens, N.M. 3369).*

PHOTO: J. PATRIKIANOS (ATHENS, NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)

Amph.-Orop. 2 (Fig. 54)

Collection: Oropos Mus., no inv. no.

Primary publication(s): Hausmann 1960, 58 + fig. 29; Petrakos 1968, 123, No. 21 + Pl. 41β; Petropoulou 1985, 170, 173, No. 1 + Pl. 1; *LIMC* I, "Amphiaraios," No. 62 (= *LIMC* II, "Asklepios," No. 111); Edelmann, *Menschen*, 244, No. U143; Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 216, "Oropos 2"

Additional bibliography: Sineux 2007a, 206–207; Sineux 2007b, 24–25

Description: Fragment showing a female figure in an upright position on a *klinē* and atop an animal skin while the god, who is missing other than his right hand and left leg, applies his right hand to her head (as per Hausmann and Krauskopf, though Petropoulou and Sineux have concluded that the god is touching her abdomen and perhaps seated)

Discussed/cited: Pp. 258n.370, 282, 287

VIII.2.2 *Modern Kalamos (Oropos, Amphiareion?)*

Amph.-Orop. 3 (Fig. 55)

Collection: 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, no inv. no.



FIGURE 54

Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 2 (Oropos Mus., no inv. no.).

SOURCE: PETRAKOS 1968, PL. 41B (REPRODUCED COURTESY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS)



FIGURE 55

Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 3 (1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, no inv. no.).

PHOTO: 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES

Primary publication(s): E. Gini-Tsofopoulou, *ArchDelt* 50 B1 (1995) [2000], *Chron.* 74–74 + Pl. 34α

Additional bibliography: *EBGR* 1999, 88; Despiniis 2013, 96–97

Inscription: [Ἀμφιαρ?]ῥωι | [---]μος (*SEG* 49, 522)

Description: An elderly couple lying side by side atop a ram skin, while a standing and likely divine female figure faces away from them, towards the missing left half of the relief, as also appears to have been the case for a figure now almost completely lost, and a dog at the foot of the bed likewise turns to the left—a composition that is not typical of incubation reliefs

Discussed/cited: Pp. 258n.370, 282, 287, 630

VIII.2.3 *Rhamnous* Amphiareion

Amph.-Rhamn. 1 (Fig. 56)

Collection: Athens, N.M. 1397+3141

Primary publication(s): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* 11:348, No. 94 + Pl. 58 (N.M. 1397); *LIMC* I, “Amphiaraos,” No. 61 (= *LIMC* I, “Amphilochos,” No. 14) (N.M. 1397); Edelmann, *Menschen*, 235, No. U65 (N.M. 1397); Comella, *Rilievi*



FIGURE 56 *Cat. No. Amph.-Rhamn. 1* (Athens, N.M. 1397 + 3141).

PHOTO: K. XENIKAKIS (ATHENS, NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)

votivi, 220, “Ramnunte 4,” cf. p. 137 + fig. 139 (N.M. 1397); Despinis 2013, 141–144 + figs. 87–89 (N.M. 1397+3141)

Additional bibliography: Petrakos, Δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος I:314–315 + fig. 223 (N.M. 1397); Sineux 2007a, 110–111, 145, 165–166 (N.M. 1397)

Description: Two incomplete halves of a relief, to which a previously unpublished fragment has recently been joined by Despinis,⁶ that was earlier thought to show a “Totenmahl” scene (Svoronos) but is now recognized as a healing scene (e.g., Comella, Sineux, Despinis), with Amphiaraos standing in the right half while a shorter figure stands behind him (probably his son Amphilochos or perhaps the local hero-physician Aristomachos),⁷ the left half showing a man sitting up in bed atop a ram skin while a possibly female figure at the foot of the *klinē* tends to him, and the new fragment now revealing both that directly in front of Amphiaraos there is another patient on a *klinē*—perhaps the same *klinē*, but if so then without the ram skin—and a figure whose body is missing above the waist seated beside him.

Discussed/cited: Pp. 258n.370, 282n.27, 282–283, 287n.36, 293, 631n.13, 634n.2

6 The fragment was thought to come from the Agora, but Despinis has shown this to have been an error in record-keeping.

7 The potential identification of the figure as Aristomachos is undermined by the possibility that the scene pertains to incubation at Oropos rather than Rhamnous (see pp. 293–295).

Incubation Reliefs beyond Attica?

In addition to incubation oracles in Greece, the North Aegean and Asia Minor that are attested reliably, several other cult sites have been suspected of also having been visited by those seeking to engage in divinatory incubation, but in each case the evidence is less than conclusive. In contrast to these sanctuaries that have been linked to incubation by one or more scholars based on problematic archaeological remains or written sources,¹ there are four cases of iconographic evidence that might likewise link a cult to incubation: reliefs possibly showing a dreamer and one or more gods evidently seen in the dream, the interpretation of which is uncertain and subjective.² The earliest of these, a broken dedicatory relief from the late-fifth century BCE that is thought to be Peloponnesian in origin and quite possibly non-Attic in terms of its style, shows a figure lying on the ground beneath the goddess Leto, who is made identifiable by the palm tree behind her.³ Since only the right portion of the relief survives, it is impossible to tell what has been lost from this scene, but it has been suggested that Apollo and Artemis originally occupied the left side.⁴ While there is no reason to doubt that the relief represents a sleeping figure, it is unclear whether the rest of the scene was intended to reflect

1 See Appendix 1.

2 On reliefs with scenes of divine epiphany in dreams, most of which are from the Attic *Asklepieia* and Oropos, see van Straten 1976, 1–6 and van Straten 1993. See also Platt 2011, 31–76 *et pass.*, applying a theoretical approach. Of the reliefs discussed here, only the first and last have previously been associated with incubation, though the second has been interpreted as showing a dream.

3 Louvre Ma 3580 (= Mitropoulou, *Attic Votive Reliefs*, 56, No. 98 + fig. 146 = Hamiaux, *Sculptures grecques* 1:141, No. 134 + photo = Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, 214, “Mantineia 2,” cf. p. 81 + fig. 75 = Vikela 2015, 217, No. L 1 + Pl. 52). In tentatively linking this relief to Mantineia, Annamaria Comella follows Hans Möbius, who noted similarities with the Diotima relief (Athens, N.M. 226 (= Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum* III:662, No. 422 + Pl. 199 = Comella, *ibid.*, 214, “Mantineia 1,” cf. p. 81 + fig. 74)) and suggested the temple of Leto mentioned in Paus. 8.9.1 as a point of origin for both (Möbius 1934, 47–48 (pp. 34–35 of 1967 reprint)). Scholars have been split on whether this relief, which after all was carved from Pentelic marble, was made in Attica: for example, whereas Hamiaux believes it to be an Attic work, Vikela considers its style more likely to be Peloponnesian (Vikela, *ibid.*, 139).

4 This was first suggested by Charles Dugas (Dugas 1910), and generally accepted by later scholars.

the contents of a dream. Ever since the relief was first published, it has been taken for granted by most scholars that it alludes to incubation, despite the fact that its composition is unlike that of any of the known incubation reliefs.⁵ This lack of parallels raises the possibility that even if the relief does represent a god-sent dream it was not deliberately sought at a sanctuary, but since there are no incubation reliefs from the Peloponnesus to serve as comparanda it cannot be ruled out that this is the first to have been found.⁶ However, the relief is no less likely to portray a mythological scene, perhaps a tale in which one or more individuals came under the protection of Leto.⁷ A somewhat similar composition can be found on a dedicatory stele from modern Karacabey, near Miletropolis in Mysia, which dates to the second or third century CE and features a relief of an *aedicula* flanked by a herm and Zeus on a pedestal brandishing a thunderbolt, while a recumbent figure lies at the bottom of the panel (Fig. 57).⁸ Unlike the Leto relief, this one bears an inscription which reveals that the dedication was made in compliance with a divine command, though the medium of communication is unspecified: “Tiberius Claudius Syntrophus dedicated this to Zeus Hypsistos Brontaios according to a command from his own resources” (Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Σύντροφος Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν ἐκ τῶ<ν> ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν | Βρονταίῳ). The combination of an apparently sleeping figure, an *aedicula*, a cult statue, and a herm possibly representing a boundary marker points to dream-divination in a temple context. However, the relief does not necessarily show the contents of the dream:

- 5 Dugas first proposed incubation, mainly depending on unreliable sources (Dugas 1910, 238–239). Those who have accepted this conclusion (or reached it themselves) include: Möbius (*supra*, n. 3); van Straten 1976, 4–5 (suggesting that Apollo was the god from whom dreams were solicited); Hamiaux (*supra*, n. 3) (assuming that the sleeping person is ill and seeking a dream of the Apollinian triad); and Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, pp. 80–82. The early dissenting view of Ludwig Curtius, who instead proposed that the object was a funerary relief and the sleeping figure a slave in a garden (Curtius 1923–24, 485), was disputed by Möbius, *ibid.*, 47n.6 (p. 34n.13 of reprint). See also Vikela 2015, 148–149, noting the difference from conventional incubation reliefs.
- 6 Comella has argued that the relief’s distinctive composition may be attributed to regional variation, since Peloponnesian reliefs tended to emphasize divinities rather than worshipers to a much greater degree than Attic reliefs, and for this reason it does not conform to traditional Attic incubation reliefs (see Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, p. 82).
- 7 See Vikela 2015, 139–140, suggesting the possibility that the figure may be one of the two Niobids whom Leto saved.
- 8 Istanbul, A.M. Inv. No. 3 (= LIMC VIII, “Zeus (in peripheria orientali),” No. 141 + photo; inscription *I.Kyzikos* II 5 + Pl. 3). I am grateful to Fritz Graf for sharing his insights into this dedication.



FIGURE 57

Imperial-period stele from area of Miletopolis (Mysia) dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos Brontaios, showing a figure lying down in a cult site (Istanbul, A.M. Inv. No. 3).

PHOTO: İSTANBUL ARKEOLOJİ MÜZESİ

although it has been suggested that the dedicant dreamed of the cult statue of Zeus, it is perhaps more likely that the statue is shown as a way of indicating where the dream was received.⁹

Similarly ambiguous is an inscribed Hellenistic relief from a site south of the town of Kos linked to the Graces, which in the foreground shows a small, male figure reclining in a cave, while the rest of the field is filled by the towering figures of four goddesses, most likely a combination of Nymphs and Graces.¹⁰ Bearing a dedicatory inscription to the latter, “Daikrates son of

9 See van Straten 1976, 5–6, 15 (instead associating the herm with the role of Hermes as bringer of wealth). Given the emphasis placed on the epithet *Brontaios*, it is worth considering that the dream—if the formula κατ’ ἐπιταγήν does indeed refer to one—might have featured a lightning strike, not unlike Xenophon’s dream of a bolt hitting his father’s house (Xen., *Anab.* 3.1.11–12); however, this possibility may be undermined by the fact that incubation was a means of consulting a god directly rather than receiving a symbolic dream.

10 Kos, no inv. no.; see G. Konstantinopoulos, *ArchDelt* 23 B2 (1968), *Chron.* 449 + Pl. 416β (= Edwards 1985, 851–856, No. 99 + Pl. 45 = *LIMC* III, “Charis, Charites,” No. 42 = Vikela 2015, 228, No. R 83 + Pl. 68; inscription *IG* XII.4, 2, 519). While van Straten identified the four goddesses as Graces (van Straten 1976, 1), the fact that this would be an unprecedented number, combined with their iconography and the presence of a small head of Pan in the background, led to Evelyn B. Harrison’s suggestion, approvingly noted in *IG*, that there are

Pasias, to the Charites" (Δαίχρατης Πασία Χαρίσιν), the relief has been interpreted as either the representation of a dream this worshiper received in a sacred cave,¹¹ or Dionysos as a child.¹² However, even if the interpretation of this relief as showing a dream is correct, F.T. van Straten's tentative suggestion that the dedication might be evidence for therapeutic or divinatory incubation being practiced at the site, though certainly plausible, need not be accepted.¹³ While there is limited evidence for the Graces having been among the many divinities who sometimes healed ailing worshipers,¹⁴ and the example of the *Charonion* shows that sacred caves as well as buildings could be used for incubation,¹⁵ it is impossible to know whether Daikrates's dream—if that

two Graces and two Nymphs in the scene and that there was a close association of the two groups of goddesses at the site where this relief was dedicated (Harrison 1986, 200, 202). Charles M. Edwards noted that the break on the right side of the relief might conceal the original presence of a fifth goddess, leading him to propose that there were most likely two Graces and three Nymphs (Edwards 1985, 854–855), a conclusion followed by Jennifer Larson in her study of the Nymphs (Larson 2001, 206). Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, however, has proposed that three of the goddesses are indeed Graces, but the fourth represents Asia (Pirenne-Delforge 1996, 208–214, citing *LSCG* 151D, l. 11 (= *IG* XII.4, 1, 275); see also Paul 2013, 162–163). This site's link to the Graces was strengthened by the discovery of another relief to them (Kos museum, no inv. no. (= Edwards 1985, 841–850, No. 98 + Pl. 45 = *LIMC* III, "Charis, Charites," No. 24; inscription *IG* XII.4, 2, 515). For the Charites and Nymphs on Kos, see Sherwin-White 1978, 328–329 and Paul, *ibid.*, 161–163 *et pass.*

11 See van Straten 1976, 1–2 (with photo). Konstantinopoulos, who first published the relief (*supra*, n. 10), identified the figure in the cave as Daikrates, but did not suggest that a dream was involved.

12 The figure was identified as a "half-draped male child" by Harrison, who indicates no awareness of the interpretation of this scene as a dream-vision (*supra*, n. 10). Edwards and later Larson, who both do entertain van Straten's interpretation, note that the iconography is reminiscent of scenes featuring the infant Dionysos in a grotto (Edwards 1985, 854; Larson 2001, 206). There are, in fact, a number of artistic representations of the very young Dionysos in the company of Nymphs, sometimes along with other divinities as well, both within caves and in other settings (see *LIMC* III, "Dionysos," Nos. 674–707, especially Nos. 682–685), and while there is no precise parallel for the Daikrates relief among them—most notably, the Graces were not typically represented, though their presence in this relief can be attributed to the fact that it appears to have been dedicated at their shrine—the interpretation of Edwards and Larson is plausible. Thus the fact that an alternative to van Straten's interpretation exists should be given due consideration by those who treat the relief as rare iconographical evidence for dreams.

13 van Straten 1976, 20.

14 See, e.g., the second-century BCE altar from Delos dedicated to the Graces by someone cured (θεράπευ[θείς]) by them (*I.Delos* 2449; see Bruneau 1970, 59–60).

15 On the *Charonion*, see Chapter 4.3.

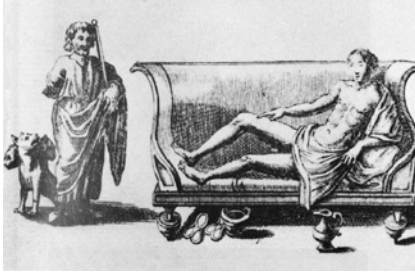


FIGURE 58

Sketch of relief, now broken and held in two museum collections, that has been unconvincingly associated with incubation in the cult of Sarapis, instead appearing to represent Hades (Budapest, Fine Arts Mus. Inv. No. 4828 + Vatican storerooms, no inv. no.).

SOURCE: DEHN 1913, FIG. 4

is the right interpretation of the relief—was deliberately solicited, let alone whether this was a routine practice at the site. Moreover, since nothing in the relief or inscription alludes to healing, a dream about some other matter seems more likely. Another relief linked by van Straten to therapeutic incubation can almost certainly be dismissed: an unprovenienced relief that he interpreted as showing an “emaciated patient” trying to sit up on his couch to welcome “the apparition of the divine healer,” whom he identifies as Sarapis from the presence of Cerberus next to him (Fig. 58).¹⁶ Although Sarapis was indeed accompanied by Cerberus in many artistic works due to his own association with Osiris and thus Hades/Pluto—and also in dreams, as is revealed by Artemidorus¹⁷—the figure in this relief lacks the god’s typical iconographic traits, and is best identified as Hades/Pluto, as Hekler and Kaschnitz-Weinberg had both concluded. It is also doubtful that, as van Straten indicated, the human figure on the couch was sick, though an obvious alternative explanation of the relief does not present itself. However, if van Straten is correct, a potential parallel would be Aelian’s reference to the comic poet Theopompos giving Asklepios a relief after previously having been “worn away and reduced by consumption,”¹⁸ and perhaps also the Posidippus epigram composed as a dedicatory text for a bronze

16 The relief is now incomplete and survives in two parts, the left portion preserved in Budapest (Budapest, Fine Arts Mus. Inv. No. 4828 (= Hekler, *Sammlung Budapest*, 142–144, No. 136 + Pl.)) and the right at the Vatican (Vatican storerooms, no inv. no. (= Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture*, 184–185, No. 405 + Pl. 75)), though it was first recorded as a full relief (see Dehn 1913, 399–403 + figs. 3–6; see also Tran tam Timh 1983, 92–93, No. IA 7 + figs. 299a–b). For the interpretation of the relief as showing Sarapis, see Van Straten 1981, 98 + fig. 42 and Hornbostel 1973, 22n.3, the latter citing it as evidence that Sarapis was a healer akin to Asklepios. (I am grateful to Richard Veymiers and Laurent Bricault for their views on this relief.)

17 Artem. 5.92 (see p. 390n.156).

18 Ael., frag. 102, ed. Domingo-Forasté; quoted pp. 219–220n.257.

statue of a skeletal figure given to Apollo by a physician.¹⁹ While the relief's interpretation remains elusive, it should not be considered a representation of Sarapis visiting a suffering worshiper, nor a parallel for incubation reliefs from the cult of Asklepios, as van Straten implies. Perhaps the clue is to be found not in the god's identity, but in the human's practically skeletal figure, which is reminiscent of one of the figures at the center of the (possibly) Hermetic-themed mosaic from the tomb of Cornelia Urbanilla at Lambiridi.²⁰

Whether or not this and the other three reliefs do represent incubation, they raise an important issue: since the only demonstrable incubation reliefs come from Attica and Oropos (which, though Boeotian, was under Athenian influence), we do not know what incubation reliefs from other parts of the Greek world would have looked like.²¹ Coming from sites on the Peloponnesus, Asia Minor, and an island off its coast, these reliefs each represent a local artistic style—and there is no particular reason to expect that incubation reliefs outside of Attica would have been indistinguishable from the ones found there in terms of their composition. Moreover, the reliefs from the cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos show scenes of therapeutic incubation, which understandably would represent the god in the immediate proximity of a worshiper and either tending to him or her or observing as another divinity did so, but divinatory incubation is likely to have been represented differently, with the god close to but not touching the worshiper. It is therefore possible that at least one of these reliefs, and perhaps even all of them, reflects that a worshiper had engaged in incubation, and a local sculptor had represented this in a manner typical of that region. However, even if none of them was given in the aftermath of successful incubation it is still worth considering whether incubation scenes would have been homogenous or varied according to regional styles.

19 Posidipp. 95, eds. Austin/Bastianini; see Klooster 2009, especially pp. 67–68, and and Di Nino 2010, 205–215; cf. Bing 2009, 218n.5 (pp. 276–277n.5 of 2004 version). See Papalexandrou 2004, 255–258, proposing as a parallel for the Posidippus epigram a bronze statuette of an emaciated man, a Roman copy of a Hellenistic original that might have been given as a gift to a healing god (Dumbarton Oaks 47.22 (= Richter, *Dumbarton Oaks*, 32–35, No. 17 + Pl. 14)).

20 Dunbabin 1978, 264, “Lambiridi 1” + Pl. 54, fig. 138, cf. pp. 139–140 (= Benseddik 2010, 11:149–151, No. 1 + Pl. 71); but see Grmek/Gourevitch 1998, 152–155, arguing that the mosaic represents Hippocrates in legendary form.

21 For the geographical distribution of Archaic and Classical dedicatory reliefs, the majority of which were found in Attica or are of Attic origin, see Comella, *Rilievi votivi*, pp. 159–160, drawing from her geographically arranged catalog (pp. 189–228).

Problems Concerning the Early Cult and Oracle of Amphiaraos

Due to conflicting and incomplete sources, including internal contradictions in the works of both Strabo and Pausanias, there are a number of problems concerning the location and relationship of cult sites devoted to Amphiaraos, especially the Theban and Oropian sites that were most important in the history of the cult, and despite the existence of some valuable treatments of the subject the complex issues surrounding the cult's development have not been fully evaluated.¹ Several scholars over the years have held the position that the Oropos *Amphiareion*, located in a border zone between Boeotia and Attica that changed hands multiple times, was the god's original cult site and therefore would have been the oracular sanctuary that according to Herodotus on different occasions was consulted from afar by Croesus and visited by Mys (and also was alluded to by Aeschylus and possibly Pindar), but a Theban setting for these episodes and the cult's origin is preferable.² While a general—though not universal—consensus for this Theban setting has emerged, there are still a number of uncertainties associated with the nature, location and duration

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- 1 The best treatment of the cult's origins and development is Sineux 2007a, recently joined by Terranova 2013, another monograph-length treatment that also features helpful appendices devoted to reproducing the literary, epigraphical and papyrological *testimonia*; see also Bearzot 1987 and Terranova 2008, both addressing many of the pertinent issues, and the brief but important discussion in Parker 1996, 146–149.
 - 2 Hdt. 1.46, 49, 52 (Croesus), 8.133–134 (Mys); see pp. 102–104. Aeschylus/Pindar: see below. For arguments favoring Oropos as the original oracular site, see Schachter 1981–94, 1:22–23 (with earlier references to both sides of the debate); cf. Schachter 1989, 76–77. In contrast, Theban territory has been more widely favored, most notably by Vasileios Petrakos, author of the most important study of the sanctuary and editor of the site's inscriptions (Petrakos 1968, 66–67; cf. Petrakos 1995, 12; *I.Oropos*, pp. 487–511 implicitly reflects this view by omitting the Herodotus passages from the list of testimonies for Oropos). In recent decades this position has also been held by a number of scholars: Symeonoglou 1985a, 108, 136, 177–178 and Symeonoglou 1985b, 157–158; Petropoulou 1985, 176; Bearzot 1987, 88–95; Parker 1996, 146–149; Gorrini 2002–03, 180; Sineux 2007a, 68–72, 217; Terranova 2008, 170–172, 180–181, 185–187 *et pass.* and Terranova 2013, 107–113, 136–137; and de Polignac 2011, 96–97, 104–105. However, the position favoring Oropos still persists (*e.g.*, Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 448–449, s.v. “Oropos” (M.H. Hansen), Ustinova 2002, 268 and Ustinova 2009, 96).

of the Theban cult site as well as this site's relationship with the more famous Oropos sanctuary, and these bear exploration, especially due to the cult's apparently unparalleled evolution from one with divinatory incubation as its focus to one giving at least equal prominence to therapeutic incubation.

The best and earliest evidence for the Theban cult site has only recently been published, but its significance is not yet fully recognized: an epigram first inscribed c. 500 BCE that indirectly attests to Croesus's consultation, since it refers to the apparent theft and recovery of the golden shield he had given Amphiaraos.³ Though of interest for a number of reasons, it is especially significant that the epigram supports Herodotus's description of one of Croesus's gifts to Amphiaraos and confirms that this was to be seen in Thebes at the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios.⁴ Although its editor Nikolaos Papazarkadas follows Schachter's position that Croesus's representative had visited Oropos rather than Thebes (while accepting the possibility of two sites devoted to Amphiaraos),⁵ this position cannot easily be accepted without an explanation for why Croesus's gifts, the golden shield and matching spear, would not then have been kept at Oropos instead of the distant *Ismeneion*.⁶ Due to the epigram's attesting that these objects were kept at the *Ismeneion* roughly a half-century before Herodotus placed them there, it now appears clear that Croesus's consultation was undertaken at Amphiaraos's original Theban site, but that his valuable gifts could not be displayed there and instead for multiple reasons were to be seen at Apollo's sanctuary.⁷

3 BE 2015, 306; see Papazarkadas 2014, 233–247, the *editio princeps* of this important inscription which dates to the late-sixth or early-fifth century BCE but was reinscribed in the fourth century BCE. [See Addendum on p. 676.]

4 Hdt. 1.52. For the sanctuary's remains, see Faraklas 1996, 52–57; cf. Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 113 and Friese 2010, 370, Cat. No. 1.1.1.7.

5 Papazarkadas 2014, 246, also implicitly associating Mardonios's consultation (Hdt. 8.134) with Oropos.

6 Papazarkadas envisions a scenario in which the gifts were stolen from Oropos and, since the Thebans were not allowed to consult Amphiaraos themselves (see n. 26), the oracle of Apollo Ismenios was instead consulted regarding the shield's theft, and following its return both objects were transferred to the *Ismeneion* (see Papazarkadas 2014, 245–247). Though plausible, the simpler explanation is that the spear and shield were never at Oropos; moreover, there seems no reason why the shield could not have been stolen from the *Ismeneion* itself, if Croesus's gifts were originally displayed there rather than at Amphiaraos's shrine.

7 Even before the epigram's discovery and publication there had been a long debate regarding Herodotus's report of having seen the gifts at the *Ismeneion*. The reason for these gifts being seen at Apollo's sanctuary rather than Amphiaraos's has been the subject of occasional speculation over the years, none of it fully convincing. For example, Schachter has argued that

A related problem is where to locate the Theban site, which has not been found and thus must be identified through a study of the literary sources and local topography. According to Strabo, originally there was an *Amphiareion* located in an area in Theban territory called Knopia, from which the cult of Amphiaraos relocated to the vicinity of Oropos, most likely in obedience to an unidentified god's oracle: "To this place [*i.e.*, Oropos] the *Amphiareion* was relocated from Theban Knopia, according to an oracle" (ἐκ Κνωπίας δὲ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς μεθιδρύθη κατὰ χρησμὸν δεῦρο τὸ Ἀμφιαρ<ά>ειον).⁸ While the location

these gifts were in the *Ismeneion* because the Thebans had sacked the Oropos *Amphiareion* and then dedicated the spoils at their own sanctuary (Schachter 1981–94, 1:21–22), a suggestion that would only be acceptable if Croesus had consulted Amphiaraos at Oropos instead of Thebes. However, putting aside the fact that this new epigram predates even the earliest reliable archaeological evidence for the Oropos *Amphiareion*, the only known sacking of Oropos by Thebes postdates Herodotus's death, by which time these gifts had long been at the *Ismeneion* (Diod. Sic. 14.17.1–3, a 402 BCE capture and forced relocation; also pertinent is Thuc. 8.60.1, a Boeotian seizure by treachery in winter 412/11 BCE; see Bearzot 1987, 85–88). Sarantis Symeonoglou subsequently suggested that since Amphiaraos's Theban oracle was at an open-air sanctuary—assuming that this and Pausanias's shrine (see below) were one and the same—it would have been natural to store the god's gifts at a nearby temple, which would be especially true of gifts as valuable as the golden shield and spear from Croesus (Symeonoglou 1985a, 108 and Symeonoglou 1985b, 157). This is certainly plausible: while the Greeks would routinely display offerings in cult sites that were not secure and expect these to remain untouched due to religious scruples—as Diodorus indicated when describing the sanctuary of Hemitheia as "filled with the dedications of many who have been saved since earlier eras, and these are protected by neither guards nor a secure wall, but rather by customary awe of the divine" (Diod. Sic. 5.63.3; quoted in Chapter 4.4)—particularly valuable gifts such as Croesus's might have been moved to a more prudent location. Indeed, as the epigram reveals, the gifts were not even safe at the *Ismeneion*, and an open-air shrine beside a road leading into and away from the city would have been considerably more vulnerable to theft. It seems best to conclude, therefore, that Croesus tested Amphiaraos's oracle at Thebes and subsequently rewarded the divinity with a kingly gift, which due to the sanctuary's physical nature were kept elsewhere in the city, with Apollo Ismenios's sanctuary being chosen at least in part because, as proposed by Sineux and independently recognized by Papazarkadas, there was a close association between Amphiaraos and Apollo at Thebes (Sineux 2007a, 196; Papazarkadas, *ibid.*, 242). Such an arrangement would have been well in keeping with Greek custom, since it was common to make dedications to one god at another's sanctuary. (Regardless of the precise circumstances, the new epigram demonstrates that Thomas K. Hubbard was incorrect to conclude that the storage of Amphiaraos's gifts at the *Ismeneion* by Herodotus's day was a sign of the oracle's decline, since it shows that the gifts were already there as much as a century before (see Hubbard 1993, 201n.32).)

8 Strabo 9.2.10, p. 404 (= p. 111:40, ed. Radt). The manuscripts differ regarding whether μεθιδρύθη or the synonymous μετῴκησθαι was employed. More importantly, with the exception of

of Knopia, believed to have been a Theban suburb just south of the *Kadmeia* (i.e., the ancient city's center) and roughly a half-kilometer from the *Ismeneion*, appears to have been identified, there is greater uncertainty over precisely where Amphiaraos's shrine would have been.⁹ The one clue comes from

Petrakos 1968, 66, discussions of this passage have generally overlooked the fact that the phrase *κατὰ χρησμών* is not to be found in the primary manuscript, which raises a question of reliability. According to Stefan Radt's edition, the two words are missing ("deperditae") from the tenth-century ms. A—a problem evidently attributable to mice, with the attempt to repair the damage and restore missing text to the manuscript leaving a gap of approximately twelve letters, as is indicated in Raoul Baladié's Budé edition. The restoration of *κατὰ χρησμών* comes not from another manuscript of the text, but rather a *Chrestomathy* of Strabo preserved in the ninth-century ms. X, where the same language used to describe the relocation from Knopia to Oropos is instead associated with an otherwise unknown temple of Amphiaraos at Tanagra that was transplanted there from "Nopia": *ὅτι τὸ Ἀμφιαράου ἱερὸν ἐν Τανάγρα ἔστι τῆς Βοιωτίας· ἐκ Νωπίας δὲ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς μεθιδρύθη κατὰ χρησμών δεῦρο* (*Chrest. Strabo* 9, No. 11, p. 111 *verso* (= p. 1x:296, ed. Radt)). Since the cult of Amphiaraos cannot have relocated to both Tanagra and Oropos, it is clear that the *Chrestomathy* was in error, with Tanagra—which does get mentioned by Strabo just before—having been mistakenly copied instead of Oropos. The *Chrestomathy* therefore may indeed represent evidence that an oracle was issued regarding the cult's establishment at Oropos, and may have been rightly used by Radt and past editors to emend Strabo 9.2.10 with *κατὰ χρησμών*, but due to this problem in the manuscript tradition we cannot be certain that this was the case. (See Roller 1989, 139–140, 151, in which the *Chrestomathy* is treated as a "late and weak" source for a Tanagran temple of Amphiaraos, though only entertained as a possibility because of the Tanagran traditions regarding Amphiaraos and nearby Harma (for Harma, see p. 672n.29).)

If there was indeed an oracular pronouncement preceding the cult's move to Oropos, as would certainly be likely because such a move would not have been undertaken without divine sanction, it should not be automatically assumed that Amphiaraos himself was the god who issued the oracle, since this might have been done by Delphic Apollo, as was suggested by Sineux (Sineux 2007a, 196), or another oracular god. Moreover, if the Oropos site was established in response to an oracle by another god, it would stand to reason that the oracular pronouncement may well have prompted the hero Amphiaraos's promotion to godhood, especially if it is significant that Pausanias refers to him having first appeared at Oropos as a god (Paus. 1.34.4; quoted p. 288). It is tempting to associate this oracle and the subsequent establishment of Amphiaraos's healing practice with a consultation made during the height of the Periclean Plague, though there are reasons to conclude that this was not the case (see p. 104); moreover, as discussed below, the Oropos site might already have been established by that time.

- 9 On Knopia, see Symeonoglou 1985a, 12, 109, 146 (cf. Symeonoglou 1985b, 157–158) and Sineux 2007a, 67, 70–71, 77; for Knopia's approximate location, see Symeonoglou 1985a, Map A (1–15) and Rosenberger 2001, 138, fig. 14. See also Olivieri 2011, 86n.199 for the speculative suggestion that the name "Knopia" was derived from "serpent" (κνώψ), and thus could be connected to Amphiaraos's hero cult.

Pausanias, who records that, “For those going from Potniai to Thebes there is on the right side of the road an enclosed area of moderate size that contains columns; they believe that at this spot the earth opened up for Amphiaraios” (ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ποτνιαίων ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ περίβολός τε οὐ μέγας καὶ κίονες ἐν αὐτῷ· διασπῆναι δὲ Ἀμφιαράω τὴν γῆν ταύτη νομίζουσιν).¹⁰ Based on the known location of Potniai, which has been identified as the site of the modern village of Tákhi two kilometers south of the city center, and the estimated location of Knopia, it is possible to retrace Pausanias’s footsteps and hypothesize where the shrine may have been located, and thus in turn the setting for the myth of Amphiaraios and his chariot being swallowed up, as has occasionally been done.¹¹

Whether the site in Knopia was indeed the location of Amphiaraios’s first incubation shrine as well as for how long Amphiaraios issued oracles on Theban territory—if he indeed ever did so—are two related questions that

10 Paus. 9.8.3.

11 On Potniai, see Symeonoglou 1985a, 174–176 and Fossey 1988, 208–210, and Papadaki 2000 for recent excavations. Excavations by Antonios Keramopoulos nearly a century ago brought to light ruins and minor finds in this area that he thought belonged to this shrine (see Keramopoulos 1917, 261–266), but this identification is no longer accepted (see Petrakos 1968, 66 and Faraklas 1996, 15–17). According to a later proposal, the modern church of Agios Nikolaos may mark the spot of the Amphiaraios shrine, since it stands to the right of the road when one is approaching the city and is situated in a depression that might have been associated with the myth of the earth opening up to receive him and his chariot during the fighting before the walls of Thebes (Symeonoglou, *ibid.*, 177–178; Symeonoglou 1985b, 158). Nikolas Faraklas subsequently opted for a location roughly a half-kilometer to the south of this church, in a sunken area between the modern Pouloupoulou and Aischylou streets (see Faraklas, *ibid.*, 24–25 + fig. 1).

For the myth of Amphiaraios being swallowed up, the art representing this, and the location and nature of the site, see Sineux 2007a, 59–68 and Terranova 2013, 57–58, 67–82, 137n.142. In one standard telling of the myth this occurred in the vicinity of the Ismenos River (Ἀμφιαράω δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰσμηνόν) (Ps.-Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.6.8), which flowed past Thebes to the east, roughly two hundred meters from the Kadmeia and nearly three hundred meters from Knopia. The evidence therefore indicates that this disappearance would not have been by the banks of the river, but rather some distance off. (A *scholium* to Nicander provides “Knopos” as an alternative name for the river and says that it flows through a settlement also named Knopos: Σχοινεὺς δὲ καὶ Κνώπος οἱ δύο ποταμοὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰσὶ. Κνώπος δὲ ὁ Ἰσμηνὸς εἴρηται, ἀπὸ Κνώπου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πόλις Κνώπος, δι’ ἧς φέρεται ὁ Ἰσμηνὸς ποταμός (*schol.* Nic., *Ther.* 887–888). It is possible, however, that this name only applied to the segment of the river in this area between Thebes and Potniai. For the *scholium*’s pertinence to the topographical issue, see Wallace 1979, 47, Bearzot 1987, 92–93, Terranova 2008, 172 and Terranova, *ibid.*, 137n.142; see also Symeonoglou, *ibid.*, Map A, showing Potnia at F-20 and the source of the Ismenos at L-18.)

likewise cannot be answered with certainty.¹² Homer's statement that Amphiaraios died "at Thebes" (ἐν Θήβῃσι) shows how far back his association with that city goes, but the poet says nothing of an oracle.¹³ Aeschylus in the *Seven Against Thebes* of 467 BCE, on the other hand, does allude to one, having the doomed hero predict that "I myself will enrich this land, a diviner hidden beneath enemy soil" (ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πικρὴν χθονά / μάντις κεκευθὼς πολέμιας ὑπὸ χθονός), but gives no further information.¹⁴ Writing two decades later, Pindar may refer to Amphiaraios issuing oracles in a setting that must be at Thebes, but the ambiguous passage makes no reference to the cult site at which they were issued.¹⁵ Other sources referring to an oracle of Amphiaraios

12 The related issues of when incubation was first practiced in the cult of Amphiaraios as well as when he first became a healer have most recently been discussed in Terranova 2008 and Terranova 2013, 110–113, 122–126.

13 Hom., *Od.* 15.247.

14 Aesch., *Sept.* 587–588; see Sineux 2007a, 62–63 on this passage.

15 The controversial passage in question permits two readings, according to one of which the poet alludes to Amphiaraios, rather than his son Alkmaon, issuing oracles at Thebes in Pindar's time (Pind., *Pyth.* 8.55–60):

τοιαῦτα μὲν.

ἐφθέγγεατ' Ἀμφιάροιο. χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός.
Ἄλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ραίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνω,
γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν.
ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γὰρ ὀμφαλὸν παρ' αἰδιδίμον,
μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάπατο συγγόνοισι τέχναις.

Such matters.

Amphiaraios pronounced. And rejoicing, I myself,
toss wreaths at Alkmaon and shower him with hymning,
since, neighbor and protector of my possessions,
he met me heading towards the world's navel, known from song,
and, prophesying, he engaged in his ancestral art.

These cryptic verses, made deceptively easy to decipher because of their seemingly straightforward syntax, have traditionally been thought to refer to an encounter between Pindar and Alkmaon, possibly in a dream but more likely a waking epiphany (see Currie 2005, 58–59, with references; cf. de Polignac 2010, 168), even though a *scholium* identifies Amphiaraios as Pindar's "neighbor" (*schol.* Pind., *Pyth.* 8.78b, ed. Drachmann). However, Hubbard has shown that it is instead possible to read this as a reference to an encounter with Amphiaraios (Hubbard 1993, followed by D'Alessio 1994, 135–136 at n. 60 and Olivieri 2011, 82–87), though this is not accepted by all (see Van 't Wout 2006, especially pp. 11–12, following Pfeijffer 1999, 540–550, especially 542–545, and Robbins 1997, 273). Though by no means certain, Hubbard's arguments are plausible, especially if one takes the mention of σύγγονοι τέχναις not as a reference to Alkmaon having inherited divinatory

at Thebes are no more specific, with none naming Knopia or another area. The only source explicitly linking Amphiaraios's oracle to the site of his disappearance is a passage in Strabo that refers to the Oropos *Amphiareion*, rather than the Knopia site, as "an oracle that was honored in former times" (τετιμημένον ποτὲ μαντεῖον) located where, in the words of Sophocles, "The Theban dust, broken open, received (Amphiaraios) with his very weapons and four-horse chariot" (ἐδέξατο ῥαγείσα Θηβαία κόνις, / αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ).¹⁶ This and Strabo's comment about Amphiaraios's oracle relocating from Knopia to Oropos are incompatible, since either the oracle did make this move (*i.e.*, away from the place where the hero had disappeared into the ground), or Oropos—despite multiple literary sources pointing to the

abilities that, in contrast to those of his brother Amphilochos, are otherwise unattested, but rather to Amphiaraios's coming from a family of diviners that also included Melampus and Polyphidos (see Sineux 2007a, 30–32 on the family background; see also Hubbard, *ibid.*, 195–196, emphasizing that Alkmaon in myth had no divinatory abilities). Moreover, as Hubbard shows, a sudden switch in subject is not unusual in Pindar's syntax, and has numerous parallels (Hubbard, *ibid.*, 199–200). Since the Theban poet refers to the hero as "neighbor and protector of my possessions" he must be alluding to a cult site—and since the poem is thought to date to 446 BCE it would indicate that Amphiaraios's Theban sanctuary was still extant and active at this time, if Hubbard's reading is correct. As argued by Hubbard, Pindar's seemingly inexplicable comments regarding the encounter might have been deliberately intended to highlight this very fact: "It seems . . . that Pindar would show the contemporary relevance of the myth's Amphiaraios oracle by declaring that Amphiaraios is still a divine presence in the vicinity of Thebes, actively making prophecies to people, foreign attempts to appropriate him notwithstanding" (Hubbard, *ibid.*, p. 202). (If Hubbard's analysis of Pindar's motivation is correct, it would mean that the Oropos *Amphiareion* had already been established, since the other sites linked to Amphiaraios are not known to have been oracular.)

- 16 Strabo 9.1.22, quoting Soph., *TrGF* IV, frag. 958. In contrast, Aristides links the site of the chariot's disappearance to a sanctuary of Amphiaraios, but without mentioning the oracle or the site's precise location: "But Amphiaraios, having sunk underground along with his chariot, is sung of as a revered hero, and the place that received him will be a sacred precinct for him hereafter" (ἀλλ' Ἀμφιάραος δὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄρματι σεμνὸς ἥρως ἄδεταί, καὶ ὁ δεξιόμενος τόπος τέμενος εἶναι δύναται τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ) (Aristid., *Or.* 25.60). Further confusing matters is Strabo's reference to the Oropos sanctuary as "an oracle that was honored in former times"—a statement that would have been true of the Theban site, whereas the *Amphiareion* had remained active into Roman times, as Pausanias shows. (However, since most of the dedicatory inscriptions from the sanctuary were given before the second century BCE there might have been a decline and subsequent revival, with the latter phase not reflected in the epigraphical record. Such a decline quite likely would have been linked to the broader problems being faced by Oropos in the mid-second century BCE (on which see Petrakos 1968, 37–41).)

outskirts of Thebes—was always the site of both Amphiaraos's mythic disappearance into the earth and his oracle. It is also incompatible with the evidence of Pausanias, even with this author presenting two contradictory claims: without naming Knopia (or mentioning an oracle) he appears to refer to it when describing the small enclosure on the road from Thebes to Potniai where "the earth opened up for Amphiaraos,"¹⁷ but in his main discussion of the Oropos *Amphiareion*, apparently following the tradition of an unspecified group (φασι) that is distinguished from common opinion (λέγεται), he locates the disappearance of Amphiaraos and his chariot not at Oropos, but rather at the place named Harma (*i.e.*, "Chariot") on a road leading from Thebes to Chalkis, in the opposite direction from both Knopia and Oropos (λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράω φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστήναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑπεδέξατο· πλὴν οὐ ταύτῃ συμβῆναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα Ἄρμα καλούμενον).¹⁸ Adding to the complexity of the problem is the question

17 Paus. 9.8.3; quoted pp. 663–664.

18 Paus. 1.34.2. The use of both λέγεται and φασι raises the possibility of Pausanias alluding to different sources, perhaps reflecting rival claims that were politically motivated. See p. 672n.29 for Harma, and for the road to Chalkis, see Symeonoglou 1985a, Map A (Q-5) and fig. 5.1. Plutarch appears to support this version, since he tells of an eagle grabbing Amphiaraos's spear the day before the battle and dropping it at the place where the hero disappeared, which came to be called Harma, and must have been in reasonably close proximity to Thebes (Plut., *Parall. Graec. et Rom.* 6 (= *Mor.* 307A)). In a later source for this episode, Philostratus's description of a real or imagined painting of Amphiaraos, the author states that the hero was swallowed up fleeing Thebes so that he could give prophecies in Attica (*i.e.*, Oropos) (ὡς μαντεύοιτο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ), and although he does not explicitly indicate whether this scene was set at Oropos, Harma or the outskirts of Thebes, the presence of a personification of Oropos certainly suggests that Philostratus thought Amphiaraos's chariot had vanished there (Philostr., *Imag.* 1.27; quoted p. 312). This can also be inferred from Philostratus's subsequent statement, that of the seven captains leading the attack on Thebes only Amphiaraos and Adrastus (see p. 673n.29) were not received by Kadmeian (*i.e.*, Theban) earth (τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἡ Καδμεία κατέσχευε).

Strabo 9.1.22, following a tradition comparable to the one found in Aeschylus, clearly associates Amphiaraos's being swallowed up by the earth with the eventual site of his oracle—a development for which there is no evidence at the other communities claiming to have been the true location of this event, none of which is known to have had an oracular shrine. Writing before Strabo, Cicero appears to have followed the same tradition, and perhaps even consciously echoed Aeschylus, by assigning the oracle to the place where Amphiaraos disappeared: "In reputation Amphiaraos was so honored in Greece that he is held to be a god, and oracles are sought from the soil in which he was buried" (*Amphiaraum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae deus ut haberetur, atque ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracula peterentur*) (Cic., *Div.* 1.88). Cicero seems to have been stretching the meaning of *humare*, which was used for burial in the earth but not disappearing

of whether Strabo had wrongly assumed that the location of the “Theban dust” was identical to that of the Oropos *Amphiareion* because of an insufficient knowledge of history: his very next sentence states that “Oropos has repeatedly found itself in a disputed area, for it sits in the boundary zone of Attica and Boeotia” (Ὠρωπὸς δ’ ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ γεγένηται πολλάκις· ἵδρυται γάρ ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας), and it is possible that he was unaware that in Sophocles’s day Oropos had previously been an Eretrian possession and then an Athenian one but, depending on the date of the lost play that he quotes, probably had not yet been controlled by Thebes.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the sources

into it, and Amphiaraos clearly was not believed to have been entombed at Oropos, or anywhere else (*TLL* VI.3, 3119–3121, s.v. “humo”; see Pease 1920–23, 1:252 on this passage (though overlooking Aeschylus)). However, Valerius Maximus, in a strange passage that appears to be partly derived from Cicero, not only echoes this language by means of the same verb, but also adds a reference to Amphiaraos’s ashes being venerated at his oracular temple, which is incompatible with the myth of his having been swallowed up and become divine, and can only be valid if an alternate myth existed in which Amphiaraos was struck by lightning:

Eadem gens summo consensus ad Amphiaraum decorandum incubuit, locum quo humatus est in formam condicionemque templi redigendo atque inde oracula capi instituendo; cuius cineres idem honoris possident quod Pythicae cortinae, quod atheno Dodonae, quod Hammonis fonti datur (Val. Max. 8.15, ext. 3).

The same people with the greatest agreement devoted itself to honoring Amphiaraos, by converting the place where he was buried into the appearance and manner of a sanctuary and establishing that oracles would be received from there. His ashes get the same honor as is given to the Pythian tripod, Dodona’s cauldron, and Ammon’s spring.

Valerius Maximus’s comment also contradicts an otherwise unattested tradition at Oropos recorded by Pausanias that associated the sanctuary’s sacred spring with Amphiaraos’s reemergence after he had become divine, since the divinized Amphiaraos would have left no ashes, *especially* if he had reemerged from the ground (Paus. 1.34.4; quoted p. 288). On this “Oropian” version of the myth, see: Bearzot 1987, 90–91; Parker 1996, 147–148; Sineux 2007a, 79–80; and Terranova 2008, 173; cf. Terranova 2013, 146. If Bearzot is correct that this alternative version was a conscious attempt to connect Oropos to the Amphiaraos myth this would represent further evidence that the *Amphiareion* was not the god’s first cult site.

- 19 Strabo 9.1.22. Since Thebes gained control of the area in 412/11 BCE and Sophocles died six years later there is a small possibility that this unidentified play was composed during that short period. The chronological problem, though not this issue concerning Sophocles specifically, has been addressed by Parker, who suggests that “It becomes just possible if we both raise the foundation [*i.e.*, of the *Amphiareion*] to the early part of the century on the basis of *IG* 1³ 1476 and postulate a period of Theban control before the

which associated Oropos with the Amphiaraios myth date to Roman times, so it is impossible to determine how far back the tradition regarding the disappearance of his chariot there rather than at Thebes originated.²⁰ However, while the full range of sources suggest several different scenarios, the most likely is that Amphiaraios had a cult site at Knopia where he is supposed to have vanished into the earth, and that it was oracular, and that the similar claim regarding Oropos was an adoption of the Theban myth that eventually became the standard account of Amphiaraios's disappearance, just as the Oropos sanctuary came to eclipse the Theban original.

That Herodotus, who makes the earliest explicit reference to Amphiaraios's oracle, had in mind Thebes rather than Oropos is strongly suggested by the syntax of his account of Mys's consultation of this oracle, in which a μὲν . . . δέ construction subordinate to the main clause mentioning Mys's arrival at Thebes precludes the possibility that he had visited Apollo Ismenios at Thebes but Amphiaraios at Oropos: "And moreover he [*i.e.*, Mys] first came to Thebes, on the one hand making inquiry of Apollo Ismenios . . . and on the other bribing a certain foreigner, one who was not a Theban, whom he had lie down in the sanctuary of Amphiaraios" (καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο . . . τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνόν τινα καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας, κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω).²¹ Although Herodotus does not specify the oracle's precise location, it is more likely that the Knopia site rather than some other, unknown sanctuary on Theban territory was the one visited by Mys, since Strabo's claim that the cult spread to Oropos from Knopia shows this site's preeminence over any others that may have been inside or outside the city. This conclusion, however, is not without problems, especially since Pausanias's brief mention of the "enclosed area of moderate size that contains columns" gives no indication that it was or ever had been a prominent oracular site, let alone that there was a structure or subterranean chamber suitable for incubation. Instead, what Pausanias appears to have described is a relatively small, open-air precinct, presumably some form of σηκός.²² If incubation was indeed

Attic take-over." Since that takeover appears to have occurred by 490 BCE (see p. 671n.26), however, it would predate Sophocles's career by several decades, and thus is an imperfect solution. Therefore, unless the Sophocles play does date to the playwright's final years, Strabo appears to have erred in quoting from it. (For *IG* 1³ 1476, see p. 675.)

20 In addition to the sources mentioned here, this version of the myth can also be found in the Pindaric *scholia* (see p. 672n.29).

21 Hdt. 8.134 (full passage quoted pp. 102–103). See Hubbard 1992, 103n.72 and Hubbard 1993, 196–197n.16 for this syntactical point.

22 The Amphiaraios oracle visited by Mys was a σηκός, according to Plutarch—who, even if from western Boeotia, had strong religious inclinations and may well have had firsthand

practiced there it apparently would have been done out in the open, presumably near a depression or cleft in the ground where the chariot was believed to have been swallowed up.²³ Pausanias's penchant for describing sites steeped in history and legend, not to mention his habit of detailing how particular oracles functioned, are both curiously lacking, which raises questions regarding what cult activities were being practiced there in his day and how greatly the site had diminished over the centuries.²⁴ Despite these uncertainties, it appears that by the early Classical Period there was an oracle of Amphiaraos at or near Thebes, presumably at Knopia: this is indicated by Aeschylus's allusion to the hero issuing prophecies at Thebes (and possibly one by Pindar as well) and Strabo's reference to the oracle having relocated from there, but is more strongly suggested by the evidence of Herodotus, which is now quite possibly supported by the epigram placing Croesus's gifts to Amphiaraos at the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios in Thebes.

Strabo's statement regarding the *Amphiareion's* relocation from Knopia represents the only unambiguous claim that the cult had *moved* to Oropos, instead of simply spreading there. While it is clear that at some point the oracle declined—Pausanias's omission of any reference to Amphiaraos still issuing oracles at Knopia or elsewhere in Theban territory argues for this, as does the fact that the other Roman-era sources focus on the oracular nature of the Oropos sanctuary—it is impossible to determine just when this occurred. The only ancient author possibly providing a clue is Plutarch, who wrote of

knowledge of the site (Plut., *Vit. Arist.* 19.1–2). The term *σηκός* cannot be narrowly defined, but in general seems to have pertained to relatively small, enclosed, open-air cult sites. While some of these sites were oracular (*e.g.*, the shrine of Mopsos (see Chapter 5.4)), the word's use was not limited to oracles.

- 23 If incubation was practiced at this site in the open air it would have been one of a small number of shrines at which this was standard practice. Other than Cicero's striking use of the verb *excubare* to perhaps describe the practice at Pasiphae's shrine at Thalamai (see pp. 316–317n.26), the only evidence for the practice of “outdoors incubation” can be seen in Bellerophon's sleeping atop the altar of Athena Chalinitis (see p. 102n.163) and Aristides's penchant for sleeping in various parts of the Pergamon *Asklepieion* both indoors and outdoors (Aristid., *Or.* 48.80; see p. 145n.61). Collectively, these sources indicate that a roofed structure was not an absolute requirement, so long as one was in a sacred precinct—thus the “in-” in “*incubatio*” could apply to either a consecrated area or a structure within one.
- 24 Since Knopia was occupied until the fifth century BCE and then abandoned for the Kadmeia and left outside the classical fortifications (see Symeonoglou 1985b, 157), this may at least partly explain the shrine's diminished stature.

Boeotia's oracles being in high repute at the time of the Persian War, implying a decline sometime after.²⁵ A link between this war and the decline of the Theban oracle is certainly plausible, since according to Herodotus the oracle of Amphiaraos—who in mythology was famous for entering Theban territory at the head of an attacking army—could only be consulted by non-Thebans, and the Thebans' decision to Medize instead of opposing the Persian invaders may have cost their oracle a lot of its clientele.²⁶ While there is good cause, therefore, to conclude that the *oracle* of Amphiaraos at Thebes declined during the Classical Period, most likely before the establishment of his oracle at Oropos, Strabo's claim that the *Amphiareion* (i.e., the seat of the cult) itself "was relocated" to Oropos is dubious. As Robert Parker has pointed out, cults did not commonly relocate to other territories, and thus it is probable that the Theban site was not abandoned for Oropos, which instead represents a new cult site that soon overshadowed—but did not fully replace—the original shrine;²⁷ moreover, if Pausanias is correct that it was the people of Oropos

25 Plut., *De def. or.* 5 (= *Mor.* 411E–412D); on this passage see p. 102n.165.

26 For the arguments linking the oracle's decline to Theban policy during the Persian War, see Hubbard 1993, 201–202. The rule that Thebans could not consult Amphiaraos (Hdt. 8.134; quoted pp. 102–103) would have made little sense if the oracle had been located in Oropos, which had originally been under Eretrian control and then was taken over by Athens sometime after 507/6 BCE, most likely around the time of the Persian destruction of Eretria in 490 BCE (see Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, pp. 448–449 and Sineux 2007a, 448–449). Thus this detail related by Herodotus appears to represent implicit evidence that Amphiaraos had functioned as an oracular god on Theban soil, but would not receive inquiries from his enemies' descendants. (This situation might also have been an underlying factor in the cult's relocation from Knopia to Oropos, if it did occur: if the Thebans derived no direct benefit from consulting Amphiaraos, and had at their disposal another oracle—i.e., the *Ismeneion*—there may have been no particular reason to maintain an oracular sanctuary that had been declining, and could not be used by them anyway. See Bearzot 1987, 93–94, suggesting that this inability to consult their local oracle was a factor in its move.)

The reason for this unusual restriction on the local population consulting Amphiaraos has not been preserved, leaving it a matter for speculation. Hubbard, for example, has concluded that it "reflects the inherently ambivalent role of Amphiaraos in Thebes—a one-time enemy who has now become identified with Theban soil as a chthonian hero and protector, but is still felt as an alien presence who is not fully incorporated into the city's cultic framework and whose shrine conspicuously stands some distance outside the walls" (Hubbard 1992, 103–104). Schachter, on the other hand, thought that this might have been punishment for the Thebans at some point sacking the *Amphiareion*, though this scenario does not fit the evidence (Schachter 1981–94, 1:22).

27 Parker 1996, 147–148.

who first recognized Amphiaraos as a god (θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάραον πρῶτοις Ὀρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν) these developments may have been connected.²⁸ An obvious parallel exists for such a phenomenon: the overshadowing of Asklepios's Triikka sanctuary, where the hero cult appears to have started, by the Epidauros *Asklepieion*, and subsequently Pergamon and some of Epidauros's other offshoots as well. Since in addition to the shrine seen by Pausanias (presumably at Knopia) there were two other communities at some point claiming to be the place where Amphiaraos disappeared—one of which, Harma, was said by some to have been named for the chariot he was riding at the time—it is to be expected that his worship was not limited to the one Theban site, though the reason or reasons that it was Oropos and not one of the other sites that became his most prominent sanctuary is lost to history.²⁹ And indeed the

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- 28 Paus. 1.34.2; see also Pausanias's reference to Amphiaraos's emerging from the sacred spring "already having become a god" (Paus. 1.34.4; quoted p. 288). Unfortunately, earlier sources do not shed light on this issue. While Pausanias provides no date for Amphiaraos's elevation to godhood, this seems most likely to have occurred around the time that his sanctuary at Oropos was established. However, Herodotus never refers to Amphiaraos as either a *heros* or *theos*, while Pindar and Aeschylus use the term *mantis*, which in poetry could be applied to either a god or hero (Pind., *Ol.* 6.13, 6.17; Aesch., *Sept.* 569, 588, 590; on Amphiaraos as *mantis*, see Sineux, *ibid.*, 29–30 and Suárez de la Torre 2009, 174–177). It is not until the fourth century BCE that both literary and epigraphical evidence for Amphiaraos being considered a *theos* becomes available. On this development, see Sineux 2007a, 80–90.
- 29 In addition to Strabo's statement that the Oropos *Amphiareion* marked the spot of the disappearance (Strabo 9.1.22), and the more general claim that this had happened at Oropos found in the Pindaric *scholia* (*schol.* Pind., *Ol.* 6.18c, 6.21b, 6.21d, 6.23a, 6.23e, ed. Drachmann) and implied by Philostratus (Philostr., *Imag.* 1.27), this event was claimed by two other communities, Harma and Kleonai. Harma is easily identified as a Boeotian *polis* or settlement (Strabo 9.2.11; Paus. 1.34.2, 9.19.4; see Fossey 1988, 85–89 and Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 434, s.v. "Harma," cf. p. 436 (M.H. Hansen); see also Terranova 2008, 172–173 and Terranova 2013, 159). Kleonai's identification is less certain, but presumably it was the Argolid *polis* (*schol.* Pind., *Ol.* 6.21d, ed. Drachmann; see Hansen/Nielsen, *ibid.*, 610–611, s.v. "Kleonai" (M. Piérart)), since the Kleonai in Chalcidike was too distant to be associated with this episode in the Amphiaraos myth. Moreover, Amphiaraos was worshiped at Argos and Sparta due to his mythological associations with the "Seven against Thebes" and the sons of Tyndaros, and it is also reported by Pausanias that there was an Argive cult site of his kinsman Baton, who according to local tradition was also swallowed up while riding away from Thebes (Paus. 2.23.2, 3.12.5; see Sineux 2007a, 65n.22, 72–73 and Terranova 2013, 73), and this makes a cult of Amphiaraos elsewhere in the Argolid more likely. For the rival claims of Oropos, Harma and Kleonai, see Hubbard 1992, 104–105 and Hubbard 1993, 201–202; for Amphiaraos's minor sites in general, see Terranova 2013, 152–161.

archaeological evidence from Rhamnous, a site which has no known association with the Amphiaraos myth but possessed a small shrine that he shared with the hero-physician Aristomachos, shows that his cult spread to multiple sites.³⁰

Since Amphiaraos was worshiped at multiple sites, it would not have been out of the ordinary for the sanctuary at Oropos, associating itself with the myth of Amphiaraos's disappearance (or reemergence), to have developed independently of the Theban shrine, and this may well have been the case.³¹ However,

While the association of Kleonai with this myth makes little sense because of the distance from the Theban battlefield, Harma was in the immediate vicinity of Tanagra (just over ten kilometers to the northwest) and within its territory, and thus this development of an alternative locus for the myth was probably caused by the rocky relations between Tanagra and Thebes. Indeed, Hubbard has argued that Tanagra's support for Harma's claim—clearly noted by Pausanias (Paus. 9.19.4)—reflects the rivalry that emerged between the two Boeotian powers, especially following the Battle of Plataea (Hubbard 1993, 201n.29; cf. Hubbard 1992, 104n.75 and Sineux 2007a, 71). This partly parallels Bearzot's observation that the tradition linking Amphiaraos and Harma was an attempt by Tanagra to associate itself with Amphiaraos (Bearzot 1987, 89–91). However, while this may be true of later periods, Hubbard does not recognize a significant problem: the name Harma appears in Homer (Hom. *Il.* 2.499) and there are other reasons to conclude that this community existed during the Archaic Period, so unless the place had been given the name “Chariot” for a different reason its association with the Amphiaraos myth must have pre-dated the falling out between these two traditional allies. Such a potential alternative source for this toponym appears to be preserved in Strabo, who, demonstrating that in antiquity this inconsistency was recognized, reports that while some maintained that Amphiaraos fell from his chariot in battle at the spot where his sanctuary was later established and it was his empty chariot that reached Harma (*i.e.*, Amphiaraos was not swallowed up along with his chariot), others said that the chariot of the fleeing Adrastus, another of the seven attacking Thebes, was shattered there (Strabo 9.2.11; cf. Eust., *Il.* 2.499). It is therefore possible that Harma initially was associated with the Adrastus myth, but later the Tanagrans, apparently out of rivalry with Thebes, replaced him with the more prominent Amphiaraos; and, at some point, “Baths of Amphiaraos” (λουτρά Ἀμφιαράου) at Harma came to be linked to him as well, representing the only evidence of a cult of Amphiaraos at Harma (Eust., *Il.* 2.499; Steph. Byz. s.v. “Ἀρμα”; see p. 289n.45). Strabo's version of the Amphiaraos myth is itself problematic due to its reference to an unidentified ἑρὸν where he fell from his chariot, rather than assigning a cult site to where he disappeared underground, but, either way, since Oropos was nowhere near the battle Sineux must be correct that this was the shrine at Knopia (Sineux, *ibid.*, 67).

30 See pp. 293–295.

31 See Hall 1999 for the Archaic phenomenon of presumably “epichoric” hero cults developing in multiple *poleis* during the Archaic Period, which may well have set the pattern followed by the cult of Amphiaraos in the fifth century BCE.

if Oropos was not the site of the cult's origin there would need to be a way of explaining the sources attesting to the tradition that it was. As has been plausibly argued by Hubbard, Strabo's claim that the cult of Amphiaraos actually "was relocated" from Theban territory to Oropos might be ascribed to a priestly fiction developed during one of the brief periods of Theban control over Oropos in the fourth century BCE in order to give the sanctuary "a Theban pedigree" retroactively.³² The need for such an effort might reveal that the Oropos *Amphiareion* had been established by the Athenians as a rival to the Theban sanctuary so that they could further assert their control over the area,³³ and at the very least would suggest that the cult's establishment at Oropos had been done without Theban involvement—making such a fiction quite desirable from the Theban perspective. Such a rivalry between cult sites, if it did indeed exist, could only have developed if the Theban site had remained active following the establishment of the Oropos site, which is generally thought to have occurred in the 420's BCE, and in this case the claim of Strabo that "the *Amphiareion* was relocated from Theban Knopia" would have to be incorrect.³⁴ The most likely scenario, therefore, is that the Theban sanctuary and its oracle had declined but not become altogether defunct when the cult emerged at Oropos,³⁵ and that contrary to the general consensus Amphiaraos's worship at Oropos predated the extensive and expensive sanctuary built by the Athenians.³⁶ Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence that might support

32 See Hubbard 1992, 106–107; in contrast, Bearzot 1987, 99 suggests that the Thebans had supported the establishment of their local cult at Oropos, seeing it as a way to Boeotianize the region, while in a recent study de Polignac argues that the Oropos *Amphiareion* was established through the private efforts of Athenian and Boeotian elites for political reasons (de Polignac 2011). For the dates of Theban control, see Hansen/Nielsen, *Inventory*, 448–449, s.v. "Oropos" (M.H. Hansen), Bearzot, *ibid.*, 95–98, and Sineux 2007a, 75, 82.

33 See Parker 1996, 149. See also Sineux 2007a, 96, drawing a parallel to the Eleusinian *heroon* of the "Seven against Thebes," which likewise was situated on Attica's frontier.

34 The *Amphiareion* is believed to have been established while Oropos was under Athenian control during the Peloponnesian War, sometime during a roughly five- to fifteen-year period before 414 BCE, the *terminus ante quem* provided by Aristophanes's comedy *Amphiaraos*, which was set there (see p. 104). Those favoring such a date include: Petrakos 1968, 66–69; Petropoulou 1981, 57–63; Bearzot 1987, 94–95; Sineux 2007a, 75–79; and Terranova 2013, 112–113.

35 For a somewhat different explanation, see Sineux's suggestion that while an outright transfer of the cult is unlikely, perhaps the establishment of the new site was linked to the decline of the original shrine (Sineux 2007a, 79).

36 See Hubbard 1993, 201–202 for this suggestion. Similarly, the possibility of a date some twenty-five or so years earlier than the Aristophanes comedy, on the basis of the limited archaeological evidence discussed below, is recognized by Parker 1996, 146–147. If the

this is minimal:³⁷ a headless herm found in the fifth-century BCE theater adjacent to the incubation stoa and now dated to 500–450 BCE or 470–450 BCE could argue for the site having been active several decades earlier than its traditional date, but this discovery alone is insufficient proof.³⁸ However, it is at least worth considering whether the Athenians, who first gained control of Oropos sometime shortly before or after the Persian conquest of its mother-city Eretria in 490 BCE, might have invested in building up the sanctuary sometime in the decades following the Persians' defeat, with the Periclean Period being the most obvious time for such a building program. The specific reasons for the Athenians' decision to improve the Oropos sanctuary and promote the cult of Amphiaraos are unknown, though the reason may have been as simple as that Attica had no oracular sanctuaries, unlike oracle-rich Boeotia—and, from both literary and epigraphical sources it is clear that the Athenians

Theban oracle did lose clientele because of that *polis's* decision to Medize, as Hubbard also suggests (see p. 671), then Athens might have established the oracle at Oropos as a direct result of this situation. This, however, is an imperfect explanation, as the period between Medizing and a new oracle being established would have been several years at least, if not decades.

37 In arguing that Amphiaraos's worship at Oropos should be dated earlier than the surviving *Amphiareion* complex, Hubbard wrote: "Prof. Lucy S. Meritt will argue in a forthcoming article that the type of Ionic capital found in the stoa at the *Amphiareion* was distinctively Athenian and mid-fifth century, best attested elsewhere in the temple of Athena at Sounion. This could suggest an earlier period of activity for the cult" (Hubbard 1992, 105n.76). No such study ever appeared: instead, in Meritt's discussions of the Ionic capitals at Oropos written prior to her death in 2003 she adhered to a more conventional fourth-century BCE date (Meritt 1993, 322 and Meritt 1996, 136). Therefore, the sanctuary's capitals cannot be relied on as evidence for a Periclean construction date.

38 *I. Oropos* 334 (= *IG* I³ 1476); see Hubbard 1992, 105n.78 and Sineux 2007a, 75–76 (who, like Schachter 1989, 77n.18, suggests the herm maybe a "pierre errante"). For the herm and other archaeological evidence possibly linked to the cult's early days at Oropos, see Parker 1996, 146 with n. 101.

To this evidence might be added an early- or mid-fifth-century BCE Eretrian *lekythos* portraying Amphiaraos's disappearance underground (Athens, N.M. 1125 (= *LIMC* I, "Amphiaraos," No. 37 + photo)), which could show that the Amphiaraos myth had been important to Eretria in the years following the Athenian takeover of Oropos. However, it seems best not to treat this as reliable evidence that the Amphiaraos cult was already present there, since a roughly contemporary volute crater of the Bologne Painter found in Italy at Spina and dating c. 450 BCE suggests that the disappearance merely was a popular theme for artisans (Ferrara, M.A.N. T 579 (= *LIMC* I, "Amphiaraos," No. 38 + photo); for Amphiaraos in the myth and art of early Italy, see Terranova 2013, 310–337).

regularly took advantage of the site.³⁹ Thus while it has been thought, quite plausibly, that Amphiaraios's implantation on Attica's frontier was intended to help fight the Periclean Plague or endow the Athenians with another healing cult, it is also quite possible that Amphiaraios was first worshiped at Oropos solely as a diviner—and this is especially likely if the cult was established there sometime between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, perhaps linked to a decline at the original site.

[*Addendum*: After this manuscript's submission I learned of Peter J. Thonemann's proposal that the epigram seen by Herodotus at the *Ismeneion* and edited by Papazarkadas (*BE* 2015, 306; see p. 661) pertained not to the Lydian Croesus, but rather a young Athenian aristocrat named Kroisos who had died in battle c. 530 BCE, and whose death was commemorated by his wealthy family with a well-known marble statue and accompanying funerary epigram found in southern Attica, the "Anavyssos Kouros" (Thonemann 2014, citing Athens, N.M. 3851 (= Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 58, No. 69 + photo; inscription *IG* 1³ 1240). As Thonemann suggests, "his family could easily have afforded to set up a lavish memorial to his 'virtue and fate' at the nearby Theban sanctuary of Apollo Ismenius," and it was this that Herodotus later saw and misinterpreted as recording Croesus's gift. (John Ma, favorably noting Thonemann's idea, mistakenly wrote that according to him four decades later "the Thebans misunderstood this to be the king of Lydia, and Herodotos followed suit" (Ma 2016), which is a preferable scenario, given the epigram's emphasis on recovering the golden shield quite possibly attesting to its perceived importance.) While this possibility cannot be ruled out, it is not fully satisfying, since it would require that Kroisos's family valued Amphiaraios enough to make a gift to him not "nearby," as Thonemann writes, but a good distance away, in Thebes. Regardless of who gave the shield, however, this would not change the overall importance of the new epigram as evidence for the worship of Amphiaraios at Thebes in the sixth century BCE; but, if Thonemann is correct and this epigram does not refer to a gift from Croesus then the story of his making an oracular inquiry of Amphiaraios would lack support, and thus there would be neither direct nor indirect evidence for Amphiaraios's Theban oracle until the following century.]

39 The most well-known example of the Athenians doing so is the oracular consultation described by Hyperides, though that was not a typical situation because it concerned the god's own property (Hyperid. 4.14–18; see p. 311). See also the Athenian public decree of 332/1 BCE from the *Amphiareion* thanking the god for the many benefits he had given the Athenians (*IG* 11³.1, 2, 349, ll. 11–15 (= *I.Oropos* 296); quoted p. 291), not to mention the numerous dedicatory inscriptions from the site. (For Athenians in the epigraphical record at Oropos, see *I.Oropos*, pp. 570–571, s.v. Ἀθηναίων Δημοτικά.)

Hypnos/Somnus and Oneiros as Evidence for Incubation at *Asklepieia*: A Reassessment

It was common in Greek religion for multiple divinities to be worshiped jointly at a cult site, sometimes as equals and sometimes with one divinity (or a pair) predominant, and this phenomenon is clearly evident in the cult of Asklepios. While he was primarily associated with Hygieia, his daughter and frequent companion, he was also worshiped with other divinities, some of them members of his family and others unrelated. Of particular interest is the repeated association of Asklepios with two minor, personified divinities whose areas of jurisdiction were crucial to incubation, but who nonetheless may have had no role in actual cult practices at *Asklepieia*: Sleep and Dream. Both the Greek Hypnos (“Sleep”) and his Roman equivalent Somnus as well as the Greek Oneiros (“Dream”) have repeatedly but vaguely been linked to incubation by scholars, and even used to argue explicitly or implicitly that incubation was practiced at a particular sanctuary because the presence of one or both was recorded in literature or revealed by the discovery of a sculpture or inscription. A role for one or both gods in incubation is certainly plausible, and indeed understandably tempting to assume, but the limited and questionable nature of the evidence must be recognized, and merits careful examination. In particular, there is no evidence pointing to a role, active or passive, for Hypnos/Somnus in the rituals required for incubation at any site, while Oneiros is not known ever to have even been the focus of worship anywhere and therefore is quite unlikely to have received prayers or offerings as part of incubatory rituals or been credited with bringing dreams.¹ With or without worshippers, Oneiros was a minor figure, and less popular among poets and artists than Hypnos/Somnus, but the bulk of the evidence for both divinities is artistic and literary, with Pausanias the only author providing historical information, while what little physical evidence originated in a cultic context is not especially

1 Only a single source suggests an active role for both gods in dream-divination, but it is hardly a reliable one: in Lucian’s *Twice Accused* there is a brief reference to Hypnos and Oneiros spending the night benefitting humanity, with Oneiros acting as Hypnos’s “interpreter” or “pronouncer” (ὑποφητεύοντα αὐτῷ) (Lucian, *Bis. Acc.* 1).

informative.² If one or both played even a limited role in incubation rituals anywhere—perhaps being among the gods receiving cakes (as at Pergamon), or described as accompanying a healing god in a therapeutic dream (as Panakeia and Iaso do in Aristophanes's *Plutus*), or shown in a relief featuring an incubation scene (as occurs in certain Attic reliefs), or listed with other gods on an altar (like the one at Oropos naming more than a dozen gods and heroes associated with Amphiaraios there)—evidence for it does not survive.³ The only sort

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- 2 Until Stafford's important article more than a decade ago there had not been a study of Hypnos/Somnus looking at his cult instead of merely his representation in art and role in myth (Stafford 2003). Other studies of note are: Shapiro 1993, 132–158 (with 246–254, Nos. 65–105) and the two pertinent *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* articles (Lochin 1990 and Bažant 1997), for Hypnos/Somnus in art; Gschaid 1994, 430–433, for representations of Somnus in Gaul; and Wöhrle 1995, for Hypnos in literature; see also Jolles 1914, 325–326. For Oneiros, see Erika Simon's brief *LIMC* entry (Simon (E.) 1994), which demonstrates how truly limited the sources are, and Piettre 1997, with a focus on Oneiros in Homer; cf. Türk 1897–1902, 900–902. Oneiros's minimal presence in art is reflected in the fact that this *LIMC* entry features no object representing him as a god, and includes only a single artifact: a vessel dating c. 540–535 BCE that features two winged figures thought to be dreams, as opposed to the *god* of dreams (Copenhagen, N.M. 13521 (= *LIMC* VII, “Oneiros, Oneiroi,” No. 4 + photo)). More recently, Juliette Harrison has also discussed Oneiros briefly, noting that he was a literary fiction with no cult (Harrison 2013, 35). In contrast to Oneiros, Hypnos can be found in a number of works of art dating from the Archaic through Roman periods. Hypnos in earlier Greek art was usually shown as a winged demon bringing sleep to someone, but by Roman times had come to be a passive figure who was himself asleep, and also as a winged infant—whose wings would be folded on his back when asleep—artistically assimilated with Eros (see Bažant, *ibid.*; cf. Stafford, *ibid.*, 88–89).

- In the Latin West, Hypnos went by the Latin name Somnus and did not have a cult in Rome, but became popular in Gaul and could be found elsewhere as well; Oneiros, however, had no Roman equivalent (*i.e.*, no “Somnius”). In certain circles Hypnos also appears to have become assimilated with the Egyptian god Tutu (Tithoēs to the Greeks), a multifaceted divinity who in Egypt could have an oracular function, but also was among those who would function as a guardian of sleep (see Quaegebeur 1977*b* and Kaper 2003, 64–65, 151–152; see p. 590). This is demonstrated by an unusual second-century CE dedicatory relief from Amphipolis that represents a monstrous figure with the heads of a sphinx, cow and crocodile and was dedicated to “Totoēs the god-*daimon* Sleep” (ιεργεύοντος | Ζωΐλου τοῦ | Κασσάνδρου || Τοτοῦτι θεοδαίμονι | Ὑπνῳι Πόπλιος Κλώδιος | Σέλευκος τῇν εὐχήν) (Budapest, Fine Arts Inv. No. 50.958 (= *LIMC* VIII, “Tithoes,” No. 5 + photo = Kaper 2003, 311–313, No. S-16, cf. Kaper 2012, 84); inscription Demitsas, *Makedonia* 861+871 (= *RICIS* 113/0910); see also O.E. Kaper, in *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 612–613, No. 190 + color photo). (For Hypnos's familial association with the Egyptian god Horus, see p. 356*n*.47.)
- 3 Pergamon cakes: *I.Pergamon* 3, 161 (see pp. 193–195). Aristophanes: *Ar.*, *Plut.* 701–703 (see pp. 223–224). Incubation reliefs: see Appendix VIII. Oropos altar: Paus. 1.34.3 (see p. 281*n*.22).

of linkage is fictitious: in Ovid's description of Numa seeking a dream-oracle from Faunus at a shrine near Albunea he tells of the king sacrificing a ewe to Somnus as well as Faunus.⁴ Even so, while in the case of Hypnos/Somnus there is barely enough evidence to conclude that he could have a cultic role, some of what does survive suggests a link to healing, albeit a tenuous one.⁵

Much of the evidence thought to be showing some form of link between incubation and Hypnos/Somnus or Oneiros (or both) comes from sites devoted to Asklepios/Aesculapius, and indeed this has drawn the greatest attention.⁶ Most notably, this includes Pausanias's reference to statues of

4 Ov., *Fast.* 4.641–672, at 652–654; for the shrine, see p. 617n.17. While this at least attests to the concept of a sacrifice for Hypnos/Somnus potentially being included in the incubation rituals at a sanctuary, it certainly does not represent reliable evidence for this having been an actual practice. See also Seneca's general association of sleep with oracles, included in an invocation of Sleep: "Mixer of the false with the true, reliable but at the same time most unkind authority on the future" (*veris miscens falsa, futuri / certus et idem pessimus auctor*) (Sen., *Herc. f.* 1070–1071; see Fitch 1987, 397).

5 Stafford has noted the fact that so little evidence for the worship of Hypnos survives in Greece, despite his frequent presence in literature and art, and was the first to focus significant attention on his "status as a deity and his *modus operandi*" (Stafford 2003, 71–72), building on the brief treatment by Catherine Lochin of "Somnus dans un contexte médical" (Lochin 1990, 609, citing several inscriptions and statues that are not relevant). An association of Hypnos with healing, albeit a not particularly significant one, goes back at least as far as the late-fifth century BCE, since Sophocles's *Philoctetes* features a five-line choral hymn to Hypnos that praises and addresses him as "Paeon," an epithet normally used for Apollo and Asklepios that can indicate the powers to heal or rescue, and expresses hope that sleep will steal over and comfort the suffering Philoctetes (Soph., *Phil.* 827–832; on the hymn, see Haldane 1963).

6 See especially Stafford 2003, 89–97, a section entitled "Cult of Sleep the Healer?" which focuses mainly on the association of Hypnos/Somnus and Asklepios/Aesculapius (pp. 92–97), though it omits some of the epigraphical sources. Stafford concludes that Hypnos was a "medically-inclined deity" and that "the importance of incubation in the healing ritual at Asklepios' sanctuaries might account for Hypnos' rise to cult status in the first place" (p. 98), though "cult" must be viewed loosely in reference to his being treated as a real divinity, rather than a reference to cult sites with personnel. No such conclusions should be reached for Oneiros, however, for the simple reason that there is no evidence for his having had his own cult or been worshiped at another god's cult site. With two exceptions pertaining to the cult of Asklepios that are discussed below, the only time that a source associated Oneiros with a cult site it was that of the Asklepios-like Amphiaraos: in his third-century CE *Imagines*, Philostratus describes in detail a presumably imaginary painting of this god at Oropos, stating that he was accompanied by Aletheia ("Truth") and Oneiros, who wears white and black garments and carries a horn, which is said to show that he brings dreams through the Gate of Horn (*i.e.*, the Gate of True Dreams) (Philostr., *Imag.* 1.27.3; for the

Hypnos and Oneiros at the Sikyon *Asklepieion*, which have been treated as the primary evidence for incubation there,⁷ and dedicatory evidence from the Epidauros *Asklepieion*. Epidauros is, in fact, the only site at which multiple objects linking one or both to Asklepios have been found thus far: two bases dedicated to Hypnos that were simply inscribed with the god's name during the Roman era,⁸ and a third-century CE base bearing a dedicatory epigram naming both Hypnos (if correctly restored) and Oneiros:

Μυρίος ἀνθρώπο[ις αἰεὶ πόνος]· ὦ[κα(?) δ' Ὑπνος παῖς]
 Νυκτὸς πρεσβυτάτ[ης καί] Ὀνειρος ἔ[θεντ'(?)] ἀνάπανμα(?).
 ἱερεὺς Νει[κ]έρως [βω]μ<δ>ν ἰδρύσατο [---].⁹

painting, see p. 312). While this confirms that Oneiros had an iconography, his presence in the painting, even if the *Amphiareion* was a famous incubation center, merely symbolizes the importance of dreams there, and does not show that Oneiros received offerings or dedications at this sanctuary or anywhere else, any more than the personified Truth should be viewed as sharing Amphiaraos's sanctuary—and, indeed, both names are absent from the list of divinities inscribed on the sanctuary's main altar (Paus. 1.34.3; see p. 281n.22). Thus there is no reason to support the conclusion that this passage in Philostratus links Oneiros to incubation in practice, contrary to Simon (E.) 1994, 53, treating this figure as an embodiment of the practice there. (Simon, *ibid.*, 54 also states that Oneiros's horn would have carried a sleeping potion, which is an attribute of Hypnos/Somnus, and this is certainly possible. Too little about Oneiros's iconography is known to be certain, however.)

The only other possible evidence for a cult of Oneiros is a damaged dedicatory relief from Philippopolis in Thrace which according to its editor begins with Ὀνειρον and is followed by Ὑπνος or ὕπνοι[ς], but it is far from certain that this refers to Oneiros himself, especially since if Werner Peek's suggestion is correct and ἰδών should be restored—so as to read ὄνειρον ὕπνοι[ς --- ἰδών] | ἔκατι λου[τρῶν ---]—this is likely to be yet another inscription recording a dream, and similar in meaning if not syntax to the common formula κατ' ὄνειρον (*IGBulg* 111.1, 1485 + Pl. 224, cf. v 5538). Since Melfi 2007a, 95 has noted that this inscription comes from an area known to have had a cult of Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros (see *IGBulg* 111.1, 1476 + Pl. 220), it is certainly plausible that this dedicatory text alludes to incubation—but without referring to the god of dreams.

- 7 Paus. 2.10.2, cited as evidence for incubation by several scholars (Pietschmann 1896, 1690; Weinreich 1909, 77–78; Simon (E.) 1994, 53; Riethmüller 2005, 1:131, 1:386, 11:63; and Nissen 2009, 235n.26). See also Stafford 2003, 93–95, entertaining the possibility of incubation in the stoa where two of the statues were displayed. For the Sikyon *Asklepieion*, see pp. 686–687.
- 8 *IG* IV² 1, 572, 573. See Stafford 2003, 96–97 and Melfi 2007a, 130, the latter explicitly linking the two dedications to incubation.
- 9 Peek 1962, 1009–1010, No. 8 (= *BE* 1964, 181 = *SEG* 22, 293). Stafford 2003, 97 quotes and discusses this inscription as *IG* IV² 1, 574, rightly expressing hesitation at restoring an addressee in line 3, but unaware that Peek had joined it to *IG* IV² 1, 582 and established a different, but

[Ever] infinite is [suffering] for men: [But swiftly(?) Sleep, child]
of most-aged Night, [and] Dream [instituted(?) rest(?)].
The priest Neikeros established this altar [---].

However, the two do not stand out as especially important to worshipers at the site, especially since these represent less than 1% of the roughly five hundred dedicatory inscriptions found at Epidauros.¹⁰ Asklepios/Aesculapius was linked to Hypnos/Somnus or Oneiros at other sites, too: at Lebena an epigram inscribed on an altar in the third century CE records the dedication of two statues of Oneiros (or of *ὄνειροι*, *i.e.* dreams), presumably to Asklepios, by an individual who had regained sight in both eyes;¹¹ a plinth supporting a statuette of Hypnos asleep and bearing a dedicatory inscription for Asklepios dated

still partly restored, text. Peek's speculative restorations are retained here to give a sense of what the original poem might have been like, but his treatment of the dedicatory language at the end of line 3 ([*Ἵπνῳ καὶ Ὀνειρῳ*]) should no longer be accepted, since there is no compelling reason to restore the names of Hypnos and Oneiros as recipients of the dedication—or Asklepios or any other divinity, since it was relatively rare for a god to be the dative indirect object of *ἱδρύσασθαι*.

- 10 See Melfi 2007a, 93–97, a survey showing the broad range of gods receiving dedications at Epidauros: though not the survey's purpose, it shows that Hypnos and Oneiros were far from alone among the gods in receiving dedications at the *Asklepieion*.

- 11 *I.Cret* I, xvii, 24 (= Girone, *Iamata*, 133–135, No. III.15 + photo = Melfi 2007b, 191, No. 43):

Διοῖός σοι Διόδω|ρος ἐθή|κατο, Σῶ|τερ, | Ὀνει|ρους (*vel* ὄνει|ρους) |
ἀντὶ δι|πλῶν ὄσ|σων | φωτὸς ἐπαυρά|μενος.

Two Dreams [*or*, dreams] Diodoros has dedicated to you, Deliverer,
for his pair of eyes, having enjoyed the light.

Linked to incubation by Melfi, *ibid.*, Simon (E.) 1994, 53, Girone, *ibid.*, 133 (following Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 839), and Weinreich 1909, 78, among others; cf. Nissen 2009, 235. The reason for two statues having been given rather than one is impossible to determine, since while Diodoros may have intended there to be one for each eye, it is also possible that he had received two dreams—but it could easily be that the number of statues had no significance at all, since it was not uncommon for people to dedicate pairs (or sets) of statues, figurines, molded reliefs, and other such objects (see Salapata 2011). It is also unclear whether the statues Diodoros gave Asklepios were meant to represent the god Dream or dreams (*i.e.*, the winged figures first seen in Archaic art), though either would be suitable in this context; however, it is generally assumed that it was the god himself, represented in matching images. (Not enough is known of their respective iconographies, but presumably if these were statues of Dream they would have resembled the figure in Philostratus's *Imagines* (see n. 6) more than the winged Archaic ones.)

to the third century CE was found at Argos near the *Asklepieion*;¹² an inscription from Aphrodisias dating to the late-second or third century CE records a dedication to Hypnos made at an unknown location by a prominent individual who was both high priest of the imperial cult and priest of Asklepios;¹³ a bronze statue of Somnus was dedicated by two brothers to Aesculapius at Reii in Gallia Narbonensis;¹⁴ and, a dedication by a single individual intended as a thank-offering to Asklepios and Hygieia together with Hypnos dating c. 70–30 BCE has been found at the Athenian *Asklepieion*,¹⁵ while two related inscriptions record that a statue group of the three was set up in the *gymnasium* at Ephesos c. 50 CE.¹⁶ These inscriptions from Ephesos demonstrate that

- 12 Argos E 24 (= Marcadé/Raftopoulou 1963, 85–89, No. 76 + fig. 38 (photos) = *LIMC* v, “Somnus,” No. 8 + photo; inscription *SEG* 22, 268): Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κορινθᾶς θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ εὐχαριστήριον. This dedication has been implicitly linked to incubation at this site by Marcadé/Raftopoulou 1963, 86 and van Straten 1976, 7. For the Argos *Asklepieion*, see pp. 346–347n.29.
- 13 *I.Aph2007* 12.638 (= *AE* 2007, 1416): [τῷ] Ὑπνῳ | Σεπτίμιος | Αὐρ(ήλιος) Φλ(άουιος) | Οὐενίδιος |¹⁵ Ὑψικλῆς | Εὐφρων | ἀρχ[ι]ερεὺς | ὁ ἐ[ρεῦ]ς του | Ἀσ[κληπ]ιοῦ. The inscription, on the upper part of a marble column, probably referred to a statue.
- 14 *ILN* II, 197–200, No. 1 + photo (= *ILS* 3855): *Deo Aesculapio | Val(erii) Symphorus et Protis | signum Somni aereum, | torquem aureum ex dracon[is] oculis duobus p(ondus) [...], enchiridium | argenti p(ondus) [...], L, anabolium ob in[signem] circa se numinis eius | effectum v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)* (“For the god Aesculapius, Valerius Symphorus and Protis (dedicated) a bronze statue of Somnus, a gold collar comprised of two interlacing serpents weighing [?] pounds, an *enchiridium* of silver weighing [?] pounds, and an *anabolium*, for the demonstrated efficacy of his *numen* on their behalf, fulfilling their vow freely and deservedly”). See Renberg 2006, 126–130, arguing that despite opinions to the contrary this dedication should not be attributed to incubation, as it was made in fulfillment of a vow by two individuals, makes no reference to health, and was most likely erected in the sanctuary of Apollo, which was established at the site of a spring with therapeutic qualities. (The inscription has since been discussed at length in Masson 2010, 436–439, with speculation regarding incubation at p. 438.) See Renberg, *ibid.*, 127–128 with n. 88 for other sources revealing Somnus’s presence in Gaul and the reasons not to assume that they point to the practice of incubation.
- 15 *IG* II² 4467: Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγείαι | καὶ τῷ Ὑπνῳ | Θεωρικός Συνδρόμου | Στεριεὺς χαριστήριον. Linked to incubation in Weinreich 1909, 78 and Melfi 2007a, 364. For this worshiper see Aleshire 1991, 133–134 and *PAA* 9, No. 513660.
- 16 *I.Eph* VII.2, 4123, ll. 8–9 (= *I.Mixed* 24): [---] ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀσκληπιὸν σὺν Ὑγείᾳ καὶ Ὑπνῳ | σὺν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ. This epitaph recording that a prominent freedman and his daughter—known from another inscription to have been a priestess of Artemis (*I.Eph* II 411)—had dedicated statues of Asklepios, Hygieia and Hypnos at the *gymnasium* indicates an act of munificence that cannot be attributed to either one of them having engaged in incubation, but does show that Hypnos was occasionally represented

one should make no assumptions regarding the original context of a surviving statue group of unknown provenience that featured Hypnos with Asklepios and Hygieia.¹⁷ Hypnos also could be represented with Hygieia instead of Asklepios, as can be seen in multiple sculptural finds, but since none of these is known to have originated at a sanctuary and two came from non-cultic settings there is no obvious cultic significance to any of them.¹⁸ Moreover, while Hypnos in literature and art certainly predated the Roman Period by several centuries, the evidence for his presence at cult sites is all from Roman times, though the passages in Pausanias indicating his worship that are discussed below could indicate practices originating in Hellenistic times or earlier—thus it is not even clear how far back Hypnos's association with Asklepios went.¹⁹

In the case of the Lebena dedication it may well be, as some have thought, that the individual regained his sight after a therapeutic dream and therefore dedicated statues of Oneiros, but these other representations or records of representations either cannot or should not be linked to incubation on particular occasions, especially since if they allude to a particular dream it could just as easily have been received in a domestic setting.²⁰ Indeed, these dedications at best demonstrate that Hypnos/Somnus and Oneiros, even though they were not members of the god's family, came to be closely enough associated with Asklepios/Aesculapius that worshipers believed he would welcome a sculpted image of one of them. This association was undoubtedly attributable to the importance of sleep and dreams in Asklepios's cult—after all, it is not a

with Asklepios in art displayed in a non-dedicatory context. (Almost identical language is found in a similar inscription, *LEph* VI 2113, ll. 17–18, but only the freedman is mentioned.)

- 17 Pushkin Mus. II/a 34 (= *LIMC* V, "Somnus," No. 146 = *LIMC* II, "Asklepios," No. 144 = *LIMC* V, "Hygieia," No. 80).
- 18 Uninscribed: Kos, no inv. no. (= *LIMC* V, "Somnus," No. 147 = *LIMC* V, "Hygieia," No. 71); Boston, M.F.A. 1974.131 (= *LIMC* V, "Somnus," No. 148, incorrectly assigning the piece to the University of Cambridge's Fitzwilliam Museum); Getty 71.AA.338 (= *LIMC* V, "Somnus," No. 149 = *LIMC* V, "Hygieia," No. 127); Konya, no inv. no. (= *LIMC* V, "Somnus," No. 150). Inscribed: Antalya, inv. no. 7.29.81 (= *I.Perge* I 165 + Pl. 44 (= *LIMC* V, "Somnus," No. 150bis)). One of these (No. 147) was from a house and another (No. 150bis) from a bath complex (and, moreover, was one of ten statues of gods and goddesses erected there by the same individual and bearing the same text, Κλαύδιος | Πείσων | ἀνέθηκεν (*I.Perge* I 161–170)); the other three are of unknown provenience.
- 19 The earliest dedication for Hypnos is the one from Athens, dating to the mid-first century BCE. Stafford has previously noted the relative lateness of this evidence (see Stafford 2003, 98).
- 20 Of these, as noted just above, only the Reii and Athenian dedications, like the one from Lebena, have been specifically linked to incubation by more than scholar, while this has also been implied for the Argos statuette.

coincidence that these two were widely associated with Asklepios rather than Herakles/Hercules, who had much in common with Asklepios/Aesculapius, other than the absence of incubation in his cult—but that does not necessarily mean that the worship of Hypnos or Oneiros figured prominently in the practice of incubation at *Asklepieia*. Telesphoros, a healing god of uncertain ancestry who apparently originated at Pergamon and by the second century CE came to be associated with Asklepios (as well as Hygieia) in written sources, the visual arts, and coins, serves a useful parallel, since he was not overtly linked to incubation—a practice which had been performed at numerous sites for more than half a millennium before he can first be detected at an *Asklepieion*.²¹

- 21 Waldemar Deonna and Lochin have previously noted this similarity between Hypnos/Somnus and Telesphoros (Deonna 1955, 61–62; Lochin 1990, 609). For Telesphoros, see Rühfel 1994 (with references). The ancient sources suggesting Pergamon as his place of origin are Paus. 2.11.7 and Aristid., *Or.* 48.10, and implicitly a dedication of unknown provenience now at Verona that was addressed to him (as “Telesphorion”) along with “Pergamene Asklepios” and Hygieia (Ἀσκληπιῶ | Περγαμηνῶ | Ὑγείᾳ | Τελεσφορίωνι | θεοῖς | σωτήρσι | πόλιν) (CIG III 6753). For this god at Pergamon, where he is also named in two inscriptions (*I.Pergamon* 3, 125–126, the second referring to healing), see Ohlmutz 1940, 158–163. Telesphoros appeared unaccompanied on just two coin issues, both from Nikaia (see Leschhorn, *Lexikon* 1, p. 291); more notably, representing evidence for his prominence at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* in the early third century CE, Telesphoros was shown with Asklepios on coins issued under Caracalla following his visit (see Renberg 2006–07, 125n.179; for the visit, see p. 120n.12). At Epidauros Telesphoros is named in ten of the surviving dedications of the Roman Imperial Period, including one stating that his statue had been given as “medical fees” (ἰατρὰ) (IG IV² 1, 560; for the term, see p. 261), and another that was prompted by a dream, though the fact that it records the giving of a temple (or small shrine) and statue to this god argues against its being evidence of incubation, as this was not the typical sort of gift given as a thank-offering (Τελεσφόρῳ Σωτήρι | Φάβουλλος ἐξ ὀνείρατος | τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα) (IG IV² 1, 561, cf. *I.EpidaurosAsklep* 235). Most of the relatively few epigraphical sources for Telesphoros’s cult are from the Greek East, though he is also known at Rome (see Renberg, *ibid.*, 124–125 *et pass.*), and his presence in Dalmatia is indicated by a dedicatory altar featuring a relief of Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphoros that must have originated in a military context, since in addition to these three it was made for the *genius* of Jupiter Dolichenus and *genius cohortis* (As|clep[ī]|o [Teles]||phoro] [Hy]||[giae] | So[---] | Heracliti (filius) Su|rus, et pro [10] Genio I(ovis) O(ptimi) Doliceni | paterno deo et Gen(io) | co(ho)rtis votum libies f(ecit)) (AE 1981, 739 (= CCID 126 + Pl. 28)). Among the literary sources attesting to Telesphoros’s association with healing are references in Aristides’s *Sacred Tales* (Aristid., *Or.* 48.10, 49.15, and 49.21–23, the latter referring to Telesphoros’s temple in the Pergamon *Asklepieion*), and in Late Antiquity Proclus’s biographer Marinus reports that when the philosopher was old and quite ill this god had appeared above his bed and touched his head, causing an immediate recovery (Marin., *Procl.* 7), while Damascius attempted to explain the junior

Clouding the issue, however, is that both Hypnos and Telesphoros were worshipped at other gods' cult sites as well, and not necessarily in healing contexts. In the case of the latter, most notably, a statue of Telesphoros once stood in the *Mithraeum* at S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome, while the sanctuary of Isis at Philippi has produced a terracotta statuette of the god, in Anatolia he appears beside the enthroned Mater Malene on a stele dedicated to this goddess, and a marble statuette of him was found in the area of Apollo's temple in Cyrene.²² In contrast, for Hypnos the most noteworthy evidence of his worship in other contexts is to be found in Pausanias, who notes that there were statues of Hypnos and his brother Thanatos (Death) on the Spartan acropolis near a temple of Athena Chalkioikos ("of the Bronze House"), and that in Troizen's *agora* near the ancient *Mouseion* there was an altar of Hypnos and the Muses—showing Hypnos in the presence of Greek gods other than Asklepios and with no connection to healing (or divination).²³ Also of interest are a Roman-era

god's importance (Dam., *Comm. in Parmenidem* 245, ed. Westerink). If correctly restored, Aristides was also responsible for a dedication to Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros set up on Mt. Pentelikon ([Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ] | [Υγ(ι)εῖα] καὶ | | [Τελε]σφόρ[ω] | [Ἀρ]ιστείδης | εὐ[χ]όμενος) (SEG 28, 229 (= IG 11² 4531); see Dow 1982 for the alternative restoration of Φ[ιλ]ι[στ]ειδης (= SEG 32, 265), which Jones considers but does not accept in an unpublished follow-up discussion ("A New Dedication of Aelius Aristides," online at <https://harvard.academia.edu/ChristopherJones>)).

Telesphoros's precise place in the pantheon is unclear. A single source indicates that he was the son of Asklepios, a relationship perhaps introduced at a relatively late date: a second-century CE inscription from Athens preserving two hymns to Telesphoros in which he is referred to as the son of "Paian," a common epithet for Asklepios (IG 11² 4533 (= Bremmer/Furley 2001, 11:235–239, No. 7.7, with translation at 1:268–271, though relying on an obsolete edition)). (However, an ephebic inscription from Athens dating c. 194–200 CE that was treated by Edelstein and later scholars as evidence for Telesphoros's paternity can be dismissed, since the Τελεσφόρος Ἀσκληπιουῦ it records was merely an individual who like his father had a theophoric name (IG 11² 2127, l. 10; see Edelstein, *Asclepius* II:89n.50).)

- 22 Rome: Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. Inv. 205835 (= LIMC VII, "Telesphoros," No. 13). Philippi: Lost, no inv. no. (= LIMC VII, "Telesphoros," No. 4). Anatolia: Unknown location, possibly Istanbul, A.M. (= LIMC VII, "Telesphoros," No. 81; inscription SEG 15, 787); see Guarducci 1972 (with photo). Cyrene: Cyrene Arch. Mus. 14175 (= Paribeni, *ScultCyrene* 88, No. 223 + Pl. 117 = LIMC VII, "Telesphoros," No. 17); cf. Cyrene Arch. Mus. 14174 (= Paribeni, *ibid.*, 88, No. 224 + Pl. 117), a head of Telesphoros of unknown provenience.
- 23 Paus. 3.18.1 (Sparta), 2.31.3 (Troizen). See Stafford 2003, 89–92 on these statues, noting that in the case of Hypnos and Thanatos at Sparta it is not specified by Pausanias that there was an altar or shrine for the two, and thus their presence may merely have been esthetic, but also raising the possibility that they were part of the local pantheon.

inscription from the temple complexes at Cholades in Soloi that records the dedication of an image of the god to “Aphrodite Oreia,” an epithet revealing an association of Aphrodite with Cybele, perhaps in compliance with a dream;²⁴ a Latin inscription from the Egyptian sanctuary at Nemausus (modern Nîmes) recording the gift of silver statues of Sarapis, Vesta, Diana, Somnus and probably Isis;²⁵ and, a dedication to Somnus from Ratiaria in Moesia Superior that was found in a funerary context.²⁶ Thus Hypnos/Somnus, like Telesphoros, may have had a clear connection to the cult of Asklepios, but his discovery in a number of other contexts shows that his presence at a cult site should not always be assumed to have been health-related.

While on the surface each source revealing Hypnos or Oneiros, or both, to have been represented at a particular *Asklepieion* may appear to be an indication of the importance of sleeping and dreaming there, most of these are questionable evidence at best. At Sikyon, for example, Pausanias saw a broken statue of Hypnos in a room to the left of the sanctuary’s entrance and also saw in the stoa a statue of Oneiros and another of Hypnos Epidotes (“Bountiful”) making a lion fall asleep, leading some to conclude that their presence signaled

- 24 E. Ekman in Gjerstad/Lindros/Sjöqvist/Westholm 1934–56, 111:626–7, No. 12 + Pl. 173, 16 (= BE 1942, 179): Ἀφροδείτη Ὀρείᾳ | ἐπηκόῳ τὸν Ὑπνον | Τίτος Φλάουιος | Ζήνων εὐξάμενος. The inscription was found in front of the *cella* of Temple B, which has been identified as belonging to this goddess on the strength of this inscription, as was Temple A (see Gjerstad/Lindros/Sjöqvist/Westholm, *ibid.*, 111:544, 546). For these and the other temples at Cholades, see *ibid.*, 111:416–547; for Aphrodite’s two temples, see also Kleibl 2007b, 128–130.
- 25 CIL XII 3058 (= RICIS 605/0101): [Signa --- Isis(?)] ex [HS ---] | Serapis, Vestae, Dianae, Somni [ex] | [sestertium] n(umum) (sex milibus) et phialas II chrysen[g]l[yp]tas(?) | [et si] gna deorum argentea castrensia [--- quae in] | domo habebat, item [---] |⁵ dedicatione templi Isis et Serapis dec[uri]onibus Nemausensium et ornamentar[iis] | singulis (denarios) V, ita ut in publico vescerentur, distribui iussit inque eius domus [tu]telam (sestertium) n(umum) (decem milia) reliquit, item [--- im] |¹⁰ aginem Martis argenteam ex [arg(enti) p(ondo) ---] | [S]amnagensibus dedit. | [Hui]c ordo Bitur[igum ---]. Bricault in his commentary infers from this inscription that Somnus was included because of incubation at the sanctuary, but the inclusion of both Diana and Vesta raises questions about this explanation.
- 26 AE 1993, 1350: [S]omno | C. C[---]I | v(otum) s(olvit) l(libens) m(erito). This small base, dated to c. 250–300 CE, was found with two sarcophagi in what was most likely a funerary enclosure, and its presence indicates some link to funerary cult for Somnus (see Rigato 1992–93, especially p. 261; see also Lochin 1990, 609 on the Greek evidence for Hypnos as *psychopompos*).

A perhaps related phenomenon might be found in a fragment of a sarcophagus from Smyrna that both features a sculpted image of Hypnos as a child and in its inscription treats death as sleep (*I.Smyrna* 1 557 + Pl. 39).

incubation (even though Pausanias noted no such works at other *Asklepieia* where incubation is attested).²⁷ But Pausanias also reported the presence of statues of Pan and Artemis flanking the Sikyon *Asklepieion*'s entrance, as well as an inner sanctum of Apollo Karneios that was off-limits to all but the priests (where a statue presumably stood as well), and even the bone of a sea monster displayed in the same stoa as the Oneiros and Hypnos Epidotes statues: and, since these other divinities, especially his father Apollo, could be worshiped alongside Asklepios without being involved in incubation, or could be merely displayed in sculpted form for esthetic reasons, there is no compelling reason to conclude that Hypnos and Oneiros were being honored with statues at Sikyon specifically because of the practice of incubation there.²⁸ Sikyon is the one *Asklepieion* that would not otherwise have been linked to incubation if not for the presence of Hypnos and Oneiros there, while in the case of some of the other sources—most notably, the dedications from Epidauros, Lebena and Athens—they might at best complement the existing evidence for incubation having been practiced at a site. None of the other inscriptions or any of the sculpted representations found elsewhere, however, should be considered evidence of any sort for incubation at their respective sites.

It therefore appears wrong to assume that just because sleep was essential to incubation any gift of a statue of Hypnos/Somnus given to Asklepios implicitly reflected that the giver had successfully slept and dreamed at his sanctuary, perhaps having invoked the god, or that incubation was even practiced at that particular sanctuary. After all, Hypnos was a mythological figure, and representations of other mythological figures were acceptable gifts for the god, even when unrelated to his healing activities: this can certainly be seen in an inscription from an undiscovered workplace shrine in Rome recording

27 Paus. 2.10.2 (see n. 7). For the epithet "Epidotes" and its potential association with healing as well as the lion's significance, see Stafford 2003, 94–97. Stafford points to there having been an *Epidoteion* at Epidauros, and notes that scholars have speculated over who the unnamed divinities referred to by Pausanias as the *Epidotes* were, with Hypnos and Oneiros, Telesphoros, and Agathos Daimon, as well as Asklepios's sons, being among the candidates (Paus. 2.27.6). Just as Stafford believes that the dedications to Hypnos found at Epidauros make him more likely, Melfi has reached a similar conclusion, tentatively linking the *Epidoteion* to Hypnos and Oneiros, but including the latter based on the unsupported restoration of the priest Neikoros's dedicatory epigram discussed above (Melfi 2007a, 110, citing SEG 22, 293; see n. 9).

28 That Hypnos was an occasional subject for artistic representation in a non-religious context is shown by the sculptures originating at a home and public baths, as well as the Ephesian inscriptions recording the statue group given to a *gymnasium* (see pp. 682–683).

the rather unexpected gift of metal tapers formed as Antiope and a satyr.²⁹ But there are other reasons for caution as well. Most importantly, no source explicitly pertaining to incubation mentions Hypnos or Oneiros, and this is especially noteworthy in the case of the lengthy *lex sacra* from Pergamon that identifies the gods receiving preliminary offerings: after all, if Mnemosyne, goddess of memory, was included, and has been linked to Asklepios elsewhere as well, it stands to reason that seeking the support of Sleep and Dream before incubation was similarly important to trying to ensure that one would remember one's dream with the help of this goddess.³⁰ It can also be objected that if Hypnos played a prominent role in incubation there would be evidence for worship at the Oropos *Amphiareion* and other sanctuaries associated with the practice. Likewise problematic is the lack of evidence for the worship of Oneiros: if this was a god who existed in art and literature but was not actually worshiped then one cannot argue that joint representations of Oneiros and Hypnos at Sikyon (or anywhere else they may someday turn up) should be attributed to cultic activities involving them. Moreover, it therefore follows that when Hypnos was represented *without* Oneiros at a sanctuary it should not be assumed that this points to incubation having been among the cult activities there. Overall, while it is certainly plausible that sometimes those who had successfully engaged in incubation would opt for the relatively unusual gift of a statue of Hypnos or Oneiros—or that someone in recognition of the importance of sleeping and dreaming to incubation would make such a gift even without having done so recently—the link between incubation and these divine figures, only one of whom is known to have been worshiped as a god rather than limited to the realms of literature and art, is speculative and indirect.

29 *CIL* VI 18 + *add.* pp. 831, 3003, 3755, cf. 30686 (= *ILS* 3851 = Renberg 2006–07, 146–147, No. 15, cf. pp. 112, 122 *et pass.*): *Domino Aesculapio | et Hygiae, ex permissu | eorum negotiationis | fabariae, gratias |*⁵ *agentes numini | et aratis (= ἀρεταῖς) eorum, | T(itus) Iulius Genesia|cus et Caecilia | Balbilla ceri|*¹⁰*olaria duo satu|ri et Antio<p>es | libentes donum | dederunt* (“To lord Aesculapius and Hygieia, with the permission of those from the bean-selling establishment, giving thanks for their divine power and miraculous deeds, Titus Iulius Genesiacus and Caecilia Balbilla freely gave as a gift two metal tapers in the form of a satyr and Antiope”).

30 *I.Pergamon* 3, 161, ll. 10, 28 (quoted pp. 194–195); for Mnemosyne and Asklepios, see pp. 250–251n.350. That other crucial source for incubation at Pergamon, Aristides's *Sacred Tales*, likewise makes no mention of either divinity—admittedly an *argumentum ex silentio*, like some of the other points made here, but nonetheless worth noting.

Libanius and Asklepios: A Case Study¹

XII.1 Introduction

For as long as incubation in the cult of Asklepios has been a subject for scholarship, the extraordinarily rich *Sacred Tales* of Aelius Aristides have been mined for information concerning this practice, and the nature of the relationship between this famous sophist and his god over three decades has likewise been a subject of extensive discussion.² Rather curiously, however, the relationship between Asklepios and Libanius (314–c. 393 CE), a similarly prominent sophist based in Antioch two centuries later who admired and consciously emulated Aristides, has rarely been touched upon, despite the significant amount of information on this subject scattered through several of his 1544 letters and his autobiographical *Oration* 1.³ Together, the numerous passages describe the

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- 1 This appendix has an origin independent of the rest of this book, as it is a greatly expanded and revised version of a term paper written for Kent J. Rigsby's graduate seminar on "Late Pagan Authors" at Duke University. I am grateful for the feedback I received on that initial effort, and in subsequent discussions.
 - 2 See pp. 199–202. Of particular relevance here, due to comparable approaches, is Ido Israelowich's recent effort at creating a "medical history" of Aristides encompassing his series of ailments and associated treatments at the hands of mortal physicians and their divine patron (Israelowich 2012, 105–131).
 - 3 Other than a brief and obsolete discussion a century ago by Jules Misson (Misson 1914, 109–110), and even briefer treatments by Wacht (Wacht 1997, 188), Hartmut Leppin (Leppin 2011, 445), and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (Nesselrath 2012, 61–62), the subject of Libanius and Asklepios has only received significant attention from Raffaella Cribiore (Cribiore 2013, 146–149, 212–213 *et pass.*), and to a lesser extent Danielle Gourevitch (Gourevitch 1984, 59–71), and is also discussed now in Csepregi 2015, 54. Whereas Gourevitch provided a useful treatment but one barely touching on Libanius's letters, and focuses primarily on a comparison of Libanius with Aristides, Cribiore undertook the first detailed examination of the relationship as part of a broader discussion of Libanius's personal religious beliefs and practices. Similarly, the subject of Libanius's medical history has drawn relatively little attention, other than Gourevitch, *ibid.* (though see also Norman 1965, xi–xii and Pack 1933, which briefly describes an unpublished paper given on this subject at that year's American Philological Association conference). Libanius's strong interest in Aristides can be seen especially in a letter to the likely governor of Bithynia, Theodorus, in which he thanked him for a portrait of Aristides, both expressing his joy in it and documenting his past efforts at obtaining one (Lib., *Ep.* 1534; for the letter's recipient, see *PLRE*, "Theodorus 11,"

physical and psychological ailments that afflicted Libanius over six decades, and therefore provide a rare account of intense personal suffering and diverse attempts to alleviate it, including by seeking the help of Asklepios. While Libanius is not known to have attempted to write a work comparable to the *Sacred Tales*,⁴ nonetheless he exhibited a clear desire to share his experiences as a grateful patient of Asklepios with individual recipients of his letters and ultimately the broader readership he expected for his autobiography.⁵

FOI 282, "Theodorus III," and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 1012 (P. Janiszewski)). For Aristides's influence on Libanius, see especially Cribiore 2008. See also: Gourevitch, *ibid.*; Swain 2004, 368–373; Petsalis-Diomidis 2006, 193–194; Downie 2013, 3–5, 21; and Watts 2014, 39–40, the most recent four each noting the significance of the painting episode; cf. Watts 2015, 137.

References to Libanius's letters in this appendix use the numbering system in Richard Foerster's 1921–22 Teubner edition. The letters cover roughly fifteen years of Libanius's life, from 355–365 CE, when he was at the height of his career, and 388–393 CE, his final years. Libanius's so-called *Autobiography* is typically identified as *Oration* 1, though it was not intended to be delivered in person—instead, as A.F. Norman writes in his commentary, it was an "oratorical address to an imaginary audience" (Norman 1965, xiv–xv). Moreover, the work was not written on a single occasion, but rather roughly half written in 374 CE (§§1–155), with the rest added periodically until 392 CE or soon thereafter (§§156–285; see Norman, *ibid.*, xii–xiv and Norman 1992, 1:7–9 on the dating issues, the latter incorporating, albeit with reservations, the conclusions of Jean Martin's and Paul Petit's Budé edition (Martin/Petit 1978, 3–7). For the work's date and audience, see also Leppin, *ibid.*, 422–423. The bibliography on Libanius's career and writings is vast, but see in particular: Wintjes 2005; Cribiore 2007 and Cribiore 2013; Leppin, *ibid.* on the *Autobiography*; Van Hoof 2014 for an important collection of studies on Libanius's full *oeuvre*; and, most recently, the discussions scattered throughout Watts 2015; see also *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 624 (P. Janiszewski). (Otto Seeck's study of Libanius's letters and prosopography, *BLZG*, is now dated and partly obsolete, but still worth consulting.)

- 4 See Swain 2004, 371–372, arguing against Roger A. Pack's view that when Libanius wrote the first, more structured part of *Oration* 1 he was influenced by the *Sacred Tales* in terms of that work's emphasis on health issues, focus on a particular divinity (Tyche for Libanius, Asklepios for Aristides), and chronologically arranged narrative (Pack 1947, 19–20); see also Norman 1953, likewise arguing against Pack but on the grounds that Libanius appears to have been influenced by Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists* (Norman 1953). More recently, Cribiore has shown that certain passages in the autobiography appear to have been inspired by passages in the *Sacred Tales* (Cribiore 2008, 268–271). For further references regarding this debate, see Israelowich 2012, 24–25n.89 (with additional discussion at p. 28).
- 5 Since the letters contain information about Libanius and Asklepios that is not found in his autobiography—including a cryptic comment in a letter to a colleague dating to 391 CE that he had often been visited by Asklepios at night, perhaps implying experiences not unlike those of Aristides (Lib., *Ep.* 1010.5; quoted n. 77)—and since the autobiography itself only occasionally touches on his medical history, it is clear that the author did not wish to create

These letters, in fact, provide a form of evidence not available from Aristides: contemporary discussions of Libanius's attempts to seek Asklepios's aid, rather than later reminiscences of the sort found in the *Sacred Tales* and his own autobiography. Moreover, in addition to reflecting a lifelong preoccupation with his own health, Libanius's autobiography and letters feature references to the illnesses of friends and family, which demonstrates that he was not exclusively interested in his own health, but rather had a general interest in such matters and believed them important enough to include in the account of his life⁶—just as Aristides would discuss the health problems and pertinent religious experiences of those close to him or who had been keeping him company at the Pergamon *Asklepieion*. Overall, Libanius has left us more information about his interactions with Asklepios, including his occasional use of incubation, than any ancient worshiper other than Aristides, and along with certain individuals known from inscriptions found at *Asklepieia* is one of the very few patients of Asklepios for whom a “case study” can be undertaken—one illustrating the ways that incubation might play a role in an ancient sufferer's efforts to become well.

XII.2 Libanius's Medical History

Beginning in his twentieth year, Libanius experienced a series of excruciating maladies and debilitating neuroses which over the decades increased in frequency and potency.⁷ The original cause of some of these problems, or so

a comprehensive account of his direct and indirect interactions with Asklepios or a record of the god's cures. (The autobiography does contain information not found in any of the letters, but this would at least partly be due to the fact that an enormous number of Libanius's letters are missing—including his whole correspondence before 355 CE and for a later period of twenty-three years, during which he is known to have suffered especially from gout and his head affliction (see n. 3).)

In addition, among his *Declamations* there survives a rhetorical exercise, the premise of which was that an ailing miser's son had vowed to Asklepios a talent if his father would recover, and that when this happened the father disinherited his son over the great expenditure (Lib., *Decl.* 34). There is no reason, however, to assume that such a topic represents the author's personal attachment to the god, as the use of a religious theme was fairly typical for such exercises.

6 *E.g.*, Lib., *Or.* 1.198–202 and 1.213 (brother); *Or.* 1.279–280 (son Cimon); *Eps.* 316, 695, 1286, 1301, 1342 (Akakios; see n. 50).

7 A useful though incomplete chart tracing Libanius's medical history can be found in Pack 1933.

he believed, was the thunderbolt that struck close to him in his youth as he was reading Aristophanes: the previously healthy Libanius, who opted against seeking medical help because of the inconvenience, was thereafter accompanied by an affliction (τὸ κακόν) which waxed and waned but never completely left him.⁸ Elsewhere in his autobiography, Libanius identified this malady as “affliction of the head” (τὸ πάθος ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς),⁹ and he illustrates the incapacitating nature of these headaches more than once.¹⁰ Libanius at least three times in his life found himself free of these headaches for a period of some length, evidently crediting consultations of Asklepios. The first time, a visit by his brother, whose name is unknown, and some friends to the Aegae *Asklepieion* in 362 CE appears to have achieved the desired result, as two letters written that year reveal. However, in 363 CE he had to have another consultation made on his behalf, and since in a letter from 365 CE he noted to a friend that his headaches were gone but not his gout it may be that he had remained headache-free during that two-year period.¹¹ Similarly, in 371 CE, according to his autobiographical account, Libanius revealed that Asklepios had cured him of an unspecified ailment that can be inferred likewise to have been his chronic migraines, indicating their return sometime after 365 CE.¹² Finally,

8 Lib., *Or.* 1.9–10; cf. Lib., *Ep.* 727.1.

9 Lib., *Or.* 1.243; see Norman 1965, 219. This language echoes two of Libanius's letters, *Eps.* 707 and 727.1 (both quoted below).

10 Libanius in his autobiography mentions two especially noteworthy ways that his headaches had impinged on his activities. First, in 353 CE, Libanius used his frequent headaches as an excuse for leaving Constantinople and returning to Antioch, and was able to persuade his doctors to vouch for a needed change in climate (Lib., *Or.* 1.94). Ten years later, he declined an invitation to dine with the Emperor Julian because “my head prevented me” (ἡ κεφαλὴ καλύοι) (Lib., *Or.* 1.124). More dramatically, in one of Libanius's letters, dating to October 362 CE, he mentions debilitating headaches during the emperor's presence in Antioch, referring to his ailment as Mt. Aetna (*Ep.* 770.6).

11 See the comment to his fellow gout sufferer Domitius Modestus, a prominent figure who held multiple high offices (see *FOL* 200, “Modestus” and *PLRE* I, “Modestus 2”), in a letter dating to the first half of 365 CE, that Asklepios had freed him of his head ailment but not the one afflicting his legs: “Know that I am honored by Asklepios and that the affliction of my head, with him [*i.e.*, his help] I might say, has abated, but with respect to my legs I have not been given rest from the excessive ruthlessness (of gout)” (ἴσθι με τιμώμενον ὑπ’ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κακόν, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ἐρώ, λελωφηκός, τὸ δὲ τοῖν ποδοῖν τῆς ἄγαν ἀναιδείας οὐ πεπαυμένον) (Lib., *Ep.* 1483.5; see below). (Similarly, in an earlier letter concerning his gout, Libanius employed the related ἀναιδής to describe the “ruthless” nature of this ailment (*Ep.* 1300.2).)

For Libanius's proxy consultations of 362 CE and 363 CE, see below.

12 Lib., *Or.* 1.143.

Libanius later wrote of the migraines' return after a sixteen-year absence in 386 CE, when he was seventy-two years old, and he appears to have been troubled by them for the rest of his life.¹³

Libanius's other major physical ailment was gout, which first attacked him in 364 CE, his fiftieth year, and which was even more of an impediment to his professional life, regularly keeping him from attending public events, giving declamations, and teaching in his lecture hall.¹⁴ In addition to these recurring problems, Libanius suffered from several other afflictions during his lifetime, the more significant of which included an injury to his eye caused by a whip,¹⁵ kidney problems,¹⁶ a serious leg injury received from being trampled by a horse,¹⁷ and loss of vision in his later years.¹⁸ Such physical problems over the years appear to have had a corrosive effect on Libanius's emotional state, if not his overall mental condition: indeed, as early as his forty-eighth year—two years before the onset of gout—Libanius was already expressing a desire for death as a means of escaping his extreme pain.¹⁹ As he wrote a friend in 362 CE, “In my head there lives a pain which makes life burdensome, and puts death in my prayers” (ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ μοι κατοικεῖ πάθος ὃ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ζῆν βαρὺ, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν ἐν εὐχαίς),²⁰ echoing in stronger language his statement in a letter of 355/6 CE written to the Constantinople senator and prominent official Datianus: “My head is possessed by an illness on account of which I drink more wine than

13 Lib., *Or.* 1.243–244, 268.

14 Onset of gout: Lib., *Or.* 1.139–140; see Norman 1965, 189. Other references: *Or.* 1.247; *Or.* 34.17, 34.21; *Eps.* 1239.2, 1274.4, 1286, 1300 (quoted pp. 702–703), 1301, 1483, 1518.2 (for *Eps.* 1286 and 1301, see n. 50). For Libanius and gout, see Criboire 2013, 147.

15 Lib., *Or.* 1.93.

16 Lib., *Eps.* 409.3 (355 CE), 555.1–2 (357 CE).

17 Lib., *Or.* 1.183.

18 Lib., *Or.* 1.281; *Eps.* 1039, 1051.2, 1064.1 (all 392 CE).

19 Libanius's psychological problems have yet to be fully studied, since Gourevitch's treatment relies almost exclusively on his *Autobiography* (Gourevitch 1984, 62–67). As noted below, among these problems were recurring migraines accompanied by “fear of falling” (καταπεσεῖσθαι ὁ φόβος) (Lib., *Or.* 1.268; see p. 712), and the latter could have been either a symptom of physical ailments such as headaches and gout or an anxiety disorder, or both. Judging from Libanius's comments, it seems most likely that his headaches and mental problems—which appear to have included agoraphobia, anxiety attacks and depression—were closely associated and often recurred simultaneously, and that Libanius was acutely aware of this. However, even though it is quite likely that Libanius attributed the headaches' onset to the lightning strike that he survived in his youth, his description of that episode only refers to his suffering what appears to have been a form of post-traumatic stress disorder in the aftermath (Lib., *Or.* 1.9–10).

20 Lib., *Ep.* 707.

medicine, and my kidneys have forced me to my bed, and I have been shut off from everything that makes life pleasurable” (ἤ τε γὰρ κεφαλὴ μοι κατείληπται νοσήματι, δι’ ὃ πλέον οἴνου πίνω φάρμακον, οἳ τε νεφροὶ τῇ κλίνῃ δεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς, ἃ δὲ ἥδιστον ποιεῖ τὸ ζῆν, τούτων ἀποκεκλείσμεθα).²¹ Twenty-four years later, in 386 CE, when his headaches returned after a sixteen-year hiatus he again felt this sentiment, as he noted in his autobiographical account: “I asked the gods for death instead of another benefit, and had no hope that the ailment would fail to destroy my wits” (ἤτουν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀντ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ πιστεύειν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὥς οὐ διαφθερεῖ μοι τὸν νοῦν ἢ νόσος).²² While writing this work Libanius recalled having wished for death during this period,²³ and he also expressed this sentiment in an oration composed at the time (386 CE),²⁴ but the absence of this extreme sentiment from his later letters raises the question of whether these statements were hyperbole.²⁵ Libanius’s physical and emotional problems obviously took quite a toll on him, and he devoted a great deal of time and effort to searching for cures and seeking guidance from medical authorities both human and divine. Although he was very much preoccupied with the treatment of his various ills, Libanius’s autobiography and letters give few details concerning the actual medicines that he was prescribed or the regimens he was ordered to follow.²⁶ His writings, then, give us little insight into the practice of medicine in the fourth century, but they do illustrate some of the options available to wealthy Romans desperately in search of help wherever they might find it.

21 Lib., *Ep.* 409.3; for the recipient, see *PLRE* I, “Datianus 1” and *FOL* 69, “Datianus.” In another letter, addressed to his fellow gout sufferer Akakios (see n. 50), Libanius notes that “I myself am among those enslaved to wine when ill” (καὶ γὰρ αὐτός εἰμι τῶν οἴνω δουλευόντων ἐν τῷ νοσέειν) (*Ep.* 316.3, from 357 CE).

22 Lib., *Or.* 1.243.

23 Lib., *Or.* 1.246.

24 Lib., *Or.* 36.15. The year 386 CE saw the well-known episode of the dead chameleon that apparently had been employed in a magical attack on Libanius intended both to silence him and to inflame his gout: it was discovered in his classroom, becoming one of numerous factors causing Libanius both emotional stress and physical suffering, as becomes clear both from his account (Lib., *Or.* 1.248–250) and this oration, entitled *On Magical Potions*. On this episode, see Bonner 1932 and Maltomini 2004 (with additional references).

25 His letters do, however, reveal his deep depression: see especially the three letters from 392 CE which, among other matters, note his failing eyesight (see n. 18). Another letter, from the following year, does refer to his desire for death, but without a specific reference to health problems (Lib., *Ep.* 112; partly quoted in n. 78).

26 Lib., *Or.* 1.101, 1.143 and *Eps.* 409.3 and 1374.2 (medicine); *Or.* 1.200 (bathing).

XII.3 Libanius and Asklepios

When ancient doctors failed, their patients always had the option of appealing to the gods for help.²⁷ Libanius was among those who would do so, frequently turning to Asklepios for assistance in combating his illnesses and attributing his subsequent improvement to the god, on at least one occasion because he felt that his doctors were incapable of helping him.²⁸ Libanius refers to such interactions with Asklepios in several of his letters as well as a passage in his autobiography. Although the collection of Libanius's surviving letters begins in 355 CE, the first references to his having consulted Asklepios date to 362 CE, when he was forty-eight years old. This date may be significant, for it coincides with the period when Julian—himself a worshiper of Asklepios—restored the famous *Asklepieion* at Aegae, which had been mostly destroyed during the reign of Constantine.²⁹ It is quite possible that before Julian became emperor Libanius would have welcomed Asklepios's aid through incubation or proxy incubation, but the Christians had for a time eliminated this option, as is indicated by Libanius's reference not only to physical damage done to the sanctuary, but also to "the wronged suppliants not being permitted to escape from their ills" (τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἰκέτας οὐκ ἐωμένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι κακῶν).³⁰ Once the Aegae temple was being restored and the god was again seeing patients, Libanius appears to have sought a cure for his headaches by sending his brother there on his behalf, since in Antioch itself there was not an *Asklepieion* on par with Aegae's, and the god's presence was relatively negligible.³¹

27 See pp. 23–24n.70.

28 Cribiore has previously noted the pattern of Libanius turning to Asklepios after doctors had failed him (Cribiore 2013, 146–147).

29 Julian attested that "Many times Asklepios has healed me when I was suffering, having prescribed medicines" (ἐμὲ γοῦν ἰάσατο πολλάκις Ἀσκληπιὸς κάμνοντα ὑπαγορεύσας φάρμακα) (Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 57, ed. Masaracchia (= 235C, ed. Neumann)). For Aegae, see p. 209, with the *Asklepieion*'s full or partial closure and eventual reopening discussed at n. 226.

30 Lib., *Ep.* 695.2.

31 Even though the sixth-century Byzantine chronicler John Malalas states that Domitian had built a temple of Asklepios at Antioch (Malalas, *Chronographia* 10.50, ed. Thurn), which may or may not have been active in Libanius's day, it is clear that the city did not have an *Asklepieion* worthy of its stature: not only would one expect Libanius to have mentioned it, but Libanius even indicated the opposite in a letter to his friend Demetrios in Tarsus, who evidently would worship the god at Aegae, urging him to send his orations about Asklepios to Libanius, by which he might "teach a neighboring city [*i.e.*, Antioch] who is the one [*i.e.*, Asklepios] who sustains your own city" (δίδασκε γείτονα

Sending a representative to an *Asklepieion* instead of going oneself was not unusual for those who wished to seek therapeutic dreams or merely offer supplications, but, like Libanius, felt themselves unable to travel, and Aegae was too distant for Libanius to consider a journey.³² This proxy visit is not mentioned in his autobiography—in fact, with one exception Libanius's consultations with Asklepios are omitted from this work—and is only known from a series of three letters and an unrelated one, all dating to 362 CE.³³ The first three letters, each quite short, were addressed to different individuals whom Libanius asked to help his brother succeed in his mission. As such they represent unique literary evidence for the possibility of a combination of family and friends either jointly engaging in proxy incubation, or one of them doing so while accompanied to a sanctuary by the others.³⁴ In the letter addressed to an individual named Saturninus, Libanius reveals the purpose of the desired visit:

πόλιν, ὅστις ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀνέχων) (Lib., *Ep.* 727.3; for Demetrios, see n. 42). (Demetrios is known to have resided at Tarsus rather than Aegae, but the importance of the Aegae *Asklepieion* for the citizens of Tarsus is evident from multiple sources (see pp. 698–699).) For the quite limited evidence of Asklepios's and Hygieia's worship in Antioch, see Riethmüller 2005, 11:394, Cat.-App. No. 431 (though some of the information provided regarding statues is erroneous).

- 32 See Appendix IV for proxy incubation. Aegae was roughly 100 kilometers from Antioch as the crow flies, and would have been quite easily reached by sea, rather than by the circuitous land route of roughly 150 kilometers, had Libanius felt himself capable of the voyage. Indeed, Libanius even mentioned in a letter to Modestus that “Cilicia is close by, and the people-loving god is close by, and it is quite easy for one who is suffering both to send (someone) and to come himself and obtain a remedy” (πλησίον μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ Κιλικία, πλησίον δὲ ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος θεός, καὶ ῥᾶστον ἀλγοῦντι καὶ πέμψαι καὶ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ τυχεῖν φαρμάκου) (Lib., *Ep.* 1483.4; for Modestus, see n. 11).
- 33 These letters have been discussed most recently in Cribiore 2013, 147–148. In addition to the four letters discussed here, see also Libanius's letter to his friend and colleague Akakios (see n. 50) that same year, in which he ends with a request that when seeking relief from Asklepios for his own troubles “in your prayers do not forget my head” (κάν ταῖς εὐχαῖς μὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀμνημόνης κεφαλῆς), which most likely refers to visits to the Aegae *Asklepieion*, because Akakios probably lived in Tarsus (Lib., *Ep.* 695.6). The language suggests that, if indeed Akakios was visiting the *Asklepieion* due to his own health problems, Libanius apparently was content to have his friend pray for him there, instead of requesting that Akakios, too, seek dream-oracles on his behalf.
- 34 While we have no other sources for an individual engaging in proxy incubation when visiting an *Asklepieion* with companions, there is rich evidence for individuals who were seeking their own dreams being accompanied by family members and others, so the novelty of the episode involving Libanius's brother only pertains to the fact that he was engaging in proxy incubation (see pp. 225–226).

ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ μοι κατοικεῖ πάθος, ὃ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ζῆν βαρὺ, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν ἐν εὐχαίς. τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐξήλεγε φάρμακα, μόνῳ δ' ἂν εἶξαι τῷ θεῷ. [2] κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεσταλμένον πρόσαγε τῷ ἀγάλματι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπροθυμοῦ.³⁵

In my head there lives a pain which makes life burdensome, and puts death in my prayers. This has put to shame the doctors' medicines, and will yield to the god alone. So bring my brother, who has been sent, to the statue and join in assisting with everything else.

The other two letters, to Heortios and Parthenios,³⁶ likewise appeal for the recipients to join Libanius's brother in praying for him, but feature different language. The one addressed to Parthenios states,

εἰ μὲν ἦν κινεῖσθαι κύριος, αὐτὸς ἂν ὑμῖν ἦκον εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν, δίδωσι γὰρ αὐτὴν οὕτω καλεῖν ὁ θεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκαις, ἃς οἶσθα, κατεῖλημμαι, μένω μὲν, πιστεύω δὲ τεύξεσθαι μαντείας σπένδοντός τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῦ καὶ σοῦ συνευχομένου.³⁷

If I had the power to move, I myself would come to the "great city" for you (for so the god determines to call it). But since, as you know, I am seized by constraints, I remain where I am, and hope to encounter the prophetic power through my brother pouring libations on my behalf and you joining in prayer.

In the other, addressed to Heortios, Libanius wrote, "I sent my brother as a suppliant on my behalf to the god who resides among you. Take part in this supplication, if you care about strengthening me" (ἔπεμψα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἰκετεύσοντα τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ θεόν. κοινώνησον δὴ τῆς ἰκετείας, εἰ τί σοι μέλει τοῦ ἐρρωσθῆναι με).³⁸ While none of these letters explicitly refers to incubation,

35 Lib., *Ep.* 707. Seeck identifies this otherwise unknown acquaintance as a priest of Asklepios, presumably drawing this conclusion solely from Libanius's request that he participate in the ritual and lead his brother to the statue (*BLZG*, "Saturninus III," cf. p. 390). This conclusion is questionable, however, since if Seeck was correct that Saturninus lived in Tarsus (see n. 39) it is unlikely for him to have been a priest at Aegae, while even if he instead lived in Aegae the use of πρόσαγε is not sufficient evidence that Saturninus held a priesthood.

36 See *BLZG*, "Parthenios" and "Heortios."

37 Lib., *Ep.* 708.

38 Lib., *Ep.* 706.

and they instead seem merely to request that the group of men pray on Libanius's behalf, his reference to seeking the god's prophetic power (μαντεία) in the letter to Parthenios must be an allusion to a prescriptive dream-oracle (rather than a healing miracle, for which ἀρετή would be the expected term). This almost certainly would have been obtained at Asklepios's famous Aegae sanctuary, despite the questionable claim that Libanius's addressees were all in Tarsus, which does not appear to be based on direct evidence.³⁹ However, even if the link between these individuals and Tarsus is correct, that would not mean that Libanius had sent his brother to an otherwise unknown sanctuary in that city, especially since Aegae, being roughly a hundred kilometers from Tarsus, could be reached by its residents within three days—and, if Libanius's brother was setting off from Antioch he could have reached Aegae considerably more quickly than Tarsus.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, it appears likely that at least one

39 Seeck appears to be the source of the problem, since without explanation he stated that Saturninus, Parthenios and Heortios were all at Tarsus (*BLZG*, p. 390), in the case of Heortios also identifying him with the prominent rhetor Gaudentios on the basis of a single letter (*ibid.*, p. 171, citing Lib., *Ep.* 224), but it appears that the Heortios who went by the name Gaudentios and was the father of Libanius's student Themistios was a different figure (*Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 410 (P. Janiszewski)). Despite Seeck's lack of evidence, the three were subsequently linked to Tarsus by Foerster in his edition's notes, but there is no reason why they could not have been residents of Aegae.

40 Tarsus is not known to have had a sanctuary of Asklepios, though there is some limited evidence for his cult there, and no reason for him not to at least have had a temple somewhere in the city (see Riethmüller 2005, 11:384–385, Cat.-App. No. 361; for the principal gods of Tarsus, among whom Asklepios was not numbered, see Robert (L.) 1977, 88–132 (= Robert, *Docs. Asie Min.*, 46–90)). That the Aegae *Asklepieion* was important to worshipers living in Tarsus is demonstrated by the interest in it expressed by Libanius's colleagues Akakios (see n. 50), who most likely lived there, and Demetrios (see below), a prominent citizen and sophist who in 362 CE wrote two orations honoring Asklepios, apparently in the context of the Aegae *Asklepieion*'s restoration by the emperor Julian (Lib., *Ep.* 727).

See also Libanius's letter of 363 CE to the brothers Gaius and Athanasius about the suffering of the latter's son Gaius, a student of Libanius whose head ailment had been interfering with his study of rhetoric and forced him to return home, leading Libanius to write and encourage them to join the younger Gaius as suppliants before "the god," presumably at Aegae, so that he might drive off the ailment as quickly as possible (ὅπως οὖν ἵκετεύσετε μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πείσετε τὸν θεὸν ἐξελάσαι τε τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ὡς τάχιστα) (Lib., *Ep.* 1371; see Cribiore 2007, 28–29, 180n.39; for the three individuals, see *BLZG*, "Athanasius I," "Gaius I," and "Gaius II"). Although it is not known to where the young Gaius would have returned, from what is known of this family it would have been somewhere in Cilicia, with Tarsus a strong candidate; but, even if not Tarsus, and not Aegae itself, the letter would still show the importance of the *Asklepieion* to inhabitants of Cilicia.

of the three lived in Aegae itself: after all, Libanius wrote to Parthenios that “If I had the power to move, I myself would come to the ‘great city’ for you (for so the god determines to call it),” and he could only have had in mind Aegae as the city that Asklepios would honor with such a title,⁴¹ while his comment in the letter to Heortios that the god “resides among you” could also point to both god and letter recipient being in Aegae, though παρ’ ὑμῖν might also refer to Cilicians in general.

His brother’s visit must have been largely successful, for in that same year Libanius wrote a letter to his fellow sophist and frequent correspondent Demetrios, a prominent citizen of Tarsus, in which he announced his recovery: “My longtime head affliction—for I was struck in my twentieth year and since then it has been twenty-eight years—has now become the subject of much talk due to the aid of the gods. For what comes of rituals with regard to our bodies, having something even of the miraculous, causes much conversation about such things” (τὸ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κακὸν ἀρχαῖον ὄν, εἵκοσι γὰρ ἔτη γεγενώς ἐπλήγην, ἔστι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἵκοσι, νῦν γέγονε περιβόητον ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βοηθείαις. τὰ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν φοιτῶντα τοῖς σώμασιν ἔχοντά τι καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου πολὺν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς κινεῖ τὸν λόγον).⁴² This “aid of the gods,” however, might not have been a complete cure, since Libanius continued his letter by enjoining Demetrios, “Do not only suffer with me, but also persuade the divinity who proposed the contest [*i.e.*, that Demetrios should compose oratory in Asklepios’s honor] to utter something about me as well” (σὺ δὲ μὴ μόνον μοι συναλγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν προβαλόντα σοι τὸν ἄθλον δαίμονα πείθειν φθέγγασθαι τι καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν), which suggests ongoing, though unspecified, suffering that Libanius hoped might be alleviated—or further alleviated?—by a revelation from Asklepios.⁴³ This mission’s circumstances and that it was an at least partial success probably can also be inferred from a peculiar statement by Libanius in a letter written in late summer of that year and sent to a prominent individual named Seleukos, in which he stated that “During the summer my head almost overpowered me, as my affliction gained power from a fraudulent oracle” (μικροῦ με τοῦ θέρους

41 The term μεγάλη πόλις in antiquity was typically used for Antioch and Alexandria, neither of which would make sense in this context. Instead, it appears that Libanius was praising Aegae by saying that Asklepios considered the location of his foremost sanctuary in the eastern Mediterranean worthy of elevation to the rank of “great city.” (Perhaps a sentiment communicated to Libanius in a dream?)

42 Lib., *Ep.* 727.1; for the recipient, see *PLRE* 1, “Demetrios 2” and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 255 (P. Janiszewski). It is curious that Libanius refers to “gods” in the plural, with inclusion of Hygieia—whose importance to him is documented in Lib., *Ep.* 1300 (see pp. 702–703)—the most likely explanation.

43 Lib., *Ep.* 727.2.

ἡ κεφαλὴ κατηνάρκασεν αὐξηθέντος τοῦ κακοῦ χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ), since it may well have been the damage done by this “fraudulent oracle” that prompted his brother’s journey to Aegae earlier in the year.⁴⁴ This letter likewise does not refer to a full cure, but does clearly indicate improvement. But even partial improvement was obviously considered a success by Libanius, who in 364 CE would write a friend named Eudaemon that with the help of two physicians working with their patron Asklepios’s support his gout-ridden foot had “regained two measures of the strength that it used to have.”⁴⁵

The cure (or partial cure), however, did not last, since in the following year Libanius had to ask another friend, the *Comes Orientis* of 363/4 CE Aradius Rufinus, to approach Asklepios on his behalf, most likely at Aegae, receiving the god’s response in a letter delivered to him by a prominent associate named Porphyrios:

Σὲ μὲν ἤλπιζον ὁ πεποίηκας ποιήσῃν, ἰκετεύσειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸν θεόν· τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνου δέ μοι κρείττω τῆς ἐλπίδος, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑμαυτῷ συνήδειν τοσαύτης ἄξιον χάριτος. [2] ἔοικεν οὖν αἰδεσθεῖς τὸν πρεσβευτὴν βεβοηθηκέναι, πείραν δὲ ἔδωκεν ἡ βοήθεια λαμπράν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἀπήειν διατριβῶν ἀκμάζον φέρων τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κακόν· συντυχῶν δέ μοι Πορφύριος δίδωσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλθὼν οἶκαδε χαίρω. ἐπειθόμην τῷ θεῷ καὶ μοι εὐθὺς ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἰλίγγων ἦν ἐλευθέρα. προσήγον οὖν καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον τὸ φάρμακον καὶ οἷς ἴσχυεν ἐδείκνυν, ὅτου εἴη. [3] νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν προσκυνῶ τὸν Απόλλωνος υἱόν, τοῦ φθινοπώρου δέ, εἰ διδοίη, τὴν τε λῆξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁψόμεθα κομίζοντες ἄσμα μικρὸν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων.⁴⁶

44 Lib., *Ep.* 770.4; for the recipient, see *PLRE* I, “Seleucus I.” The dating of this letter (Norman 1992, Letter No. 92) and three related ones is discussed by Norman in an appendix to his translation (“Chronology for *Letters* 92–95,” *ibid.*, 11:453–454). On this misleading oracle, see p. 710. Based on where they appear in the corpus, the three letters referring to proxy incubation (Lib., *Eps.* 706–708) date to spring rather than summer of 362 CE and thus there may be a problem with the chronology of this reconstruction, but Libanius’s concept of “summer” may well have included part of spring, in which case the “fraudulent oracle” could have preceded Libanius’s brother’s visit to Aegae.

45 Lib., *Ep.* 1300.3 (quoted pp. 702–703).

46 Lib., *Ep.* 1374. Aradius Rufinus: see *PLRE* I, “Rufinus II” and *FOL* 261, “Rufinus V.” Porphyrios: see *PLRE* I, “Porphyrios 2” and *FOL* 247, “Porphyrios I.” The letter has not been precisely dated, but appears to have been written in May or June, 363 CE. Although the letter does not indicate where Aradius Rufinus would have been, since his duties as *Comes Orientis* required extensive travel, and based on what is known of his movements he could easily have visited Aegae at some point—a much more likely conclusion than that he went to a

I was hoping that you would do what you have done, to supplicate the god on my behalf, but what I got from him is more powerful than my hope had been, for I have known nothing so worthy of gratitude. So he seems to have helped out of respect for the emissary, but the cure provided a splendid proof (of the god's power), (coming to me) immediately in the letter. For I was absent from my customary activities because of carrying a full-grown affliction in my head, until Porphyrios, chancing upon me in the *agora*, gave me the letter, and I headed homeward and rejoiced. I heeded the god and immediately my head was free of dizziness. And I applied the drug both a second and a third time and by these uses it proved itself to be powerful, of whatever sort it might be. And now therefore I prostrate myself before the son of Apollo, but in autumn, should he grant it, I will see both him and his dwelling-place, bringing a small hymn about great matters.

The effects of this cure, too, were to be somewhat short-lived, since while he had written in early 365 CE that he was free of his headaches,⁴⁷ and this can plausibly be linked to the cure obtained two years earlier with the help of Rufinus and Porphyrios, Libanius later recorded in his autobiography that in 386 CE his headaches had returned after a sixteen-year absence,⁴⁸ indicating that sometime between 365 CE and 370 CE he had begun to suffer from his head affliction again.

As noted above, however, Libanius's problems with his head were matched by no less severe problems with his feet. In 364 CE, when Libanius first experienced gout, his "doctors conceded that they had been defeated" (ἱατροὶ δὲ νενικησθῆναι . . . ὡμολόγουν) by the disease, as he later recalled.⁴⁹ Libanius's letters reveal what his autobiography does not: since the doctors were unable to cure the gout, he turned to Asklepios for assistance.⁵⁰ Once again, Libanius

temple of Asklepios in Tarsus, as claimed in *PLRE* I, p. 776. Although another *Asklepieion* cannot be ruled out, from the fact that Rufinus used a letter to communicate with Libanius it is clear that he was away from Antioch.

47 Lib., *Ep.* 1483.5 (quoted n. 11).

48 Lib., *Or.* 1.243 (quoted p. 694).

49 Lib., *Or.* 1.139–140 (quoting 1.140). See also *Ep.* 1301, discussing his recent diagnosis of gout in detail, as well as how his doctors had responded to the new ailment. For Libanius's other references to his gout see n. 14.

50 Suffering from gout, as well as the god's ability to cure it, became a topic for conversation between Libanius and his fellow rhetorician Akakios, a kinsman of Demetrios, who is thought likewise to have lived in Tarsus and had been suffering from the ailment at least as far back as 357 CE, the first year for which there is evidence of the correspondence

did not visit the god, but instead sent a proxy, his friend and local colleague Eudaemon, who evidently engaged in incubation at Aegae as well.⁵¹ This is revealed by a letter of thanks that Libanius sent Eudaemon in Cilicia after he had begun experiencing a significant but incomplete improvement, in which he makes reference both to Eudaemon's dream-encounter with Hygieia and upcoming marriage:

Εὐδαίμονι. [1] καὶ σοὶ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ χάρις καὶ τῷ τὸν ὕπνον ὑμῖν ἐπιδόντι καὶ τῷ φήναντι τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ καλήν, καὶ σοὶ πάλιν χάρις, ὅτι ταύτην οἶε τὴν Ὑγίειαν εἶναι. [2] ἀλλ' ὅπως ταύτην γε τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἢ μᾶλλον τὴν θεὸν μὴ ἀνῆλτε, πρὶν ἂν ἐμοὶ συγγένηται καὶ περιχυθῇ καὶ διὰ

between the two, and who also would seek Asklepios's help (see *PLRE* I, "Acacius 7" and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 32 (P. Janiszewski); for his relation to Demetrios, see *PLRE* I, p. 1139, *stemma* 15 and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.*, *stemma* x1). In his letter from that year referring to Akakios's gout Libanius expresses concern and, as one prone to illness himself, notes his reliance on wine to lessen his suffering (Lib., *Ep.* 316; partly quoted in n. 21). Libanius appears not to have written on the subject of health again until the winter of 362 CE and following spring, when in two letters he praised at length an oration honoring Asklepios that Akakios had written after being cured by the god (*Eps.* 695, 1342; see Sandwell 2007, 228–229), apparently for an ailment other than gout (*Ep.* 695.4). By 364 CE Libanius himself was suffering from gout while Akakios's remained or had returned, and in closing a letter to him he referred to their common suffering by joking that "Something else might make us friends: most excellent Gout at the same time has embraced both your leg and mine" (ποιοῖ δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλο τι φίλους, ἢ βελτίστη ποδάγρα ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις τόν τε σὸν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ἀσπασαμένη πόδα) (*Ep.* 1286.3). In another letter to Akakios later that same year Libanius was to prove even more loquacious and humorous, letting his friend know that the comedy about gout that Akakios had written had been warmly received in Antioch, describing his own coming to terms with the fact that he was suffering from the ailment, and employing the sort of military metaphor of which he was often fond when describing his struggles with illness, in this case that both he and Akakios had called upon Asklepios as an "ally against gout" (σύμμαχος ἐπὶ ποδάγραν) (*Ep.* 1301, quoting 1301.4). Regardless of whether Akakios lived in Tarsus, as is generally assumed, or elsewhere in Cilicia, it is clear that he would visit the Aegae *Asklepieion*, in part because of that sanctuary's evident importance to Tarsus and in part because of Libanius's reference to an oration he composed lamenting its closure (Lib., *Ep.* 695.2; quoted p. 209n.226).

51 For the best treatments of Eudaemon's life and career, see Kaster 1988, 400–403, No. 210 and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 332 (P. Janiszewski); see also the recent discussion of Libanius's letters to Eudaemon in Criboire 2013, 148; cf. *PLRE* I, "Eudaemon 2." As detailed by Janiszewski, there have been different views regarding whether Eudaemon consulted Asklepios at Aegae or Tarsus, but for the reasons discussed above Aegae is considerably more likely; either way, unlike the recipients of Libanius's other letters concerning supplications at Aegae, Eudaemon was not a native of Cilicia, but rather had traveled there from Antioch, staying for an extended period of time and getting married.

παντὸς ἐλθοῦσα μέλους φυγῇ ζημιώσῃ τὴν ἀναιδῆ ποδάγραν. [3] ἐλπίζω δέ τι πλέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ νῦν μικρόν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τίθεμαι, παρ' οὗ τὴν νύμφην λαμβάνεις. ἤδη γὰρ ὁ πούς δύο μοίρας ἀπειλήφε τῆς δυνάμεως ἣν ποτε εἶχεν. αἱ μὲν χεῖρες τοῖν Ἑπειρώταιν, τὸ δὲ δῶρον Ἀσκληπιοῦ. [4] πιστεύειν οὖν χρή καὶ περὶ τοῦ λειπομένου. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ γένοιτο, δραμούμεθα παρὰ τὸν φιλόδωρον θεὸν βεβαιωσόμενοι τε τὸ δοθέν καὶ σοὶ δῶδα ἄψοντες ἐν τοῖς γάμοις· πρὶν δὲ κομίσασθαι τὸ πᾶν, οὐκ ἀσφαλές, οἶμαι, μείζω τῆς δυνάμεως τολμᾶν.⁵²

To Eudaemon. I am grateful both to you, my emissary, and to the one who bestowed sleep upon you and revealed the great and beautiful lady, and am grateful to you once more because you believe she is Hygieia. But do not let go of that woman, or rather that goddess, until she comes to my aid and embraces me, and having gone through every limb punishes my ruthless gout with exile. But I hope for something more. For what I already have is not minor—that which I credit to the god from whom you receive your bride—and already my foot has regained two measures of the strength that it used to have. The hands are those of the two Epeirotes [*i.e.*, physicians from Epirus], but the gift (of health) is that of Asklepios. I therefore also have to believe in what remains (to be done). If this happens, I will run to the gift-giving god both to confirm what has been given and to light a torch for you at your wedding. But before this is all achieved, it is not safe, I suppose, to undertake more than one's strength permits.

In the case of this embassy to the god, Libanius appears to indicate that on his behalf Eudaemon had engaged in incubation, which is the most reasonable interpretation of his reference to “the one bestowing sleep” on his “emissary,” who then saw Hygieia.⁵³ Libanius believed Eudaemon's visit to be a partial success, since he wrote that his foot had regained a significant portion of its strength, but was not yet fully healed.⁵⁴ This was a significant achievement, and one for which Libanius expressed gratitude, but he indicated that he

52 Lib., *Ep.* 1300. I am grateful to Craig Gibson for suggesting that the “Epeirotes” must be physicians; these physicians are almost certainly the ones alluded to in a subsequent letter to Eudaemon that same year, in which Libanius credits their successful efforts to the god (*Ep.* 1303.1; quoted n. 69). As can be seen in *Ep.* 362.5 (quoted p. 604n.4), Libanius's comment that “the gift (of health) is that of Asklepios” was not the only time he employed the word “gift” in reference to aid from Asklepios.

53 Reference to an “emissary” (πρεσβευτής) who had consulted Asklepios on Libanius's behalf is also found in his letter to Aradius Rufinus (Lib., *Ep.* 1374; quoted pp. 700–701).

54 As noted by the Edelsteins, though in reference to a passage in Libanius's autobiography rather than this letter, even a partial cure was to be considered a healing miracle (Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:169–170, citing *Or.* 1.143; quoted pp. 704–705).

expected to recover further—though not whether this would have involved Eudaemon making another visit to the sanctuary.⁵⁵ Libanius did make it clear that, although he had recovered somewhat, he still was not up to the journey required to reach Cilicia, but was indeed planning to visit the *Asklepieion* himself: thus, as indicated elsewhere, he only relied on proxies when physically unable to travel.⁵⁶ He also makes it clear, as is known from earlier sources, that not all recoveries attributed to incubation could be expected to occur right away, and that improvement could be quite gradual.⁵⁷

There is no way to know whether Libanius deliberately omitted from his autobiography the consultations by his brother and Eudaemon regarding his headaches and gout, but this may have been because both problems soon returned, and thus he would have had to admit that Asklepios, like his doctors, had ultimately failed to cure him.⁵⁸ The one discussion of Asklepios's involvement in Libanius's life that he put in his autobiography concerns events that occurred shortly before the first half of the work was completed, when the effects of the god's latest cure had not yet faded (as had the previous one), and also when the experience was still relatively fresh in his memory. Writing around 374 CE, Libanius recalled how around 371 CE Asklepios had completed a series of visitations through which he had substantially cured Libanius, who four years earlier had sent a household servant to consult Asklepios on his behalf, presumably at Aegae:

ὁ κλύδων οὗτος ἔτη τέτταρα ἐπεκράτει, καὶ καταφεύγω δι' οἰκέτου πρὸς τὸν ἔτοιμον ἀμύνειν, τὸν μέγαν Ἀσκληπιόν, καὶ φράσαντος οὐ καλῶς ἀφεςτάναι με τῶν εἰωθότων πίνω τε οὐ πάλαι φαρμάκου, καὶ ἦν μὲν τι κέρδος, οὐ μὴν παντελῶς γε ἐξελέηλατο τὸ κακόν. ἔφη δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοῦτο χαριεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδην μὲν, ὥς οὐκ εὐσεβὲς ἀπιστεῖν ἐγγυητῇ τοιούτῳ, θαυμάζειν δὲ ὅμως παρῆν

55 In the letter to Modestus quoted above that dates to the first half of 365 CE Libanius notes that he had been freed by Asklepios of his headaches but not his gout, which must allude at least in part to Eudaemon's consultation, but does not indicate whether there had been a follow-up by this friend or someone else (Lib., *Ep.* 1483.5; quoted n. 11).

56 Perhaps Libanius truly meant this promise to visit Aegae when able, but by 364 CE he had not been away from Antioch for a decade, and never again left the city.

57 See pp. 236–237.

58 For his gout's return, see Libanius's comment in his autobiography: "For a short time it stopped, as if for an armistice, and again began to hurl its javelins at me repeatedly" (ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκεχειρίαις μικρὸν διαλιποῦσα πάλιν ἡκόντιζε καὶ πολλάκις γε ἐκάτερον) (Lib., *Or.* 1.139; see *Or.* 1.268 for an extension of this military metaphor regarding his ailments). For the return of his headaches in 363 CE, see *Ep.* 1374 (quoted pp. 700–701).

εἰ καὶ ταύτης εἶναί ποτε δόξαιμι τῆς χάριτος ἄξιος. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἔτος ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα λήγον ἡδὴ, τρισὶ δ' ἐνυπνίοις ὁ θεός, ὧν τῷ δύο μεθημερινῷ, μέρος οὐ μικρὸν ἐκάστω τοῦ νοσήματος ἀφήρει καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὃ μήποτε ἀφέλοιτο.⁵⁹

These rough waters overpowered me for four years, and then I fled by means of a household servant to the one ready to protect, the great Asklepios. And since he declared that I had not done well in avoiding my customary practices, I drank the medicine which I had drunk long before, and there was some amount of benefit from this, though truly my affliction was not completely driven out. But the god said that he also would do this for me. I knew that it was irreverent not to believe in such a guarantor as this, yet at the same time it was possible to wonder if ever I might be held worthy of this favor. And when I had already come to the end of my fifty-seventh year, the god by means of three dreams, two of which were daytime dreams, removing a significant portion of my disease each time, brought me to this state of health, which, I hope, will never be taken away.

Although Libanius is vague concerning whether the god was helping him specifically with his headaches, gout or perhaps even his emotional disorders—each of which is mentioned in the passages preceding this one—or multiple ailments, it seems most likely that it was his headaches that disappeared, since later, in 386 CE, Libanius wrote, “My old head affliction, which was caused by the lightning bolt, was pressing me hard once again, having left me alone for sixteen years” (τὸ δὲ πάθος ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὃ βροντῆς ἔργον ἐγεγόνει, διαλιπὼν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη πάλιν ἐνέκειτο),⁶⁰ and also because immediately after referring to his recovery he mentions the emperor Valens’s visit to Antioch and that he had been able to tolerate sights and sounds associated with the *adventus* that previously would have overwhelmed his senses.⁶¹ The three visions of Asklepios through which Libanius felt himself finally to have been sufficiently healed were actually the culmination of prolonged treatment

59 Lib., *Or.* 1.143. See Criboire 2013, 148–149. Since Libanius, due to their living in his household, would not have sent letters to his servants concerning his health or asking them to visit Aegae on his behalf, it is quite possible that additional instances of proxy incubation performed there are unrecorded, with Libanius’s instructions having been conveyed orally.

60 Lib., *Or.* 1.243. Ἐνέκειτο appears to be another one of Libanius’s military metaphors.

61 Lib., *Or.* 1.144.

by the god over a four-year period, and since no mention is made of his having visited Aegae or the god's local temple it must be inferred that Libanius received them at home (or perhaps at his school, in the case of the two daytime visions). Again, as with his gout nearly a decade earlier, instead of the type of nearly instantaneous, miraculous cure for which Asklepios was famous—or, at least, most prominently celebrated in the Epidauros “miracle” inscriptions and similar texts of centuries past—Libanius experienced a long convalescence even with the god's help. This process began with his servant engaging in incubation—as is indicated by the term *φράσαντος* in reference to Asklepios's communication—and receiving the message that “I had not done well in avoiding my customary practices,”⁶² which prompted him to drink “the medicine which I had drunk long before.” Even though there was some improvement, and perhaps more after another dream-message from Asklepios promising help (*ἔφη δὲ ὁ θεός καὶ τοῦτο χαριεῖσθαι*), and later even more improvement after the noteworthy experience of having the god appear to him in the three dreams,⁶³ Libanius resigned himself to never regaining his full health. Such an attitude—perhaps that of a realist, or else reflecting being depressed over his current condition—stands in marked contrast to the typical reports about Asklepios's assistance at certain *Asklepieia*, which glowingly report full recoveries. As Libanius's experience shows—and as should come as no surprise—cult propaganda such as the Epidaurian testimonies was intended to put Asklepios in the best possible light, and thus advertised his greatest accomplishments, but an untold number of worshipers must likewise have received incomplete treatments (if any).

XII.4 Libanius and Aristides

Libanius's multiple references to seeking help from Asklepios over the years are valuable because they create a rare example of a medical case history, enabling us to see how a wealthy and prominent intellectual who was often sickly would repeatedly approach physicians and the divine physician. They are also valuable because they can serve as a comparandum for the more well-documented and well-known experiences of Aristides, whose seemingly

62 On the possible interpretations of this phrase, see Norman 1965, 190.

63 From his discussion of this phase of the treatment, it appears that these visits by Asklepios stood out as especially significant and memorable, so it may be concluded that Libanius—unlike Aristides—was not a regular recipient of such divine favors, and that if he likewise had kept a record of his dreams it would have been considerably shorter.

constant attention to and from the god has been detailed in his *Sacred Tales*, and whose strong influence on Libanius in general has been previously noted by modern scholars and indicated by the sophist himself.⁶⁴ However, although Libanius was a self-proclaimed admirer of Aristides and scholars might be right in seeing his influence throughout Libanius's *Oration* 1 and certain other works, the two sophists' respective accounts of their medical problems and Asklepios's interventions have little in common. This, of course, is partly due to the different nature of their respective works, since Libanius wrote a chronological account of his life and touched on various medical problems that were especially memorable for their impacts on him, only once mentioning Asklepios's involvement, whereas Aristides in the *Sacred Tales* produced a somewhat disjointed series of narratives describing in great detail the nature of his ailments, the treatments he followed, and, quite often, the prescriptive dreams he received, all with the ultimate goal of honoring Asklepios. Even if one takes this into account, though, the differences between the *Sacred Tales* and Libanius's autobiography are significant. Among the most noticeable of these is that Libanius clearly saw no need to detail all of his encounters with the god: after all, he chose not to write anything about his three visions of Asklepios in 371 CE, even though elsewhere in the autobiography he briefly recounts a divine dream he attributed to Herakles.⁶⁵ Indeed, while Libanius's medical problems appear to have been no less debilitating and chronic than Aristides's, his work gives no indication of having obsessed over his relationship with Asklepios and the god's involvement in his life. He treated these in a much more measured way than Aristides, and made no attempt to create his own *Sacred Tales*, even though he obviously could have done so to some extent, as both his medical experiences and the rhetorical flourishes with which he described them in numerous letters reveal.⁶⁶

Another noteworthy difference between their works is that Aristides wrote at great length about the nature of his problems and the specific cures suggested to him both by the god and by doctors and associates, while Libanius was circumspect concerning these matters in both his autobiography and letters, and rarely used medical terms: although he did often refer to gout by name, he also used allusive language for it, just as he chose to refer to his headaches by means

64 See n. 3.

65 Lib., *Or.* 1.67.

66 It is probably for this reason that the two were remembered differently by posterity: Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* refers to Aristides's health problems (Philostr., vs 2.9, p. 581), but Eunapius in his comparable *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* discusses Libanius's life and career without doing so (Eunap., vs 16.1–12, ed. Goulet).

of the general terms *κακόν*, *νόσος* or *πάθος*, or else circumlocutions.⁶⁷ Libanius rarely discussed the symptoms of his physical problems, and revealed very little about the various treatments he underwent. Although he occasionally referred to medicine (*φάρμακα*), as noted above his work never describes these prescriptions—a clear contrast from the obsessively detailed Aristides, as well as such worshipers of Asklepios as Publius Granius Rufus and Marcus Julius Apellas who are known from their highly detailed dedicatory inscriptions.⁶⁸ Even on the occasions of his brother and later Eudaemon visiting the temple at Aegae, Libanius made no mention of what the god revealed to him. In fact, we only learn that Eudaemon at some point sent Libanius a shoot (or similar item) from the sanctuary—perhaps at the god's or Hygieia's command, as there is no source attesting that this was standard practice.⁶⁹ Although it was

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- 67 See especially Lib., *Or.* 1.243, using each of the three terms in reference to the return of these headaches (τὸ δὲ πάθος ἐκείνο τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἀρχαῖον . . . πάλιν ἐνέκειτο), and *Or.* 1.10, employing ἡ συμφορά ("misfortune") and τὸ κακόν for the suffering he experienced as the result of because of the thunderbolt. See also, e.g., Lib., *Eps.* 707 (ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ μοι κατοικεῖ πάθος), 727.1 and 1483.5 (τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς κακόν), and the use of τὸ κακόν for an unspecified psychological ailment or cluster of ailments (Lib., *Or.* 1.143). (In contrast to Libanius, Marcus Julius Apellas in his dedicatory stele erected at Epidauros twice uses the proper medical term *κεφαλαλγία* in reference to his headaches (*IG* IV² 1, 126, ll. 27, 29–30; quoted pp. 169–171).)
- 68 Apellas: see previous note. Rufus: *I.Cret* 1, xvii, 17–18 (quoted pp. 233–234). For Libanius's *φάρμακα*, see n. 26.
- 69 Lib., *Ep.* 1303.1: "I have the shoot from the temple, and for me nothing more has come from this, unless one must consider the work of the physicians to be that of the god—and so it shall seem and so shall it be, for this opinion is all at once appealing and reliable" (τὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θαλλὸν ἔχω, γέγονε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μοι πλεόν οὐδέν, πλὴν εἰ τὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἔργον δεῖ νομίζειν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ δοκεῖτω γε οὕτω καὶ ἔστω· καλὸν γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἀσφαλές ἦδε ἡ δόξα). This passage's precise meaning is somewhat cryptic, both in terms of the interpretation of θαλλός and how it relates to Libanius's recovery following the consultation at Aegae by Eudaemon recorded in *Ep.* 1300 (quoted pp. 702–703). While the Edelsteins were right to treat the term as a reference to an olive shoot (Edelstein, *Asclepius* 1:286, No. 503), since olive groves were associated with *Asklepieia* and the wearing of olive wreaths plays a role in the processional ritual described in the "Isyllos Hymn" (*IG* IV² 1, 128, l. 20; for this inscription, see pp. 202–203n.204) and is recorded in at least one of the two sacred laws pertaining to incubation at Pergamon (*I.Pergamon* 2, 264 and *I.Pergamon* 3, 161; quoted pp. 194–195), it is not clear that they were correct in stating that the olive shoot would have had apotropaic powers (11:189n.17). A role for branches in Greek religious rituals, other than their use in wreaths, does not seem well attested, though perhaps an example is to be found in the Θ-E-O-Δ divination episode in the time of Valens that was at the heart of a trial for treason, since the priestly figure conducting the inquiry was said to have been holding or wearing "twigs from a luck-bringing tree" (*verbenas felices*

never Libanius's intent to write a medical history, as did Aristides and the less prominent devotees whose accounts of cures were inscribed at healing shrines throughout the Mediterranean world, his lack of detail and precise medical terminology is striking.

In addition to such differences in their written works, a contrast can also be drawn between Aristides and Libanius as patients. The most obvious is that whereas Aristides spent significant portions of his life at the Pergamon *Asklepieion* and other temples seeking cures, Libanius does not refer to having visited a temple of the god (though in his letter to Eudaemon he expressed a wish to come to Aegae once his gout was sufficiently cured).⁷⁰ Both men have been referred to by modern scholars as hypochondriacs,⁷¹ though of course just as paranoiacs can have real enemies hypochondriacs can have real medical problems—and, indeed, both Aristides and Libanius describe serious afflictions that could not have been psychosomatic. In the case of Libanius, these were gout and debilitating headaches, whereas Aristides reported numerous maladies. The most significant difference between their cases appears to be in the importance they placed on their respective relationships with the god. Aristides, citing dreams from Asklepios, felt compelled to come to the *Asklepieion* and then spend long periods of time there, and as is

arboris gestans) (Amm. Marc. 29.1.31). See also *Anth. Pal.* 6.351, featuring the dedication of a branch. However, in the case of Libanius, the “shoot from the temple” obviously was intended to confer some sort of benefit—and may even have done so for a time, in his view, since he wrote that “nothing more has come from this,” not “nothing at all” (though this might be a general reference to the benefits from the visit not having been enhanced by receiving the shoot). It therefore seems likely that this olive shoot was sent from Aegae by Eudaemon as a token of his visit and somehow was intended to promote Libanius's health, but that Libanius did not rely solely on this, also consulting unnamed physicians—apparently the two “Epeirotēs” referred to in his earlier letter to Eudaemon (*Ep.* 1300.3), whose successful ministrations were credited to Asklepios in both letters (see n. 52). (If this interpretation is correct and Libanius attributed some amount of physical improvement to the θεᾶλλός then Criore 2013, 148 would be incorrect in writing that this letter reveals Libanius to have become “disgruntled” because “he had gotten ‘from the temple little more than a branch’ and the routine prescription to obey his doctors.”)

70 As discussed above (see n. 31), a temple of Asklepios was built in Antioch under Domitian, but it is unknown whether it survived to Libanius's day—and, even if it did, there is no sign that it was a place for the sick to stay while recovering. Moreover, once Libanius was in his forties he never again left Antioch, so if he was not able to visit a temple of Asklepios in his own city he would have had to worship him at other gods' temples, or else private shrines.

71 See, e.g., Norman 1965, 149 for Libanius. For a survey of the different attempts to psychoanalyze Aristides, see Andersson/ Roos 1997.

immediately evident from the *Sacred Tales* prized his intimate relationship with the healing god, and this quite possibly gave him subconscious motivation never to achieve perfect health. Libanius, however, does not indicate that he held Asklepios in greater esteem than other gods,⁷² and saw no need to relocate to the Aegae *Asklepieion* and wait for the god's cures to take effect. Moreover, Libanius experienced long periods of relatively good health, and when he was ill his absolute misery gave him plenty of motivation to become well: thus, in contrast to Aristides, there is no behavior evident that would suggest that some of his medical problems had psychological origins possibly arising from a Münchausen Syndrome-like desire to be tended to by Asklepios.

XII.5 Libanius's other Non-medical Options

In his writings, Libanius several times expressed disappointment that his doctors were unable to cure him. For example, late in his life, in 387 CE, he wrote that their prescriptions were more painful than the gout itself and ineffective, bringing temporary hope but never permanent health.⁷³ Although he never stated it, it is also possible that Libanius was not fully satisfied with Asklepios's services,⁷⁴ and this may have led him in his later years to seek alternative forms of healing. Ironically, though, it may have been a "fraudulent oracle" from a diviner—the type of person one might consult when seeking medical aid beyond the spheres of rational medicine and mainstream religion—that back in 362 CE had worsened his condition and driven him to ask his brother and three associates to consult Asklepios on his behalf in Aegae.⁷⁵ Libanius's last

72 For Libanius and religion—both his own religious activities and those of his peers and correspondents—see Cribiore 2013, 132–228.

73 *Or.* 34.17.

74 Previously noted by Cribiore, who suggests that Libanius's interest in Asklepios seems to have faded in later years, even though his health continued to suffer (Cribiore 2013, 212–213). (However, Cribiore's observation that after 388 CE Libanius no longer referred to Asklepios despite his ongoing health problems appears to exclude his ambiguous statement regarding visits from the god in *Lib., Ep.* 1010.5 (see n. 77).)

75 *Lib., Ep.* 770.4 (quoted pp. 699–700). In a note on this passage in his translation, Norman assumes that the "false oracle"—as he translates it—was obtained at Aegae by Libanius's brother (Norman 1992, 11:26n.d; cf. Cribiore 2013, 148), but it is highly unlikely that Libanius would have used such a disrespectful term as *κίβδηλος*, which had a connotation of deceitfulness rather than mere erroneousness, in reference to a dream-oracle from Asklepios. Indeed, Libanius even uses it in his autobiography in reference to a Roman senator's "having been deceived by fraudulent dreams professing things that would not

significant reference to the god was written in 374 CE in his autobiography,⁷⁶ at a time when he seemed to have been finally cured (though admittedly there are no letters surviving for the years 366–387 CE). However, Libanius's condition became significantly worse in his final years, and yet, other than a general reference to having received nighttime visits from Asklepios,⁷⁷ his accounts of his sufferings make no references to the god; indeed, in a letter possibly sent to one of his students in 393 CE and thus perhaps written during the final year of his life, Libanius even despairingly refers to his sense that the gods considered him a nuisance.⁷⁸ For the first time in his autobiography Libanius reports that during this period, in addition to his regular doctors, he had consulted diviners (μάντεις) and an astrologer regarding his maladies—a development which could signal his desperation as well as some loss of faith in the mortal and divine medical authorities he had previously trusted, and for which there is no parallel among Aristides's writings. Libanius initially makes an allusion to this by a general comment, written in 382 CE but pertaining to political events a decade earlier, that while he was grateful to the diviner's art for lessening his head ailment and guiding him in other respects (καὶ μαντικῇ μὲν οἶδα χάριν, ἥ μοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν πραοτέροις κατέστησεν, ὅτῳ τε χρηστέον καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ φράζουσα), he had almost lost his head when the Christian emperor Valens was led to suspect him of being among those who had improperly consulted a diviner (μάντις).⁷⁹

be happening" (κιβδήλοις ὀνειράσιν ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπισχνουμένοις τὰ οὐκ ἐσόμενα), which this individual mockingly shared with others (Lib., *Or.* 1.239; see Harris 2009, 225n.609). A more likely scenario therefore presents itself: suffering from his migraines, in the spring or summer of 362 CE, Libanius had sought or been brought a prescriptive oracle that most likely originated with a professional or amateur diviner (*i.e.*, not a priest or temple official), and after following it had somehow made his condition worse he felt compelled, perhaps for the first time, to seek Asklepios's aid, doing so through a proxy consultation.

76 Lib., *Or.* 1.143.

77 In a letter written to the rhetor or sophist Maxentius in 391 CE Libanius mentions being visited by "great" Asklepios on multiple occasions (ἐν νυξὶν ἑμαυτῷ συγγενέσθαι φημί πολλάκις τὸν μέγαν Ἀσκληπιόν), though he does not indicate the time frame for such visits (Lib., *Ep.* 1010.5; on the recipient, see *PLRE* 1, "Maxentius 4" and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 672 (P. Janiszewski)).

78 Lib., *Ep.* 112.2: "For me the multitude of ills, and especially the chiefmost of these, has put and still puts death in my prayers, and this is so interminable that the gods also seem to me to be troubled" (ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κακῶν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν ἐν εὐχῇ τὸν θάνατον καὶ πεποίηκε καὶ ποιεῖ, καὶ οὕτω συνεχές τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἡνωχλήσθαι). See Cribiore 2013, 146 on this letter; for its recipient Eutropios, see *PLRE* 1, "Eutropios 4" and *Pros.Rhet.Soph.* 390 (P. Janiszewski).

79 Lib., *Or.* 1.171–173 (quoting 173). While the term μαντικῇ could conceivably be used for dream-oracles from Asklepios, the context makes clear that Libanius had in mind human

Unlike the reference to *μάντική* in this passage, Libanius's two subsequent mentions of *μάντις* are linked to specific episodes. In 386 CE, when his headaches returned, Libanius was in great agony, and he considered undergoing blood-letting as a possible means of alleviating his pain.⁸⁰ Although it is unclear whose idea it was to do this, Libanius was talked out of it by a *μάντις* whose divined advice was confirmed by his doctor, who told Libanius that if he had proceeded with this plan he very likely would have died. Two years later, when his head ailment was accompanied by "fear of falling" (*καταπεσεῖσθαι ὁ φόβος*), it was "through a good diviner" (*δι' ἀγαθοῦ μάντεως*) that "one of the gods" (*θεῶν τις*) "destroyed this fear with hope" (*λύσας ἐλπιδι τὸν φόβον*) in some manner not revealed by the author.⁸¹ Libanius's fear of going blind was similarly assuaged by one or more astrological consultations in 391 CE, two years before his death, which brought the promising news that the movement of Ares indicated that his vision would not be lost.⁸² It is unclear whether Libanius sought

diviners, and perhaps also his own divinatory inquiries. Whether pertaining to Asklepios or diviners, the term's use in reference to Libanius's headaches is potentially problematic, since this comment was written during the sixteen-year period when Libanius was not suffering from them—but the phrasing is general enough that this could be a statement applying to consultations of diviners made at least a dozen years earlier, though presumably excluding the "fraudulent oracle" he had received two decades before.

Norman's note to his Loeb translation that there was "a persistent tradition" of Libanius participating in divination is irrelevant and rather misleading (Norman 1992, 1:241n.a): he cites the Byzantine chronicler John Zonaras and Byzantine historian Georgios Kedrenos in reference to Libanius and rooster divination (*ἀλεκτορομαντεία*), but the episode that these two describe almost identically, in which Libanius and the Late Platonist Iamblichus during the reign of Valens observed a rooster picking at morsels of food corresponding to the letters Θ-E-O-Δ, is so similar to the one earlier recounted by Ammianus Marcellinus concerning divination by several other prominent figures in the time of Valens that there is no reason to believe the account's authenticity, nor is this form of ouija-like divination pertinent to health-related inquiries (Zonar. 13.16, pp. 223–224, ed. Dindorf; Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum* 548B–C, ed. Bekker (= PG 121, 597A–B); Amm. Marc. 29.1.29–32 (see pp. 708–709n.69)).

80 Lib., *Or.* 1.243–244.

81 Lib., *Or.* 1.268. Presumably, a god other than Asklepios is meant here, since Asklepios was not associated with diviners.

82 Lib., *Or.* 1.281; see Norman 1965, 233, viewing Libanius's comment as derisive. For Libanius's views on astrology, see Criboire 2013, 219. For other references to Libanius's great concern over his diminishing eyesight, see *Eps.* 1039, 1051.2, and 1064.1. Libanius's brother had died about ten years earlier from a disease which first manifested itself in a sudden discharge from the eyes followed by blindness (Lib., *Or.* 1.199–202, 1.213), so Libanius had special reason for concern when he himself began to go blind. (On the reputed effects of the heavenly bodies on eyesight, see, e.g., Ptol., *Tetr.* 3.12.148–149, which focuses particularly on the sun and moon, rather than Ares/Mars.)

out such experts, or instead his statement can be read as an indication that astrologers who were aware of his ailment approached him seeking to comfort him (and hoping to get paid quite well to do so). It is perhaps noteworthy that Libanius makes no reference to seeking help from Asklepios for his eyesight—even though going back at least as far as Aristophanes's *Plutus* and the testimonial inscriptions at Epidauros this god was known for his ability to restore eyesight. Regardless of whether these diviners might have prescribed specific remedies, it appears that they had a significant emotional impact on Libanius, who was reassured by each of his consultations and given a measure of hope.

XII.6 Conclusion

Though at times more puzzling than informative, Libanius's descriptions of his numerous physical and emotional ordeals over the decades collectively represent a lengthy medical case history. As such, they provide rare insights into the courses which a patient might wish to pursue—specifically, when to put himself in the hands of mortal healers, when to turn to a healing god, and even when to seek alternative forms of aid. Unfortunately, we cannot fully appreciate Libanius's lifelong quest for health, since his autobiography contains only a selection of reports concerning his medical problems, while a substantial number of his letters are lost, including all of those written during a period of twenty-three years at the height of his career. This gap in his correspondence begins within three years of the times when Libanius is known to have used proxies at an *Asklepieion* that was most likely the one at Aegae, so it is impossible to know whether his interactions with Asklepios were limited to the episodes that we do know about, or continued. Furthermore, Libanius's writing tends to be highly rhetorical, and his rhetoric is often exaggerated or characterized by circumlocutions, inexact descriptions, and omissions of seemingly important details, so it can be difficult to determine precisely what had been his affliction or his treatment. This stands in marked contrast to Aristides, who usually went into great detail regarding his experiences. Thus our greatest hindrance to fully appreciating Libanius's medical case history and the role that Asklepios and incubation played in it ultimately is Libanius himself—but nonetheless, there is more than enough recorded in his writings for a partial case history to be pieced together, one that provides valuable information for both the practice of temple healing and role of medicine in Late Antiquity.

The “Letter on a Stele” as Possible Evidence for Incubation in Third Millennium BCE Egypt

Not all incubation necessarily was practiced in sanctuaries: as the discussion of incubation among certain tribes as well as some Israelites and Egyptians of Late Antiquity makes clear, divinatory incubation in some cultures was practiced at tombs.¹ A small, inscribed stele that dates to the First Intermediate Period (c. 2160–2055 BCE), known as the “Letter on a Stele” (or “Misplaced Stele”), may represent unique evidence for a comparable practice in Egypt.² This document, an example of the “Letter to the Dead” genre found on papyrus and various objects placed in tombs at several sites, features on the back a hieroglyphic message to a deceased woman that appears to have been written by her husband:

A communication by Merirtyfy to Nebetiotef: How are you? Is the West [*i.e.*, the region of the dead] taking care of you [according to] your desire? Now since I am your beloved upon earth, fight on my behalf and intercede on behalf of my name. I have not garbled [a spell] before you when I perpetuated your name upon earth. Remove the infirmity of my body! Please become a spirit for me [before] my eyes so that I may see you in a dream (*rsw.t*) fighting on my behalf. I will then deposit offerings for you [as soon as] the sun has risen and outfit your offering slab for you . . .³

¹ See Chapter 2.4.

² There may also be evidence from the early Middle Kingdom (twenty-first century BCE): a damaged religious text that addresses to Seth a prayer to “repel what he has seen through fear of my forms” (James, *Ḥekanakhte Papers* 10, *verso*, l. 1, with note at p. 76), a phrase reminiscent of the apotropaic prayer at the end of the one surviving dream interpretation manual from the New Kingdom (*P.ChesterBeatty* 3, *recto*, col. x, ll. 10–19; see p. 77n.107). As this text was found in a tomb at Deir el-Bahari it might signal that dreams were solicited there, but this is only one possible explanation for its findspot. (I am grateful to Robert K. Ritner for providing this reference and suggesting this possibility.)

³ Wente 1975–76 (= Wente, *Letters* 349); trans. Wente. See Szpakowska 2001, 31, Szpakowska 2003a, 23–24, 185–186 and Szpakowska 2003b, 112. For the circumstances of the stele’s rediscovery and promise of future work on it, see Meltzer 2012. See also Ritner 1993, 180–183 on the Egyptian belief that a deceased individual could function as an “effective spirit” (*šh*), a forerunner of the corpse-spirits later invoked in Greco-Egyptian magic. For a “Letter to

As its original editor suggested, this “letter” could indicate that the man petitioning his deceased wife had spent the night in a tomb chapel in the hope of envisioning her in a dream, and as an inducement he vowed to make offerings and provide a stele upon awakening.⁴ This interpretation, however, is far from certain: after all, the requested dream instead could have been received by Merirtyfy at home, especially since it would have provided neither a prophecy nor a prescription, but merely a confirmation that Nebetotef was heeding the request and that Merirtyfy had reason for optimism that he would regain his health.⁵ It is also unclear whether the petitioner did indeed receive the desired dream, and the one potential clue in the text that might have resolved this issue instead presents an insoluble interpretive problem: Merirtyfy’s promise to “deposit offerings for you [as soon as] the sun has risen and outfit your offering slab for you” can instead be read as a promise that he would “lay down gifts before you [...] when the sun rises I will set up offerings for you,” since the word (*hṭp* or *hṭp.t*) initially translated as “offering slab” is no less likely to mean “offerings.”⁶ If the reading of “offering slab” is correct, it may be that the stele itself—which on the front features an image of a man (Merirtyfy?) making an offering—was the votive offering, in which case the fact that this stele was produced would indicate that the dream was received previously, possibly in the tomb itself.⁷ But if unspecified “offerings” had been promised, it is impossible to conclude that the dream was ever received, since the stele need not represent the fulfillment of the vow rather than just the issuing of one, and there is

the Dead” tentatively dated to the 10th Dynasty (2160–2025 BCE) that refers to a deceased individual appearing in a dream, see P.Naga ed-Deir N 3737 (= Wenté, *Letters* 343), discussed in Simpson (W.) 1966 and Szpakowska 2003a, 19–20, 24–27, 185. On “Letters to the Dead” in general, see O’Donoghue 1999 and Wenté, *Letters*, pp. 210–220 (translations); for surveys of Egyptian divinatory practices involving the dead, see Ritner 2002 and Quack 2011.

4 See Wenté 1975–76, 599–600; cf. O’Donoghue 1999, 101–102.

5 Szpakowska has argued against Wenté’s conclusion that this text pertains to incubation, on the grounds that it does not state that the individual who gave it had spent the night at the site (Szpakowska 2003a, 143–144). Nevertheless, the evidence for several other ancient peoples practicing incubation at tombs might favor Wenté’s conclusion. For a partial parallel in a Hittite source, see the Paškuwatti ritual, in which the impotent man was to return home and seek a dream confirming that he had been cured (*CTH* 406; see Appendix III.4).

6 Szpakowska 2003a, 24. (I am grateful to Kasia Szpakowska for her informative comments on this matter.)

7 The stele, which was seen by Wenté in the possession of an antiquities dealer in Cairo, is of unknown provenience, and therefore it cannot be determined whether it was ever erected in a tomb.

reason to think that the latter was the case.⁸ Overall, if Merirtyfy did indeed sleep at his wife's tomb this stele would represent the earliest evidence for any Egyptian engaging in incubation, though it would not necessarily indicate a widespread phenomenon or that incubation was already being used for contacting the gods so long before the New Kingdom; indeed, the fact that there are no later sources for tomb incubation among the Egyptians until the time of Shenoute or perhaps Athanasius suggests this was not a common practice. But, even if incubation was not involved and Merirtyfy slept in his own bed, his plea represents the earliest example of a solicited dream in Egypt.

8 Support for this reading can perhaps be found in the presence of a second, briefer message from the woman's brother in which he asks her to "Fight on my behalf, and fight on behalf of my wife and children" without seeking a dream for verification that she would, or promising any offerings. Since this accompanying "Letter to the Dead" would have been written at the same time as the husband's, the most likely explanation is that both petitions were delivered to the deceased and both men then waited for positive results. After all, it would be odd for a stele representing an "offering slab" given in fulfillment of one request to bear a new one.

Dream Interpreters and Incubation at Egyptian Sanctuaries

What role formal dream-interpretation may have played in Greco-Egyptian incubation is unclear. One of the chief reasons given for associating certain sanctuaries of Egyptian gods, especially Sarapis and Isis, with incubation is the known presence of dream interpreters at these sites both within and outside of Egypt.¹ However, the papyri, inscriptions and literary sources that allow us to assign dream interpreters to these sites do not constitute conclusive proof that divinatory incubation, let alone therapeutic, was practiced there. Dreams were an important medium of communication for both Sarapis and Isis, whose worshippers could believe themselves to have been contacted in this manner while they slept in sanctuaries, at home, or in some other setting. The prominent role of dream-communiquéés in their cults is indicated by numerous sources, not least of which are the inscriptions recording that dream interpreters held official positions at Delos and Athens—but the fact that dream interpreters had official

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- 1 See, *e.g.*, López Salvá 1992, 186–188 (implying an association), Wacht 1997, 204 (citing the dream interpreters at Athens and Delos), and Vinagre 2000 (a problematic survey of the sources from Egypt and beyond that assumes not only a link between dream interpreters and incubation, but an evolution in their role that cannot be justified by the limited sources). As is argued in Renberg 2015, evidence for dream interpreters at the sanctuaries of non-Egyptian gods is extremely rare, and no epigraphical sources attesting to their presence even exist. The literary sources for dream interpreters in other cults are comparably limited: the availability of “ἐξηγηταί” who interpreted Glykon’s “nocturnal oracles” suggests that professional dream interpreters could indeed set up shop in the vicinity of incubation oracles (Lucian, *Alex.* 49), while the one other source, a *scholium* mentioning dream interpreters at Rome’s Temple of Castor and Pollux, appears most likely to indicate that they were known to frequent this part of the Roman Forum rather than that they served at the temple itself (*schol.* Pers. 2.56.3–4; see Renberg 2006, 117–118 and Renberg 2015, 240). Overall, the fact that inscriptions recording official dream interpreters exist at certain Egyptian sanctuaries but not those of other gods indicates that dream interpreters were not a fixture in Greek and Roman cults, but did play some sort of role in Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian religion. (The subject of the role of dream interpretation in ancient religion will be explored further in Renberg (in preparation), *a*, while Renberg (in preparation), *b* will include a catalog of all inscriptions referring to dream interpreters. For a wide-ranging look at the phenomenon of dream interpretation in antiquity, see Näf 2004. See also Frenschkowski 2002, 143, 154–155, putting dream interpreters in the context of “marketplace” diviners.)

status does not constitute sufficient evidence for incubation.² Rather surprisingly, no counterparts for these officials are known for certain in Egypt itself. There is, however, evidence for dream interpreters whose possible cult ties cannot be established.³ In addition to certain documents from Saqqâra featuring numbered dreams that merely hint at the presence of dream interpreters,⁴ one of the Greek papyri from the Ptolemaios Archive refers to a dream interpreter

- 2 For dream interpreters at Delos's *Sarapieion* C and the Athenian *Sarapieion*, see pp. 349 and 356–358. A damaged dedication for Sarapis and Isis from Tomis that Bricault has restored δῖα τοῦ ὄν]ε[ῖροκρίτ]ου might have represented another example, but the restoration is doubtful (see Renberg 2015, 241–242n.36); however, even if the restoration were correct it would be unclear where this dream interpreter would have been consulted (*RICIS* 618/1002, restoring *IGLSkythia* 11 154). A single dream interpreter is known from an *Isieion*: work on the cult statue and other features of the sanctuary of Isis near the *Asklepieion* was undertaken by a woman who identified herself as both a bearer of sacred lamps and dream interpreter (οὐσα καὶ λυχνάπτρια αὐτῆς καὶ ὄνειροκρίτις) (*IG* 11² 4771, ll. 7–8 (= *RICIS* 101/0221)).
- 3 One source that might be taken as further evidence should be excluded: Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 125, §83 refers to an unpublished Demotic papyrus from the Ibis Galleries that concerned a dream received at the temple of Imhotep in Heliopolis and brought to Saqqâra for interpretation at an undisclosed temple, but I have been informed by H.S. Smith that he had provided Wildung what ultimately proved to be incorrect information about the text's nature (personal communication).
- 4 The fact that three of the dream texts in the Ptolemaios Archive feature numbered dreams may represent indirect evidence that they were recorded so as to be shared with a dream interpreter (P.DemBologna 3171 and 3173 (see pp. 399–400n.20); *UPZ* 1 79), while four of the Hermitage Museum *ostraka* formerly linked to the archive either have numbered dreams or introduce each new dream as “another” (O.Dem.Hermitage 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129; on these *ostraka* see p. 401n.24). For this possible explanation of the numbering of dreams in such texts, see Ray 1987, 85. A likely parallel from Deir el-Bahari is known, though since the first of its dream accounts also includes an analysis of the dream's meaning, according to the new interpretation of Quack, it seems unlikely to have been numbered for the benefit of a dream interpreter (O.Nicholson R. 98; quoted pp. 467–470). To these will soon be added a Demotic *ostrakon* from Deir el-Bahari that is being edited by Amy Bahé, on which were written at least four numbered dreams (O.Brit.Mus. 50597; see Bahé 2014, 18, though stating that there were two dreams instead of the four that she now counts (personal communication)).

Ray's suggestion that numbered dreams may have been linked to dream interpretation is now possibly undermined by his recent edition of the graffito from Saqqâra that appears to preserve multiple dream-narratives, if he is correct in suggesting that the repeatedly used letters TEN—unfortunately appearing after a break in the stone three times out of four—can be explained as surviving portions of ordinal numbers used to number dreams, since a graffito publicly recording dreams on the wall of a presumably cult-related building seems hardly to have been intended for a dream interpreter (Ray, *Texts* E1, A, ll. 2, 9 and B, col. i, ll. 3, 6 (= *SEG* 61, 1522), with discussion of -TEN at pp. 204, 207, 208; for this text, see pp. 401–402n.25).

(ἐνυπνιοκρίτης) who might have held an official position in one of the cults of the Saqqâra *Sarapieion*,⁵ but who is perhaps better considered a professional because priests or cult officials *specifically* identified as “dream interpreters” and solely functioning as such are not to be found in Egypt or the Egyptian language during any period.⁶ Instead, there is clear evidence that some of those officiating at temples, especially lector-priests (or “magicians,” as *hr-tb.w*, equivalent to the earlier form *hry-tp.w*, is sometimes translated), at some point came to have expertise in this area, but dream interpretation was just one of their functions.⁷ However, growing evidence suggests that rather than lector-priests

- 5 UPZ I 84, ll. 79–80; see Thompson (D.) 2012, 212. The papyrus records the purchase of a linen item (ὀρόνιον) from this individual, whose precise relationship to the *Sarapieion* or nearby complexes is not noted. (Since linen had great ritual significance in Egypt it is tempting to assign this individual to a cult hierarchy, but there are insufficient grounds for doing so.)
- 6 Outside of Egypt a dream interpreter serving in multiple capacities can only be seen in the inscription from the Athenian *Isieion* in which a woman identifies herself as both a bearer of sacred lamps and dream interpreter (IG II² 4771; see n. 2), and a public dedication made at Delos’s *Sarapieion C* by an ὄνειροκρίτης καὶ ἀρεταλόγος (*I.Delos* 2072 (= *RICIS* 202/0283)). However, the absence of parallels among the inscriptions from the *Sarapieia* of Delos that indicate consultations with dream interpreters—*I.Delos* 2105–2106 (= *RICIS* 202/0340–0341) (διὰ ὄνειροκρίτου), 2151 (= *RICIS* 202/0372) (προσναφέροντες | τῶι ὄνειροκρίτῃ)—might at least partly be attributed to the fact that worshipers making a dedication after consulting a dream interpreter would not have needed to record that cult official’s other responsibilities.
- 7 The evidence for dream interpreters during the Pharaonic Period is problematic, since the three main sources cited as evidence are foreign, and the terms in question can instead be translated as “magician,” “diviner” or even “learned men” and thus pertained to religious personnel with multiple areas of expertise (see Szpakowska 2003a, 63–66; for studies of the relevant terminology during the Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic periods, see also Quaegebeur 1985, Quaegebeur 1987, Ray 1987, 90–91, Quaegebeur 1989, Ritner 1993, 220–222, Lanckau 2003, Shupack 2006, 134–137, and Noegel 2007, 102–104; cf. von Lieven 1999, 121). Even if there were not individuals whose sole function was interpreting dreams, the “Ramesside Dream Book” shows that dream interpretation was a well-established tradition by the end of the New Kingdom and required specialized knowledge (see pp. 82–83). Furthermore, that in foreign lands the Egyptians were known for expertise at deciphering dreams is perhaps shown by the appearance of a *hartibi* (i.e., an Assyrian spelling of the Egyptian word) in the Assyrian royal court in the mid-seventh century BCE, possibly brought back as war booty because of the strong interest in the mantic arts at the time (see Noegel, *ibid.*, 103–104; cf. Zgoll 2006, 412–413). Also, as pointed out by Szpakowska, the fact that the religious personnel with expertise in dream interpretation worked in shifts indicates that they would not have served only the needs of the elites, so ordinary Egyptians may have been seeking explanations for their dreams long before we have direct evidence of this (Szpakowska 2011, 107–108). None of these sources, however, can be used as a clear *terminus ante quem* indicating by when Egyptian priests could be called upon to interpret dreams.

the officials more often identified with dream interpretation were those whose name was represented in Greek as *pastophoroi* (παστοφόροι), a somewhat nebulous group of low-level cult officials whose responsibilities are not well documented but who appear to have focused on serving the needs of the public,⁸ and who correspond to the group referred to in Demotic as “gate-keepers” (*iri-ʿw*).⁹ While it would be wrong to conclude from the available evidence

The pertinent Egyptian evidence for official dream interpreters in the Greco-Roman Period is all Demotic—since neither of the two individuals referred to in Greek as a “dream interpreter” can be identified as a cult official—and consists mainly of *ostraka* from the Ḳor Archive and literary and religious texts found elsewhere. Of greatest significance are the documents in which Ḳor reports having consulted a lector-priest regarding a dream (see below), as well as an episode in the Demotic *Life of Imhotep* in which a *hry-tb* in the royal court is consulted by Djoser regarding a dream (P.Carlsberg 85 (see p. 423n.77); see Ryholt 2009, 310. As noted by Ryholt, this is “the first explicit reference to the *hry-tp*, ‘chief ritualist’ (biblical *harʿummīm*), as an interpreter of dreams at the royal court, just as in the biblical stories of Joseph (*Gen.* 41:8, 24) and of Daniel (*Dan.* 1:20; 2:2)” (K. Ryholt, *JEA* 84 (1998), 152). (For P.Carlsberg 57+465, an unpublished Demotic tale in which a pharaoh describes his dream to a court magician, see p. 90n.138.)

- 8 The Greek sources have not been especially illuminating regarding the duties of *pastophoroi*, though they do indicate that *pastophoroi* were clearly distinguished from priests—see especially *P.Gnomon* §82, παστο[φόρ]οις οὐκ ἐξὸν ὡς ἱερεῦσι χρηματίζειν (“For *pastophoroi* it is not permitted to identify themselves as priests”)—and were not even permitted to participate in religious processions (*P.Gnomon* §94; for other sources establishing a distinction between *pastophoroi* and priests, see Schönborn 1976, 4–5). On *pastophoroi*, see especially Hoffmann/Quack 2014 and the two-part study by Siân E. Thomas (Thomas 2013 and Thomas 2014, with discussion of their roles and areas of operation at pp. 122–126); see also Schönborn, *ibid.* (regrettably lacking the valuable Demotic documents of *O.Hor* that appeared the same year, but omitting Demotic sources in general) and Clarysse/Thompson 2006, 177–181; cf. Griffiths 1982, suggesting that outside of Egypt the position might have been upgraded, and Kleibl 2006, 80.
- 9 The Egyptian *wn* has previously been associated with the Greek *pastophoros*, but Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim F. Quack have recently argued that this group has been misread and should be *iri-ʿw*, which they translate as “Türhüter” (Hoffmann/Quack 2014; see also Thomas 2014, 122). Thus throughout this discussion and elsewhere in the book I am changing all Demotic texts and translations to reflect this. The best evidence for the functions of “gate-keepers” comes from Deir el-Medīna and dates to Pharaonic times (see Goecke-Bauer 2003). Whether the title *pastophoros* should be identified with *wn* or *iri-ʿw* does not change the arguments regarding their link to dream interpretation, and indeed since in the unpublished Krakow, M.N. XI 989 Thotortaiois is prompted by a *iri-ʿw* of Amenhotep to discuss his dream with him the link is only strengthened (see pp. 497–498; following Ray, Łajtar in *I.Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 74–75 has previously speculated that the *pastophoroi* at Deir el-Bahari, some of whom are possibly known from several Theban papyri (see p. 476n.85), would interpret dreams). The link between *pastophoroi* and dream interpreting has been convincingly, though not conclusively,

that all gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* engaged in dream interpretation, there is sufficient reason to believe that at sites associated with incubation and dream-divination it may often, if not always, have been the case that at least some were devoted to this task. Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether there was a division of labor among these different groups, perhaps with gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* handling the majority of consultations and leaving the most difficult cases for their superiors, and it is no less unclear just how such responsibilities shifted and evolved as the Egyptian cults spread overseas.¹⁰

argued by Ray (see Ray 1987, 89–91; cf. *O.Hor*, p. 136). Of particular importance is an unpublished Demotic papyrus in which a dreamer envisions a lector-priest “laying down a dream before a gate-keeper” (*iwfw3hw’t rswt i.ir.hr w’iri-ʿ*) (P.Brit.Mus. 10237; see Ray, *ibid.*, 90–91), an odd situation because lector-priests outranked gate-keepers/*pastophoroi*, and were themselves supposed to be knowledgeable regarding dreams (though perhaps this was not universal). Since these officials were distinct from priests, it is worth considering whether, as was the case with the *hr-tb* interpreting dreams at the royal court in the *Life of Imhotep* (see n. 7), priests served society’s upper echelon, whereas gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* would interpret dreams for the masses. (Complicating matters, a single papyrus reveals that *iri-ʿ* could also be translated as *νακóρος*: a surety contract from the Fayoum employs the title *νακóρος* τ[ο]ῦ | Σαράπιος in its Greek *verso* text of 224 BCE (*P.Sorb* 1 37, ll. 3–4 (= *SB* XVI.1 12414)), while its Demotic *recto* text of the previous year employs *iri-ʿ* | *n Wsir-Hp* in reference to the same individual (*P.LilleDem* 11 96, ll. 4–5; cf. *BLDem*, p. 263 and Hoffmann/Quack, *ibid.*, 136n.69, the latter accepting the reading, about which Claryse 1978, 6 expresses doubt). This, however, does not disprove the link between *iri-ʿ* (“gate-keeper”) and *pastophoros*. On this papyrus see also Devauchelle 2012, 221.)

(I have had the benefit of reading an unpublished study by Brian P. Muhs, “Of Priests and Pastophoroi,” forthcoming in the *Acts* volume for the 8th International Congress of Demotic Studies, and wish to express my gratitude. The article focuses on the Demotic sources, and thus provides an important complement to Schönborn’s work. In this piece Muhs also discusses the link between *pastophoroi* and “gate-keepers,” though reaching a different conclusion from Quack and Hoffmann.)

- 10 An *ostrakon* in the Ḥor Archive is of particular interest: in an autobiographical passage, Ḥor refers to a five-year period during which “I stood [*i.e.*, conferred] with Pshennesōw (in) Alexandria while he was a lector-priest among the people” (*ʿhʿi irm P3-šr-(n)-n3-šw (n) Rʿ-kd | iwfn hr-tb hn n3 rmtw*) (*O.Hor* 12, *recto*, ll. 3–4; trans. Ray, modified). Ray suggests that the phrase “among the people” indicates that this lector-priest exercised his office outside of the temple itself and made himself available to the masses, thus functioning in a manner similar to *pastophoroi* (*ibid.*, p. 53n.f). The exact meaning of “stood”/“conferred” (*ʿhʿi irm*) in this context is a matter of speculation, other than that Ḥor was engaging in some form of official duties alongside Pshennesōw somewhere in a publicly accessible area of the temple complex, such as one of the gates (see below). (A Greek parallel for this phrase has now been found in the graffito from Saqqâra that records a series of dreams, though because of severe damage to the text it is unclear whether the phrase ἔστην μετ’

A problem associated with this issue concerns where within a temple-complex lector-priests and gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* would have fulfilled the function of dream interpreter. In one of his *ostraka* Ḥor might provide a clue to where dream interpreters at Saqqâra were to be found: he refers to consulting a lector-priest “at the gate of the *wmtt* of Ḥepnēbes” (*ḥꜥi ḥrm pꜣ ḥry-tb | ḥr rꜣ tꜣ wmtt (n) Ḥp-nb-s*), believed to be a reference to the forecourt of the temple platform or another area at the entrance to the temple of Isis, and since the areas around gateways at Egyptian temples were devoted to multiple functions, including not only prayer by the laity but also the administration of justice, swearing of oaths, and even oracular consultations, it appears possible that official dream interpreters were present at certain temple gates.¹¹ No similar clue exists regarding the physical setting at which gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* operated, but several sanctuaries are known to have had a *pastophorion* (παστοφόριον),¹² and at some of them these structures may have been linked to dream interpretation: at the Saqqâra *Sarapieion* there was one associated with the cult of “Aphrodite” (*i.e.*, Astarte) at which the “recluse” Ptolemaios lived, while at Delos’s *Sarapieion C* a *pastophorion* is referred to in three dedicatory inscriptions (two of which form a pair) and three inventory lists, both of which remain undiscovered or unidentified.¹³ Unfortunately, little is known about a role for

αὐτοῦ (“I stood with him”) refers to an actual experience or something dreamed, and it is likewise unclear whether it is used in the context of a consultation or some other activity (Ray, *Texts* E1, B, col. i, l. 2, with discussion at p. 208 (= *SEG* 61, 1522)).

- 11 *O.Hor* 22, *recto*, ll. 3–4, which echoes the language of *O.Hor* 12, *recto*, ll. 3–4, especially the opening phrase *ḥꜥi ḥrm* (“I stood [*i.e.*, conferred with]”) (see previous note). For this passage as well as the role of gateways, see *O.Hor*, p. 148; for *ḥry-tb* (a variant of *ḥr-tb*) and dream interpretation, see n. 7. See also *O.Hor* 30, l. 4, in which Ḥor himself refers to receiving documents at another gateway. On the presence of divine images at gateways, see Helck 1986b and Brand 2007, 59; for quasi-juristic proceedings at them, see p. 550.
- 12 For a list of the eight sanctuaries where a *pastophorion* is documented, see Thomas 2013, 166. According to Quack, the term *tꜣ s.t n nꜣ ḥrꜥ-ꜣ.w* (“the place of the gate-keepers”) is likely to have been the equivalent to “*pastophorion*” (personal communication), though Thomas opts for *s.wt (n ḥ.t-nṯr)* (“places (of the temple)”).
- 13 Saqqâra: see p. 420n.67. Delos: *LDelos* 2085–2086, 2124 (= *RICIS* 202/0296–0298); *LDelos* 1416, A, col. i, l. 19 (= *RICIS* 202/0423), *LDelos* 1417, B, col. i, l. 17 (= *RICIS* 202/0424), *LDelos* 1442, A, col. i, l. 57 (= *RICIS* 202/0428)); see Schönborn 1976, 62–64 and Baslez 1977, 241, 254–255. In addition, see the reference to “*pastoforia*” in Rufinus of Aquileia’s description of the Alexandria *Sarapieion*: “Furthermore, in the upper parts the outermost area of the entire perimeter is occupied by *exedrae* and *pastoforia* as well as houses extending to great heights, in which either the temple wardens or those who are called ‘*hagneuontes*’ (that is, those who are purifying themselves), were accustomed to congregate” (*iam vero in superioribus extrema totius ambitus spatia occupant exedrae et pastoforia domusque*

pastophoria in temple life other than as living quarters for the *pastophoroi*—and, in the case of Saqqâra and perhaps other sites, “recluses” like Ptolemaios—though it would not be unreasonable to speculate that *pastophoroi* functioning as dream interpreters would have been consulted at or near these buildings.¹⁴ Complicating the matter, however, is the apparent existence, at least at some sanctuaries, of a “gate-keeper of the House of Life” (*iri-ꜥ pr-ꜥnh*), as is revealed in a fragment of the Demotic *Book of Thoth*.¹⁵ Since the uniquely Egyptian religious institution known as the “House of Life” (*pr-ꜥnh*), the main functions of which appear to have been that of scribal training center and *scriptorium* for sacred texts, is also believed to have served a ritual purpose and to have been associated with dream interpretation, it is possible that at least some gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* were consulted regarding dreams at the House of Life rather than at the *pastophorion* (or elsewhere).¹⁶ There is also evidence to suggest that individual gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* were only on duty for certain periods of time: a recently published Demotic letter from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra dating to the mid-fourth century BCE reveals

in excelsum porrectae, in quibus vel aeditui vel hi, quos appellant ἀγνεύοντας, id est, qui se castificant, commanere soliti erant (Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 2(11).23, eds. E. Schwartz & Th. Mommsen, *GCS* n.s. 6.2 (Berlin, 1999), p. 1027).

- 14 For what is known of *pastophoria* in Egypt, see Thomas 2013 and Thomas 2014; see also Husson 1983, 221–223 and Schönborn 1976, 44–45.
- 15 Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, frag. Co2.1, ll. 2, 4 (with commentary at p. 1:401). The title is otherwise unattested. For the *Book of Thoth*, a religious dialogue apparently set in the god’s cult center at Hermoupolis Magna, see Chapter 9.4.
- 16 On the “House of Life,” see: Gardiner 1938; Volten 1942, 17–44; Derchain, *P.Salt* 825, 48–61, 96–101; Fowden 1986, 57–68; Nordh 1996, 106–216; Frankfurter 1998, 238–264; and Morenz 2001; cf. Weber (M.) 1980. To these will soon be added a study by Ryholt, “Libraries from Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt,” in K. Ryholt & G. Barjamovic (eds.), *Libraries before Alexandria* (Oxford, forthcoming). For the significance of this institution in the *Book of Thoth*, which itself is believed to have been composed in a “House of Life” and intended for its scribes, see Jasnow/Zauzich, *Thoth*, pp. 1:33–36, and for similarities with the description of the “House of Life” in the *Book of Fayum* see Quack 2007a, 258–259 and Quack 2007b, 282n.63. See Jasnow/Zauzich, *ibid.* and Nordh, *ibid.*, 124–125 for the close connection of the “House of Life” to both medicine and dream interpretation, as well as Szpakowska 2003a, 65 on dream interpretation and David (R.) 2004, 138 on medicine. It has been speculatively suggested in Nordh, *ibid.*, 166 and Szpakowska 2011, 107 that the “Ramesside Dream Book” probably originated at a “House of Life,” presumably an unknown one in Deir el-Medîna or elsewhere in the area of Thebes, where it would have been used by lector-priests and others. (For the interesting suggestion that the “House of Life” was the inspiration for the Alexandrian *Museion* and, indirectly, the Jewish *yeshiva*, see Nordh, *ibid.*, 108–109. The former seems more likely than the latter.)

that the duty period of certain gate-keepers/*pastophoroi*, who appear to have served together in groups of three, was ten days, and presumably other sanctuaries had similar policies.¹⁷ Thus at least some sanctuaries must have had large staffs of gate-keepers/*pastophoroi*, enabling them to cycle in and out of service, though there is little reliable information regarding how large they could have been.¹⁸

Thanks to the survival of his large archive, the best documented *pastophoros* was Ḳor, who before relocating to Saqqâra and devoting himself to Thoth as a scribe or in some other capacity had served as one at a temple of Isis in the Sebennytos nome, possibly receiving training as a dream interpreter during this period.¹⁹ That Ḳor was skilled as a dream interpreter is perhaps indicated

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- 17 P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 458 (= Smith/Davies 2012, 144–146, No. 2); see also Davies 2002, 83. See Smith/Davies, *ibid.*, 140–142 for the dating of this and the related documents, which all named or were addressed to an individual named Pewenhor who was serving as a gate-keeper in the cults of the sacred cats (Bastet) and ibises (Thoth). According to P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 42 (= Smith/Davies, *ibid.*, 170–172, No. 12), a Demotic rations list, there were three gate-keepers evidently serving together in both cults. In addition, a related Demotic letter from the site, P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 200 (= Smith/Davies, *ibid.*, 142–143, No. 1), refers to three men serving in some capacity for a month, but these may have been *wab*-priests rather than gate-keepers, since those priests are known to have had one-month duty periods (see Davies, *ibid.*). Further insight into the number of gate-keepers at temples can be derived from a register from Lykopolis indicating that there were ten serving Khnum (*P.Count* 53, ll. 172–230). The fact that being a gate-keeper/*pastophoros* was not a full-time job is significant because, as discussed below, the “*Gnomon* of the Idios Logos” reveals that they could accept “private commissions” (ἰδιωτικῶν . . . τᾶξεων), which presumably would have occurred when they were not on duty (*P.Gnomon* §83; see n. 34). (In addition, I have been informed by Joachim F. Quack, who is editing the *Book of the Temple*, that an unpublished section shows gate-keepers serving in a monthly rotation (personal communication).)
- 18 The largest attested number of gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* serving at a site would be fifty-six, but only if the Demotic *ostrakon* referring to activities at an unknown temple of Imhotep has been correctly read, and the number is not instead six, as seems more likely given the known sizes of the staffs at other sites (*O.LeidDem* 365, col. ii, ll. 5–7; for the *ostrakon* and its textual problems, see pp. 482–483).
- 19 For Ḳor as *pastophoros* of Isis, as is recorded in the drafts of the Greek letter he prepared for the Ptolemies (*O.Hor* Texts C, E; see p. 439), see *O.Hor*, pp. 118–120, but see also p. 52n.bb, on his reference to himself in the Demotic *O.Hor* 12, verso, l. 4 as a “prophet of Isis” (*hm-ntr ʾst*) being equivalent; for Ḳor’s possible training, see *ibid.*, p. 136. The identity of the “city of Isis” (Ἰσιος πόλις) at which Ḳor served is unknown, but its name suggests an important center of Isis worship in the nome (see *ibid.*, pp. 19, 117–119), in which case it would have been more likely to offer dream interpretation and possibly incubation. For Ḳor’s life and career, see Chapter 7.1.

by some of the documents in his archive, though this is far from conclusive;²⁰ and, it must be noted, none of his surviving documents show him interpreting dreams received by others, though this might be due to the archive having been comprised of documents pertaining to a petition before the king and Ḥor's interactions with the royal court in general, and thus its not being representative of his full range of activities. But even Ḥor, whose dreams had more than once been of interest to the royal court, was not always capable of interpreting his own dreams with confidence: this was the case when he received an especially impenetrable oracular "utterance" (*ḥt-mdt*) and consulted four official lector-priests with evidently greater expertise in dream interpretation, finally receiving satisfactory assistance from the one serving Imhotep (*ḥr-tb 'Iy-m-ḥtp*),²¹ and it can also be seen in an *ostrakon* that mentions Ḥor consulting a priest regarding a dream-oracle.²² However, Ḥor's specific reference to consultations with priests implies that these were exceptional circumstances and he generally had no need for outside help.²³ It is possible that individuals like Ḥor may have been trained not only in interpreting prophetic dreams, but also dreams conveying medical prescriptions: as discussed above, a Demotic *ostrakon* from Thebes possibly indicates that fifty-six (or just six) gate-keepers were available for consultations at a temple of Imhotep,²⁴ and Ḥor himself on two occasions obtained prescriptions in dreams,²⁵ while intriguing evidence

20 See *O.Hor*, p. 135, citing the problematic *O.Hor* 14 and 57. *O.Hor* 14 is of particular interest, since it appears to be an unstructured record of several dreams, perhaps jotted down immediately after they were received, and towards the end refers to an interpretation (see *O.Hor*, p. 132). *O.Hor* 57, on the other hand, is a fragment featuring traces of three lines, one of which has the words "her interpretation" (*pꜣy-s wꜣḥ*), suggesting the possibility that it pertains to the same dream in which Isis had interpreted for Ḥor the meaning of her prophetic statement to him (*O.Hor* 9, verso, l. 7; see also *O.Hor* 20, l. 7, a badly damaged text referring to the "interpretation (of) Isis" (*wꜣḥ (n) ꜣst*) and possibly to a dream). For the use of *wꜣḥ* in *ostraka* from the Ḥor Archive, see p. 442n.127.

21 *O.Hor* 17A (related to *O.Hor* 16–17); see *O.Hor*, pp. 133–134, 135 and Ray 1987, 90; cf. Ray 1981, 184–185. Ray has suggested that the "magician of Imhotep" (i.e., lector-priest) in *O.Hor* 17A, l. 8 was "the official dream- or oracle-interpreter of the Asclepieion," whereas the other four served this role at other shrines, which raises the questions of which shrines these were and why Ḥor would not have gone first to the *Asklepieion* for a consultation (*O.Hor*, p. 135). For the term *ḥt-mdt*, see pp. 440–443.

22 *O.Hor* 12, recto, ll. 6–7 (see pp. 436–437).

23 But see the text in which two women, apparently private individuals, appear to be interpreting a dream-oracle for Ḥor (*O.Hor* 15, recto, ll. 5–7, cf. p. 135).

24 *O.LeidDem* 365, col. ii, ll. 5–7. Though primarily a healing god, Imhotep also issued prophetic dreams (see pp. 432–434).

25 *O.Hor* 28 (see p. 445), 32 (see p. 444).

for a link between gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* and therapeutic incubation is represented by Clement of Alexandria's perhaps exaggerated claim that *pastophoroi* had to learn by heart all six Hermetic medical books.²⁶ For these reasons, the presence of *pastophoroi* at several Egyptian sanctuaries outside of Egypt raises the possibility that they functioned as dream interpreters at these sites, though they may have performed other functions instead—and, even if they *were* involved in interpreting dreams it would not be a sign that incubation was practiced there.

The existence of official dream interpreters in the cults of Sarapis and Isis outside of Egypt, which is revealed by the inscriptions noted above, raises the question of whether their position developed because incubation was a feature of these cults, or because these gods were believed to communicate regularly with worshipers through dreams that often required a visit to a sanctuary for explanation by an expert. This, unfortunately, is impossible to determine. There is no explicit evidence for dream interpreters at sanctuaries of Egyptian gods being consulted about dreams received through incubation, but there is some circumstantial evidence in the form of dream interpreters being present at certain known incubation sanctuaries. As noted above, Ḳor himself engaged in incubation repeatedly, and on at least one occasion had to consult others regarding an undecipherable “utterance” of Thoth presumably received in a dream—and it was a lector-priest of Imhotep, a god whose sanctuary at Saqqâra was a place for incubation, who finally was able to provide an interpretation.²⁷ Moreover, therapeutic incubation is attested at the Athenian *Sarapieion*, where official dream interpreters are known from inscriptions.²⁸ In addition, Artemidorus's anecdote briefly referring to dream interpreters at

26 Clem. Al., *Strom.* 6.4, §37.3, ed. Descourtieux. See Ray 1987, 91. According to Clement, these books covered physiology, diseases, internal medicine, pharmacology, eye ailments, and gynecology. Garth Fowden has shown that these and the thirty-six other treatises discussed in the same section would have been attributed to Thoth—rather than Hermes Trismegistos, as implied by Clement—and emanated from a “House of Life” (Fowden 1986, 57–59). Since sacred books of Thoth were kept at the temples of many other gods it is not certain that this passage applies only to gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* at this god's temples.

27 Whether the aforementioned Theban temple of Imhotep at which there were fifty-six (or six) gate-keepers interpreting dreams had an incubation facility is unknown, but seems likely.

28 For therapeutic incubation at the site, see pp. 348–349.

Alexandria may concern those serving at the *Sarapieion* in an official capacity, though it could easily pertain to freelance dream interpreters there or elsewhere in Alexandria instead, and it also is not clear that incubation was involved.²⁹ To these might also be added a Late Antique source, though one of questionable reliability: Zacharias Scholasticus's account of the philosopher Asklepiodotos visiting Isis's Menouthis shrine, where incubation may have been practiced, late in the fifth century CE due to a fertility problem in his

29 Artem. 4.80, pp. 364, 366, ed. Harris-McCoy; see Barrigón Fuentes 1994, 43–44 and Prada 2015, 284–285. According to Artemidorus's anecdote, a man with an unfulfilled desire for children had received a dream that certain Alexandrian “dream interpreters” (ὄνειροκρίται) were unable to interpret, leading him to pray to Sarapis for the dream's meaning to be revealed, which the god did by appearing in a dream and giving an ingenious explanation of the first dream's symbolism, to the effect that the man would remain childless. Even if it is right to infer that these dream interpreters were somehow associated with the Alexandrian *Sarapieion*, it is unclear whether they were cult officials or independent professionals operating at the site: it may well be that the point to the original tale was that a man with fertility problems had engaged in incubation and then, when the proper officials failed to be able to make sense of the god-sent dream, the god himself had to be consulted once again. On the other hand, however, this could simply be a matter of an individual who had been failed by human experts—experts who were not affiliated with the *Sarapieion*—instead turning to a god, as happened so often with those who sought Asklepios's aid when physicians had failed to heal them. While Artemidorus does not state explicitly that this consultation leading to Sarapis's explanatory dream was undertaken through incubation, the fact that this tale circulated widely enough to reach Artemidorus suggests that it did involve the *Sarapieion*'s facilities and officials, and was perhaps one of the many accounts of Sarapis's miracles or epiphanies preserved and promoted by his cult (see pp. 341–343 for other such tales). Moreover, it stands to reason that the original dream was received at the *Sarapieion*, even though Artemidorus is silent on this matter—otherwise, it would be odd for an individual who received a dream not issued by Sarapis to come to him seeking an explanation. And, if this was indeed the case, there is a greater chance that the unsuccessful dream interpreters in question served at the *Sarapieion*, and it was necessary to go above them and seek an interpretation from the god directly. (There is, however, some reason to think that either at or near the *Sarapieion* there were independent dream interpreters who could have been consulted, based on a general comment by Plutarch regarding oracle-mongers who set up shop near sanctuaries of Sarapis or the Mother of Gods, since even though the context shows that he was referring to those producing verse-oracles, and was not discussing Alexandria specifically, it is clear that private diviners found that such sanctuaries were especially lucrative locations for business (Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 25 (= *Mor.* 407C); see Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 49–50 and Renberg 2015, 240).)

marriage, which leads him to see Isis in a dream and then be told its meaning by “the dream interpreters who were there ministering to the demon who had taken on the likeness of Isis,” a group whose precise identity is unclear.³⁰ Overall, any attempt to link dream interpreters to incubation at Egyptian sanctuaries must remain inconclusive: first, since the earliest Egyptian dream manuals predate the rise of popular incubation in Egypt by more than a millennium, those with expertise in dream interpretation evidently were available for consultation at sanctuaries long before they would have been needed to assist those who had engaged in incubation; and, second, in the post-Pharaonic period official dream interpreters would have continued to be consulted by those who came to a sanctuary to have their dreams explained, so while the presence of dream interpreters at sanctuaries of Egyptian gods both in Egypt and elsewhere can be attributed to a centuries-old tradition, it cannot also serve as conclusive evidence for incubation at the sites in question.

The lack of a definitive link between official dream interpreters and incubation should be kept in mind when considering both the evidence for independent, professional dream interpreters being present at sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods and the question of what role, if any, they played in determining the meaning of dreams obtained through incubation. The best evidence comes from Saqqâra: in addition to the dream interpreter (ἐνυπνιοκρίτης) who sold Ptolemaios a linen item and whose status at the sanctuary is unknown,³¹ a third- or second-century BCE inscription appears to reveal the presence of a professional individual at or near the *Sarapieion*. The inscription, a small stele carved as an *aedicula* within which was painted a scene of the Apis bull or a sacrificial bull approaching a horned altar, is believed to have served as a storefront sign advertising the services of a dream interpreter, who claimed that his activities were divinely sanctioned (Fig. 59):

ἐνύπνια κρίνω, | τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγμα ἔχων·
τύχ' ἄγα|θαί· Κρής ἐστιν ὁ | κρίνων τάδε.³²

30 Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, p. 18, ed. Kugener 1907 (full passage quoted at pp. 374–375). (According to Sebastian P. Brock, the Syriac literally translates as “those who interpret dreams” and therefore does not clearly correspond to a particular Greek term (personal communication). It is thus impossible to determine whether priests or lesser cult officials were intended.)

31 *UPZ* I 84, l. 79 (see pp. 718–719).

32 *SB* I 685 + *add* p. 664 (= *IMetrEg* 112). The bull traditionally has been identified as the Apis bull, but Quaegebeur has called this into question by noting the absence of the solar disk, and instead suggested as an alternative that this could merely have been a sacrificial animal, while admitting that the absent iconography could be an omission due to Hellenistic influences (see Quaegebeur 1993, 334–335). As Borgeaud and Volokhine have



FIGURE 59

*Limestone stele from Saqqâra
advertising a dream interpreter's
services (Cairo CG 27567).*

PHOTO: SAMEH ABDEL MOHSEN
(COURTESY OF THE EGYPTIAN
MUSEUM)

I judge dreams, having the mandate of the god.
To good fortune! The one judging these is a Cretan.

This diviner appears to have set up shop in the crowded area of the “*Sarapieion way*” that ran from the *Sarapieion* to the *Anoubieion* or the *Anoubieion's dromos* itself, in the area of which the stele was found, and to have made a

rightly concluded, it is impossible to determine which god had issued this “mandate,” though Apis, Osorapis and Sarapis are the obvious candidates (Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000, 75). However, since the unnamed individual was from Crete and presumably catering to a Greek clientele the Hellenized Sarapis seems more likely than Apis or Osorapis, regardless of what a local artist might have painted.

While it has been suggested that Krēs in this epigram was a personal name (Obbink 2004, 16–18 and Obbink 2005, 101–102; Lang 2013, 69), this is unlikely, since the name was in fact quite rare, and not yet found in Egypt. Thus this dream interpreter seems to have been identifying himself only by his ethnicity, perhaps as a way of attracting business from fellow foreigners. (I am grateful to Luigi Prada for the speculative suggestion (personal communication).) For the religious activities of Cretans in Egypt, see Chaniotis 2000, 208–214. Another Cretan dream interpreter is known from two Delian dedicatory inscriptions to Isis Tyche Protogeneia (*Idelos* 2072–2073 (= *RICIS* 202/0283–0284); see p. 358n.51).

living by offering his services to the many pilgrims and local residents who wished for expert insights into their dreams.³³ The very presence of such an individual at the *Sarapieion* complex shows that there was a demand for his services; however, it is impossible to know whether this unnamed Cretan's clientele consisted solely of those who had received unsolicited dreams either before coming to Saqqâra or while staying there, or if he also would have been consulted by those who had engaged in incubation and were seeking an alternative to official dream interpreters (or else a second opinion). It is also worth considering, though impossible to determine, that this unnamed, foreign-born dream interpreter may have served as a gate-keeper/*pastophoros* at one of the temples, and when off-duty was earning money in this manner—a possibility with reasons for and against it.³⁴ Overall, this dream interpreter's sign represents excellent evidence for the importance of dreams to worshipers of

33 On this and other small businesses at Saqqâra, see Ray 1972 and Thompson (D.) 2012, 23–24, 259. See also Smith (H.) 1974, 12, stating that in the area of the *Sarapieion* there must have been “dream interpreters, prophets, astrologers, ecstasies, petition-writers, oracle-mongers, image-makers and others.”

34 As Ray has suggested, the statement in the “*Gnomon* of the Idios Logos” that *pastophoroi* could accept “private commissions” or hold “private positions” (παστοφόροις ἐξὸν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐφίεσθαι τάξεων) may refer at least in part to private consultations regarding dreams (*P.Gnomon* §83; see Ray 1987, 90–91). Furthermore, as the recently published Demotic letter from Saqqâra discussed above suggests, gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* served for only short, regular periods, which would have provided the opportunity to take advantage of their training and reputations as dream interpreters by offering their services to paying customers when not on duty (P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 458; see pp. 723–724). However, since gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* in Egypt tended to be native Egyptians it is not likely that this Cretan served in that capacity, though Greeks and other foreigners did serve in Egyptian cults (see Vittmann 1998), and therefore this possibility cannot be ruled out.

Due to the Cretan's unusual reference to “having the mandate of the god” it seems unlikely that the prevailing opinion—and one I myself have previously held (Renberg 2010a, 650–651)—that this individual was a purely professional dream interpreter is accurate, since “mandate” seems more likely to refer to some form of personal calling than a simple matter of cult oversight whereby the god was believed in some manner to have given his approval for the Cretan's business to operate somewhere in the area. In antiquity there are numerous instances of gods calling individuals to serve them as priests or priestesses, or else in some other official capacity, but urging that one undertake a particular profession in the private sphere is not well attested (see my discussion in Renberg (in preparation), a). If this dream interpreter was indeed a professional with no official role at the *Sarapieion*, he would have been no different from the bakers, undertakers, or others living and working at Saqqâra, which would make his “mandate” quite unusual. Therefore, it is worth considering, as appears likely, whether this unnamed Cretan, like the *pastophoroi* referred to in the “*Gnomon* of the Idios Logos,” served in an

Osorapis/Sarapis and the other gods of Saqqâra,³⁵ but represents poor evidence for incubation, and therefore should not be treated as such.³⁶

In contrast to the Cretan's reference to "having the mandate of the god" to interpret dreams, other individuals at Saqqâra, most notably Ptolemaios, had received a divine mandate to dwell at the *Sarapieion* under divine protection as a "recluse" (κάτοχος or ἐνκάτοχος), and it has occasionally been suggested that some of these divine detainees—a better translation than the more established "recluses"—functioned as dream interpreters, largely because of the strong interest in dreams evident in the Ptolemaios Archive.³⁷ The exact status and function of *enkatochoi* has been the subject of a good deal of debate for more than a century, with some arguing that these individuals were devoted worshipers who were commanded by an oracle or omen to dedicate themselves to serving at a temple, and others concluding that they had fallen into debt or faced some other legal difficulty and were living at the temple as asylum-seekers, and still others arguing for some blending of these positions, or that they had first arrived because of an illness and ended up staying there.³⁸ Regardless of which viewpoint is correct, the lowly status of *enkatochoi*, the

official capacity—despite his ethnicity—but also privately profited from his skill when off-duty, operating in a manner indistinguishable from a professional dream interpreter.

- 35 Indirect evidence for the importance of dream interpreters at Saqqâra might be seen in the fact that they are known to have been serving in the cult of Sarapis at Delos, and the inscription recording the god's establishment there identified the central figure as a "Apollonios, an Egyptian from the priestly order" who came from Memphis (Ἀπολλώνιος, ὦν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων . . . ἀπ' αὐτῆς | Μέμφιδος), so it is possible that the cult's functioning and hierarchy at Delos in some ways reflected the cult in the Memphis area (*IG* XI.4, 1299, ll. 3, 37–38; see p. 390; for this priest's role in the cult's spread, see Bubelis/Renberg 2011, 184–185n.25 and Moyer 2011, 161–164, the latter focusing on the matter of his ethnicity).
- 36 See, *e.g.*, Sauneron 1959, 49 and Dunand 2006, 11 (and Dunand 1973, 1:169–171, at n. 1), considering this inscription as proof that incubation was practiced at Memphis.
- 37 Most recently suggested in Dunand 2006, 11 (in reference to Ptolemaios). Wilcken rightly dismissed an earlier suggestion that *enkatochoi* would earn money engaging in incubation on behalf of others, for which there is no evidence, but noted their apparent ability to interpret their own dreams (*UPZ* 1, p. 68, *contra* Preuschen 1903, 41, 45; cf. Deubner (L.) 1900, 6–7n.3). For Ptolemaios and his archive, see Chapter 7.1.
- 38 The classic study of the "recluse" phenomenon has been that of Lienhard Delekat (Delekat 1964), with Wilcken's study of the Saqqâra papyri also representing a major contribution (*UPZ* 1, pp. 55–77, 644–645), but Clarysse's re-edition of a Demotic document from the Ptolemaios Archive that is central to Delekat's conclusions has partly undermined that work (Clarysse 1986; see also Thompson (D.) 2012, 201–204). More recently, Legras has produced an extensive study of the phenomenon at Saqqâra and elsewhere (Legras 2011).

menial nature of the duties which were assigned to them, and the meager sustenance they received call into question the notion that they might have served as authorized dream interpreters, and it is certainly unlikely that they would have been official.³⁹ Therefore, the numerous dream accounts and references to dreams found in the Ptolemaios Archive represent evidence that he, his brother Apollonios, wards Taous and Tawe, and associates had an interest in god-sent dreams, and in some cases even appear to have consulted dream interpreters,⁴⁰ but these do not indicate that he or any other *enkatochoi* functioned as a dream interpreter at Saqqâra or anywhere else that this institution can be detected.⁴¹ Instead, they are more likely to have experienced god-sent

In his publication of the Ḥor Archive in 1976 Ray tentatively suggested that Ḥor may have been a “recluse” (*O.Hor*, pp. 42n.i, 161–163; cf. Ray 2002, 152), but the subsequent work of Clarysse puts this in greater doubt, since Ḥor appears to have had less in common with known *enkatochoi* than originally seemed to be the case. While still possible, it must be recognized that he does not fit the mold of one fleeing a financial or legal problem and seeking asylum at the *Sarapieion*. Legras has determined that the issue is inconclusive (Legras, *ibid.*, 165), but Ḥor does simply seem to be a cult official with some amount of ambition and mobility.

- 39 Delekat is willing to entertain the possibility that *enkatochoi* could be professional dream interpreters, but rightly states that this cannot be proven (Delekat 1964, 137, 142–143n.6). So, too, is Wilcken, though without explicitly stating that they would charge for this service (*UPZ* 1, pp. 68–69). See Legras 2011, 90, arguing against such assumptions regarding either Ptolemaios or *enkatochoi* in general. (If Ptolemaios *was* a dream interpreter, he evidently was not a very good one, since in one letter preserved in the archive Apollonios berates his brother for repeatedly putting his faith in dreams and gods that prove false (*UPZ* 1 70; quoted pp. 420–421n.70).)
- 40 Possible evidence that Ptolemaios and the others consulted dream interpreters is to be found in one account of a dream that Apollonios recorded, since it features seemingly superfluous information that could indicate the deliberate inclusion of details that might have been important for a dream interpreter to know (see Ray 1987, 89–90, on P.DemBologna 3173; for this papyrus, see pp. 399–400n.20). In addition, a short papyrus which apparently makes reference to dreams about Ptolemaios, his family and associates was addressed to an individual named Harpaesis (*UPZ* 1 80), and it has been suggested by Dorothy J. Thompson in an unpublished paper that he was probably a dream interpreter. (I am grateful to Thompson for sharing this paper with me, and for permission to include her idea.) Wilcken’s suggestion that Harpaesis was an *enkatochos*, however, is pure speculation (*UPZ* 1, p. 369).
- 41 Noting the presence of three *enkatochoi* among the *proskynema* texts and other graffiti at the Abydos *Memnonion* (*Pros.Ptol.* III 7327 + *add.* IX:235, 7333 + *add.* IX:236, 7335 + *add.* IX:236) as well as the listing of *katochoi* with diviners and dream interpreters in the *Apotelesmatika* (or *Apotelesmata*) (“Influences”) of Ps.-Manetho (Ps.-Man., *Apotel.* 1(5).235–240), a lengthy second-century CE didactic astrological poem, Perdrizet and

dreams in a manner similar to Apuleius's character Lucius, who receives multiple visits from Isis in his dreams during his time living at one or another of her sanctuaries, apparently in his dwelling.⁴²

Since "recluses" cannot be shown to have functioned as dream interpreters, and professional dream interpreters might have met a strong demand but nonetheless would not have been officially involved in assisting those who had received a dream through incubation, it is clear that if anyone was to be consulted regarding dreams obtained by ordinary worshipers through incubation it would have been a member of the sanctuary's cult hierarchy. Gate-keepers/*pastophoroi* appear most likely to have played a central role, but priests also may have done so, continuing the Pharaonic tradition of lector-priests interpreting dreams. Although the bulk of the evidence dates to the Ptolemaic Period, such an arrangement may have continued into Late Antiquity, since Zacharias Scholasticus refers to the philosopher Asklepiodotos receiving a dream from Isis and having its meaning explained to him by "the dream interpreters who were there ministering to the demon who had taken on the likeness of Isis."⁴³ A striking comparandum is also to be found in a source possibly pertaining to Christian incubation: according to a Coptic miracle narrative that may represent evidence for dream interpretation at one of the shrines of St. Kollouthos at Antinoopolis, a paralyzed individual who received a dream from the saint there shared it with the site's "*patēr*" that morning and was encouraged to follow the dream's instructions, which raises the possibility of a priest having been available to hear dreams and explain them to their recipients,

Lefebvre speculated that they might have had an oracular function, perhaps engaging in incubation on behalf of pilgrims or those who could not visit the site (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, p. xviii), and were followed in this by Delekat, who pointed to astrological evidence associating *enkatochoi* with dream interpreters (Delekat 1964, 163–165, citing *CCAG* VIII.4, p. 165.1–4 (Rhetorios); cf. *ibid.*, 147.15). Similarly, Dunand pointed to Ptolemaios's interest in dreams as reason to speculate that these *enkatochoi* may have served as unofficial dream interpreters (Dunand 1997, 77–78). Discussing the three *enkatochoi* in the Abydos graffiti, Legras effectively disputed Perdrizet and Lefebvre, and thus indirectly Delekat's conclusion as well (Legras 2011, 84–89). To Legras's arguments should be added the fact that *enkatochoi* were associated with dream interpreters (ὄνειροπόλοι) as well as philosophers, hymn-chanters (ἄποθεγγόμενοι), and other diviners in the astrological treatises, which only shows that becoming an *enkatochos* was one of the possible destinies for those born at a certain time, not that *enkatochoi* would themselves engage in dream interpretation. (For *enkatochoi* in astrological texts, see Legras, *ibid.*, 89–92.)

42 See p. 419.

43 Zach. Schol., *Vit. Severi*, p. 18, ed. Kugener (see pp. 727–728).

at least in this particular saint's cult.⁴⁴ (This possibility is strengthened by the narrative's continuation, which involves the *patēr* being consulted by a prostitute whom the paralyzed man had been instructed to seek out, and who instructs her to remain at the church and receive a vision of the saint, though he does not discuss with her that dream after she has received it.) Thus the tradition of dream interpretation at Egyptian sanctuaries, which began at an unknown point in the Pharaonic era, may have continued well into the Byzantine Period.⁴⁵ However, despite the potentially enormous time span during which dream interpreters apparently were to be found at certain Egyptian sanctuaries, the evidence linking them to incubation is ambiguous, and their presence can never be taken as proof that a site was one at which incubation was practiced.

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- 44 Borg. Copt. 109 + Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. 129¹⁵, fol. 21, 25*bis*, pp. 244–267, ed. Schenke 2013 (at 252–253); see Devos 1980, with discussion of the *patēr* at p. 374. The possibility that this figure was involved in dream interpretation, suggested by Frankfurter, is partly linked to the fact that there was a ticket oracle at the site and that this necessitated the involvement of part of the church's hierarchy serving Kollouthos in receiving the questions for the saint and then distributing his responses—and if involved in divination in this manner there is no reason why a *patēr* or some other official could not have been interpreting dreams as well (see Frankfurter 2005a, 246). Drawing a parallel with the occasional involvement of *neokoroi* at Pergamon in evaluating Aristides's dreams, Grossmann concludes that the “custodian” mentioned in two of the Arabic miracles of Kollouthos may have played a similar role, though nothing in the text hints at this (Grossmann 2014, 279–280, citing Aristid., *Or.* 48.35; see p. 228n.281). For divination at Kollouthos's church, see p.774n.57. Nonetheless, Graf appears to be correct that in general “we do not hear of priests or specialists interpreting the dreams” (Graf 2015, 263 (p. 137 of 2013 version)).
- 45 It may also have been found in the Medieval West: see Keskhiaho 2005, 242–244, on clerics interpreting dreams, though the examples given do not involve dreams received at holy sites.

Egyptian Festivals and Divinatory Incubation

While divinatory and therapeutic incubation in Egypt generally were practiced as the need arose, there is scattered but substantial evidence that certain festivals could present an occasion for engaging in divinatory incubation,¹ as had been the case among the Hittites,² and perhaps in Mesopotamia as well.³ This link between Egyptian festivals and incubation has previously been suspected in a few individual cases, but the full range of evidence has not been collected and analyzed. The phenomenon can only be detected during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but its roots appear to go back to the New Kingdom: according to the “Stele of Ipuw,” which recounts one of the earliest known non-royal dreams, this devotee of Hathor had received his dream during her festival; similarly, it has been suggested that Djehutiemhab, whose tomb featured an account of his own encounter with Hathor during that period, might

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- 1 For Egyptian festivals during the Pharaonic Period, see Schott 1950, Spalinger 1992*b* and Spalinger 1996; cf. Altenmüller 1977. For the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see Perpillou-Thomas 1993 and Grimm 1994.
 - 2 The link between festivals and incubation among the Hittites is especially evident in texts pertaining to royalty (see Mouton 2003, 74, 83 *et pass.*, Mouton 2004, 295–296, 298 *et pass.*, and Mouton 2007, 45, 79–80). Pertinent texts include *KUB* xv 1, col. ii, l. 45 (= *CTH* 584.1 = Mouton 2007, 260–266, No. 98), *KUB* xv 19 (= *CTH* 590 = Mouton, *ibid.*, 283–284, No. 108), and *KUB* xxxi 77 (= *CTH* 584.5 = Mouton, *ibid.*, 267–270, No. 100), with the first two recording only that a queen received a dream during a festival, but the third specifying that one was received through incubation. Even necromantic incubation by a king at his ancestors’ resting place has been linked to a festival (*KUB* xliii 55), and a fragmentary text that refers to the king sleeping in a “sacred bed” during a festival may likewise pertain to incubation (*KBo* xx 88 (= *CTH* 670.121 = Mouton 2003, 302–303, No. 126); see p. 53). There also appears to be an example of a priest engaging in incubation during a festival, if Mouton’s interpretation of a text regarding rituals undertaken during the festival of a tutelary deity is correct (*KUB* lv 43, §15 (= *CTH* 683.1); see p. 618n.20). Significantly, a fragmentary text appearing to record incubation by a leather-worker at the time of a festival shows that the phenomenon may not have been limited to royalty (*KBo* x 16, col. iv, ll. 9–12 (= *CTH* 658 = Mouton 2007, 302, No. 125); see pp. 46–47n.25).
 - 3 Royal incubation during a Sumerian agricultural festival is suggested by the *Song of the Plowing Oxen*, in which a “Farmer” thought to be the king seeks a dream instructing him regarding which oxen to choose for the next day’s ritual plowing (see Civil 1976, especially pp. 84–85; for the *Song*, see p. 44); this, however, should not be assumed to indicate such a link between dream-divination and festivals in later periods.

also have received his dream during a festival.⁴ That dreams of divine origin were more likely during festivals in Pharaonic times is perhaps to be expected, since not only were these times of heightened religiosity when the gods were believed to be present on Earth, but also for most worshipers religious festivals represented the only opportunities to see the statues of the gods as they were brought out from their inner sancta and paraded in public, possibly delivering oracles on such occasions.⁵ What appears to have been a related phenomenon is indicated by another New Kingdom text, a Ramesside papyrus featuring verses that refer to singing and drinking while spending a festival night awake and evidently awaiting a divine epiphany, which was an experience presumably facilitated by the mixture of ritual drunkenness and religiosity inspired by hymns:

One brews for him on the day of festival:
the night of laying watchful in the depth of the night.
His name circulates upon the temple tops.
Sated(?) is he who sings in the night when it is dark.⁶

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- 4 For Ipuy and Djehutiemhab, see p. 83. The potential link between Djehutiemhab's dream and a festival was noted by von Lieven 1999, 113–114 and Szpakowska 2003a, 142, and explored in greater depth in Szpakowska 2003c, 229–237. See also Depauw/Smith 2004, 90, on Ipuy's experience and the relationship between the festival and dreams, and DuQuesne 2005, 12–14, putting both documents in the context of the sometimes ecstatic worship of Hathor.
- 5 The oracles would have been “movement” or “motion” oracles, which were obtained through the movements of cult images during processions while they were being carried by *wab*-priests, when the images would either seem to nod in assent or “walk backwards” to indicate a negative response. On the visibility of the gods during festivals, see Van der Plas 1989, 11–16 *et pass.* and Assmann 1994; cf. Volokhine 1998, 61. For a case study showing the difficulties in determining whether oracles were issued during festival days, see Vleeming 1982, and see McDowell 1990, 113–114 on sources from Deir el-Medīna.
- 6 P.Leiden I 350, col. iii, ll. 12–13 (Chapter 60), ed. Gardiner 1905 and p. 49, ed. Zandee 1947 (trans. Szpakowska); see Szpakowska 2003c, 231–233. The reference to “temple tops” may have a parallel among the Mesopotamian sources indicating that dream-divination was to take place on a roof (see p. 72n.100). See Szpakowska, *ibid.*, 235–236 for the possibility that this passage pertains to Hathor's Feast of Drunkenness, and that perhaps Ipuy's dream came on the day of this festival. For feasts of drunkenness, see Depauw/Smith 2004, 86–89 *et pass.* and Jasnow/Smith 2010/11. In the earlier article Mark Depauw and Mark Smith published two Ptolemaic Demotic *ostraka* (P.Zauzich 7–8; annotated translation in Quack 2013c, 270–272, No. 11.8) that turn out to form a continuous text and to be from a larger text concerning the orgiastic worship of the goddess Mut that survives in a Tebtunis papyrus published by Richard Jasnow and Smith (PSI Inv. 3056, *verso* + PSI Inv. D 103a, *verso*, eds. Jasnow/Smith,

There is also evidence going back to the New Kingdom for individuals praying and making vows to certain healing gods during festivals or even being healed on the spot—yet another manifestation of the gods' increased proximity and attentiveness at such times.⁷ Thus it is likely that, as one interpretation of his stele would have it, Ipuw had been in the presence of Hathor's statue on the occasion of her festival and this experience led to his subsequent dream in which the goddess spoke to him directly.⁸ Even if Ipuw was not engaging in incubation, a practice not documented this far back, his experience nonetheless anticipates its sometimes being linked to festivals in later eras.

Whereas during Pharaonic times the evidence only links festivals to unsolicited dreams, there is limited evidence from the Ptolemaic Period to suggest that dreams were received through incubation practiced on such occasions. Each of the sources for this, however, is problematic, and no one document definitively associates a dream received through incubation with a festival; taken collectively, however, they create an unmistakable pattern. The evidence from the Ḥor Archive is particularly vexing: in one *ostrakon* Ḥor possibly indicates that he had engaged in incubation at the *Asklepieion* and received two dreams, but there is a *lacuna* at the point in the text that might have referred to a festival of Imhotep (“... in Year 26, second month of winter [*i.e.*, Mekhir/March, 155 BCE], (the) night [---]...”), making the circumstances of these dreams uncertain;⁹ conversely, two other *ostraka* record dreams received

ibid.; see Quack 2013a, 77–79). Both versions may pertain to divine epiphanies associated with such celebrations: the *ostraka* associate drinking, eating, singing and sex in honor of the goddess Ai/Nehemanit with hearing and seeing her, and this, Depauw and Smith speculate, could pertain to a vision or dream of the goddess, who must be invoked by means of the prayer the *ostraka* preserve (*ibid.*, 85–86, 91); similarly, Jasnow and Smith indicate that in the papyrus an allusion to a dream might be found in the wish that during a celebration of the goddess, when the worshiper's heart is sorrowful, “May she cause my heart to see (*pry*), full of joy” (PSI Inv. 3056, *verso* + Inv. D 103a, *verso*, col. x+3, l. 16, with note at p. 29, cf. p. 34).

7 See Allam 1981, 198–199. For an Amarna-period example of a sick man cured at a festival of Amun when the god's statue was being carried in a procession, see O.Cairo 12212, ed. Posener 1975, 202–205.

8 See Szpakowska 2003a, 136–137.

9 *O.Hor* 59 (partly quoted p. 432). According to Ray, these dreams might have been received the night before the festival of Imhotep held on 11 Mekhir of 155 BCE (*O.Hor*, p. 168n.b), though this is speculative since the text only provides the month but not the date. Moreover, another *ostrakon* records that on 11 Mekhir of that year Ḥor had been supplicating the various gods of the Saqqâra bluff in an apparent attempt to receive a dream-oracle, and this appears to have been done at the “House of Thoth” rather than Imhotep's sanctuary, which raises the question of why, if festivals were conducive to incubation, Ḥor would have been more than

during festivals of Thoth and Isis, respectively, but do not indicate whether incubation was involved.¹⁰ In the case of the latter two texts, which instructed Ḳor to serve Thoth in Memphis and promised him posthumous honors, it has been suggested that his deliberate references to receiving his dreams during what their editor termed “auspicious occasions” might indicate that these were received through incubation, which is plausible but need not have been the case.¹¹ Further evidence for a link between dreams and festivals at Saqqâra is to be found in a papyrus from the *Sarapieion*’s other great archive, that of the “recluse” Ptolemaios.¹² The papyrus, from the dream diary that Ptolemaios kept, records seven dreams, one of which was received during a lunar festival.¹³

a kilometer away from the *Asklepieion* on the day of Imhotep’s festival (*O.Hor* 13, l. 1; quoted p. 622). The festival, the “First Feast of Imhotep,” is known from an inscribed festal calendar (Brit.Mus. EA 512 (= Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 73–78, §47 + Pls. 14–15); see Vittmann 1984, 948–949).

- 10 Thoth: *O.Hor* 8 (see pp. 440–441). Isis: *O.Hor* 9 (see pp. 386–387). As in the Imhotep text, there is a *lacuna* where Ḳor appears to have been referring to a festival and thus another interpretation is possible, though less likely (see *O.Hor*, p. 46n.b). (The two dreams received by Ḳor that he dated to “Day 19(?), Festival of Thoth” (*sw 19 ḥb Dḥwtj*) (*O.Hor* 8, *recto*, l. 1, modified according to Quack 2008, 379n.307), if the date has been correctly read, would have been received on an important festival of Thoth at Saqqâra (see Grimm 1994, 373), rather than slightly earlier in the month during a lunar festival, as was indicated by Ray’s original reading of Day 12 of Thoth (*O.Hor*, p. 23n.w).)

- 11 See *O.Hor*, pp. 131–132.

- 12 For Ptolemaios, see Chapter 7.1.

- 13 *UPZ* I 77, col. i, ll. 14–20. Nothing specific is known about the Σεληνιαῖα, though it appears to have been one of several lunar festivals held at Egyptian sanctuaries during the month of Pachon (see Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 137–140 and Grimm 1994, 420–422 *et pass.*). A potential parallel is to be found among the graffiti of the Abydos *Memnonion*, since Perdrizet and Lefebvre concluded that Osiris-Sarapis was consulted there through incubation during specific festivals rather than year-round, basing their arguments on three graffiti that refer to four worshipers who, in the case of one, announced “I was present before Sarapis for the new moon” (Πέταλος Ἀγοθοκλέους Θραῖξ παρεγενήθη πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν νομηνία) (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 53), or in the other cases merely stated “I have come for the new moon” (ἦκω νομηνία) after their names (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 567, 568), which in Egypt was a time associated with Thoth and believed to mark a period during which he provided the truest oracles and may also have been called upon for good health, and thus was a festal time (see Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, pp. xvi–xvii; see also Rutherford 2003, 179; on Thoth as a lunar god, see Boylan 1922, 62–75, 83–87 *et pass.*, Derchain 1962, 36–40, and Bleeker 1973, 114–117). (To these graffiti might be added Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 499, a Bes *proskynema* that the editors suggested restoring with νο[μηνία].) However, since it is not even certain that

As there is no evidence to suggest that Ptolemaios's dreams were received through incubation, however, there is no reason to conclude that this dream was solicited. Moreover, since for this particular dream Ptolemaios made a point of noting that he received it during a festival, it can be inferred that most of his dreams came to him at other times, and thus it may have been a coincidence, though it is certainly possible that even if not solicited the dream was considered especially significant or reliable because of its timing.

Similarly indirect evidence for incubation during a festival is to be found at Deir el-Bahari, in the form of two *proskynema* inscriptions left by families who spent time there celebrating the gods at the same time, and quite possibly together, during what may have been a festival.¹⁴ One of these texts, painted on a wall in the chapel of Hatshepsut, records that a husband, wife and daughter had been feasting (ἐὺωχοῦμενοι) in the sacred precinct (τέμενος) of Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios over a period of three days, the 23rd through 25th of the month of Thoth in 112 CE; the other, an adjacent *dipinto*, uses almost identical language to record that a father and daughter had been feasting there

dreams were solicited from Osiris-Sarapis at Abydos (see Chapter 9.2), and there is no evidence for Thoth there other than a reference to Hermes that perhaps pertained to Thoth/Hermes (Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion* 498 (= *IMetrEg* 132)), such a conclusion seems unwarranted: at best, these sources indicate a link between pilgrimage and the lunar cycle.

In the case of Ptolemaios at Saqqâra, however, such arguments linking incubation to lunar observances may well apply, since one of Thoth's foremost cult centers was located in the Sacred Animal Necropolis (see Chapter 7.5–6), and thus his having received a dream during a festival of Thoth may not have been coincidental. It is also quite possibly significant that another of the dreams recorded by Ptolemaios in *UPZ* 1 77, the one received by Tawe the night of June 16, 161 BCE, dates to a full moon (col. i, ll. 1–13; see the lunar tables in Goldstine, *New and Full Moons*, pp. 70–71). Similarly, the *Dream of Nektanebos* specifically refers to Nektanebos II receiving a dream featuring Isis and the other Egyptian gods while at Memphis—most likely at Saqqâra—on July 5, 343 BCE, and since the precise date seems to have been included in this fictional narrative in order to make it seem authentic, the addition of the seemingly superfluous fact that this coincided with the full moon perhaps should be attributed to a recognized association between the lunar cycle and incubation (*UPZ* 1 81, col. ii, l. 1; for the issues associated with the *Dream's* date, see p. 79).

- 14 On the limited evidence for Deir el-Bahari's festal calendar and the reasons not to assume that the presence of banqueters necessarily indicates a festival, see *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 64–66.

too, though only on Thoth 24 of that year.¹⁵ Since the father, mother and daughter of the first text were visiting over three days, they must have spent both nights in the sanctuary, perhaps even in the chapel itself.¹⁶ This is one of only three documented multi-night visits to Deir el-Bahari—the others being that of the *strategos* Celer and the one recorded in an unpublished Demotic *ostrakon*—so there is a good possibility that the length of their stay was dictated by the wish of one or more members of this family to engage in incubation;¹⁷ however, since the celebration of multi-day feasts by entire families dates back at least to the New Kingdom this is far from certain.¹⁸ Support for this conclusion might be found in the Demotic *ostrakon* of the Ptolemaic Period that records multiple dreams received by an individual from Amenhotep at a sanctuary that is believed to have been Deir el-Bahari.¹⁹ This document, which recounts two dreams and breaks off just before a third, states that the first was received on the night of the 23rd of an unknown month and the second on the night of the 24th, and since the second dream was set at a sacred meal it is not unreasonable to suppose that the month was Thoth—and thus that the period of Thoth 23–25 was an especially propitious time for oracular dreams at Deir el-Bahari.²⁰ However, it certainly could have been possible to fall asleep in a sanctuary during a festival and receive an *unsolicited* dream, though the best source for this may be the four surviving lines of an Oxyrhynchus papyrus fragment which bear an address to the hippopotamus-goddess Thokeris and then appear to begin a dream-narrative: “...To the goddess most great Thokeris: I was dining with friends yesterday in your most fortunate sacred precinct. Overcome by sleep ...” ([---?] | Θοήριδι θεᾶι μεγίστηι | ἐν τῷ εὐτυχαστάτῳ τεμένει

15 *I. Deir el-Bahari* 117–118, cf. pp. 65, 67–69. The dates 23–25 Thoth correspond to September 21–23.

16 For the issue of where such visitors would have stayed, see Chapter 8.4.

17 See *I. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 53, 201. For Celer, see pp. 471–472. The unpublished text is being edited by Bahé (O.Brit.Mus. 41260+50599; see p. 466n.54).

18 See, e.g., the New Kingdom hieratic *ostrakon* from the Valley of the Kings that records a four-day festival celebrating the divinized pharaoh Amenhotep I, during which the workers along with their wives and children would get drunk (O.Cairo 25234, ed. Černý 1927, 183–184; cf. Allam 1981, 199).

19 O. Nicholson R. 98 (quoted pp. 467–470).

20 This possible link between the dates in the *ostrakon* and the *proskynema* texts was first noted by Łajtar in *I. Deir el-Bahari*, p. 201. While the reasoning is partly circular, it is a very appealing theory nonetheless.

| σου ἐχθὲς ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις | ἐδείπνουν. ὕπνῳ ἐνεχό[[μενος *vel* -μένη ---] | [---]].²¹ Unfortunately, it cannot be ruled out that this was simply a case of someone attending a meal at a temple, as would sometimes be done by members of religious associations, without there having been a festival. Thus this papyrus might not be direct evidence for sleeping and dreaming during a festival, though it certainly shows that such an experience was possible.

From the Ptolemaic Period comes another tantalizing document that may pertain to divinatory incubation during a festival, though its fragmentary condition prevents a firm conclusion from being drawn: since the Greco-Demotic bilingual letter recording a dream employs a phrase commonly associated with festivals, “I celebrated a fine day,” and refers to anointing oneself or drinking, and also makes clear reference to dream-divination, there is reason to think that its author engaged in divinatory incubation during a festival, perhaps of Hathor.²² Another document, from the first century CE, might also pertain to divinatory incubation practiced during a festival, but the source in question, an oracular decree recounted in the funerary papyrus of a priest named Harsiesis who had once seen Amun-Re in a dream and received a prophecy regarding how many years longer he would live, neither specifies that the dream-oracle was obtained through incubation nor mentions a festival.²³ This papyrus, however, does provide the date when the incident occurred, and this coincided with a festival of Hathor—which, as was speculated by Paul Vernus, may not have been a coincidence at all.²⁴ Such a possibility makes sense given the previously noted sources for Hathor’s proximity to certain worshipers during her Feast of Drunkenness and other festivals, while the fact that Rē was the father of Hathor may explain his being envisioned during her festival. Regardless of

21 *P.Oxy* XL1 2976. See Frankfurter 1998, 123, suggesting that this document might pertain to incubation. To this might be added a fictional dream received after a festival-like celebration, Djoser’s dream in the unpublished Demotic *Life of Imhotep* (P.Carlsberg 85; see p. 423n.77).

22 P.Cairo CG 10313+10328+30961; see Chapter 9.5.

23 P.Leiden T 32, col. vii, ll. 28–33, ed. Herbin, *Livre* (with corrections in J.F. Quack, *OLZ* 91 (1996), 154–155); trans. Smith (M.) 2009, 395–431 (at p. 428). See Vernus 1980, 128–134; cf. Herbin, *ibid.*, 325. Vernus believes it likely that incubation was involved, while neither Herbin nor Smith addresses this. For the circumstances surrounding this episode, particularly the dating issues, see Smith, *ibid.*, 398–399.

24 See Vernus 1980, 133–134. For the procession festival of Hathor on the last day of the month of Hathyr, see Grimm 1994, 54–55.

whether this hieratic papyrus records a dream-oracle that was the result of incubation or merely the religious experience associated with festivals, its focus on the recipient's lifespan has parallels in three of the documents discussed above: the dreams that Ḥor received from Thoth and Isis indicating that he would henceforth serve Thoth in Memphis and in return would be rewarded with a long, happy life and the honor of burial in the "House of (Osiris-)Apis," and Djehutiemhab's dream in which Hathor had predicted a long and healthy life and had designated for him the location of his tomb. Collectively, these four texts suggest that dreams received during festivals may have been more likely to pertain to matters of great significance to the recipient, rather than to the more day-to-day matters usually addressed to oracles.

Overall, it is not certain that seeking dream-oracles through incubation during particular festivals was an especially important feature of Egyptian—or Greco-Egyptian—religion. Moreover, festivals were held every ten days, so the reference to festivals in at least some of the pertinent documents may simply be a coincidence due to the 10% chance of a dream occurring on a festival date. But, if not, an important question would be whether all festivals were equally conducive to dream-divination. There does seem to be a clear link between dreams and festivals, especially those linked to the lunar cycle (or Thoth) or Hathor, but these dreams, with the possible exception of those received by Ḥor while he was at the *Asklepieion*, a location suggesting incubation, are just as easily attributed to the heightened religiosity experienced by worshipers during these periods.²⁵ However, the Egyptian belief that certain days and times of day were most ideal—as well as least ideal—for different forms of divination and magical rituals, as demonstrated by hemerologies from both the Pharaonic and post-Pharaonic Period, strongly suggests that the aforementioned link between dreams and festivals can be attributed to more than just the profound religious feelings inspired in some individuals during such times.²⁶ This belief

25 A question worth considering is whether these worshipers were soliciting dreams about particular issues in their lives, or were simply hoping to receive a dream about whatever matter the god wished to focus on.

26 For the hemerologies, see most recently Naether/Ross 2008, on which this discussion is based; the topic has also subsequently been touched upon in Quack 2010a, 50, while those of the ancient Near East are treated in Livingstone 2013. See Quack 2012b for a new text with both hemerological and astrological elements (P.Berlin ÄM P. 14472 + P.Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. hier. 38a and P.Berlin ÄM P. 29065), as well as the announcement that some unpublished fragments in the Brooklyn Museum likewise feature such elements. Related evidence might be found in an *ostrakon* featuring an oracular request for divine justice

is especially evident in the “magical” papyri, which contain several dozen references to special days or hours for performing certain rituals and spells, among them dream-divination.²⁷ While the magical papyri might pertain to private practices, they and the hemerologies preserved elsewhere indicate that both cult officials and professional diviners paid attention to the calendar and clock when choosing an appropriate time to practice divination, and therefore it is to be expected that those intending to engage in incubation would have tried

from Neith/Athena that was made during her festival (καθ' ἡμέραν | ὑμῶν) at Latopolis and refers to her embalmed sacred fish (O.Garstang 1 (= Gascou 2008a, 32–34, No. 7)). Citing Saqqâra as a potential parallel, Gascou has suggested that the men addressing the goddess were doing so during a period when the necropolis was open to worshipers celebrating the entombment of the divinized fish, and notes that dream-oracles are among the possible media through which responses were received at this site (Gascou, *ibid.*, 38–39; for the occasional opening of sacred animal necropolises at Saqqâra, see p. 446).

- 27 Among the more general sources for this in the corpus of magical papyri are *PGM* VII.155–167, a list of thirty days and the time of day when one or more unspecified types of divination could be performed, and *PGM* VII.272–283, a list of days throughout the year when magical rituals were not to be undertaken. To these can now be added: a text pertaining to ideal times for divination (P.Vienna D 12006, col. i, ll. 1–8, ed. Stadler 2004; see also Stadler 2012, 164–177); parts of two calendars likewise indicating good and bad days for unspecified rituals, presumably including divination (*P.Kell* I 82–83); and, a Tebtunis text which Quack has identified as belonging to a treatise on lot divination that he plans to publish in K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond* (forthcoming) (Florence, M.A. 11918 (= Botti 1957, 86, No. 4 + Pl. 2, 3); cf. Stadler 2012, 166n.717). These will also soon be joined by a work from Ptolemaic times that is partly preserved in multiple Demotic manuscripts from Tebtunis, Oxyrhynchus and at least one other site, part of which is being edited by Quack and Ryholt for both joint and independent projects. Among the rituals specifically for soliciting dreams detailed in the Greek and Demotic magical texts are some that make reference to the times at which they were to be performed: for example, *PGM* II.1–64, a complex set of instructions for obtaining a dream-revelation from Apollo, refers to the “first day (of the month)” (l. 27, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ) in addition to stating that the necessary invocation is to begin “at the 7th hour of the moon” (l. 44, ἀπὸ ζ' τῆς σελήνης), while *PDM Suppl.* 168–184 (= cols. vi, l. 25–vii.14; trans. J.H. Johnson in Betz, *GMP* and Quack 2008, 355–356, No. 4.2) employs astrological terminology in denoting the day for obtaining a dream of Imhotep through a “god’s arrival” (*ph-ntr*) ritual (for this ritual, see p. 507n.60). (I am grateful to Franziska Naether for sharing her findings on this subject.)

to do so at the most ideal times, if some times were indeed more ideal than others. If so, this would represent a uniquely Egyptian element in the practice of incubation in Greco-Roman times, since no evidence for such a consideration exists at sanctuaries beyond Egypt.²⁸

28 The lack of a parallel phenomenon among the Greeks may well be explained by the fact that most of the Greek divinities consulted through incubation were heroes—or else gods who had been elevated from hero—and therefore were felt to be a constant presence in people's lives, whereas Egyptian gods would be present only at certain times. (I am grateful to Christopher A. Faraone for this point.)

A belief in auspiciousness of certain days for dream-divination, albeit not necessarily incubation, in the ancient Near East is also attested, though not as abundantly: see, *e.g.*, the letter to the Assyrian king by a member of his court regarding the thirteenth day of that month being “a propitious day” (SAA X 59; quoted pp. 618–619). See also another letter to an Assyrian king describing the initiation of dream-divination rituals that, according to a ritual book, were to be performed on a certain date:

We have begun to perform the rites of the month Elul: ‘On the 16th you set a table made of tamarisk wood before Sin. At the head of the bed you place a censer of juniper for (the dream god) Zaququ. You wash his hands and feet with *siderites* and cassia. You bind lumps of salt, cassia, juniper, and lumps (taken) from the outer door to the hem of his garment (SAA X 298, ll. 8–18; trans. Parpola).

As the letter concludes with a reference to the king's infant grandson and the comment that “we did not leave a day or month without rituals and rites” for him, it is quite likely that another letter by this same ritual expert informing the king of a “good dream” concerning the baby was obtained in this manner (SAA X 305; see Butler 1998, 237–238 and Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 117–118). (The first of these letters quotes part of the *Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual*, and is re-edited in Butler, *ibid.*, 396–398 as part of the composite text (see p. 52n.43).)

Incubation in Late Antique Christianity: A Bibliographical Survey and Analysis of the Sources

XVI.1 Introduction

The nature and role of incubation among the Christians of Late Antiquity and the centuries that followed is a subject both illuminated and complicated by numerous sources, and merits a book-length study in its own right.¹ However, since the belief in miracles involving dreams received at Christian holy sites was a religious development of the Greco-Roman world it requires attention in any broad study of incubation in antiquity—thus, while a full analysis is beyond the scope of this project, a survey of the primary and secondary sources dating no later than the eighth century that focuses on the phenomenon in general as well as the specific evidence for it at each of the churches and shrines (frequently μαρτύρια/*martyria*, i.e. martyr shrines) where incubation is thought to have been practiced both complements the rest of the present volume and supplements the existing scholarship on the subject.² As it is

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- 1 This major gap in the scholarship will soon be filled by Ildikó Csepregi's *Temple Sleep in Byzantium: The Formation of Christian Incubation Miracle Collections*, a study of hagiographical works that primarily focuses on the formation and transmission of the miracle collections, textual and compositional issues, and other matters pertaining to the sources themselves, but also investigates ritual and historical matters. (I am grateful to the author for sharing with me early proofs of her important work, which, as a non-specialist, I relied on to correct my own errors and to clarify certain matters. As the work is unpublished I have not incorporated it into the present discussion, relying instead only on her published articles.) In addition, Stephanos Efthymiadis generously shared with me his important study of late Byzantine incubation, Efthymiadis 2016, which I do not discuss below because it was unpublished at the time, and appeared in print too late for inclusion. [See *Addendum* on p. 807.]
 - 2 Pierre Maraval's treatment of Christian incubation is of particular note, since it draws on the different miracle narratives to explore in some detail the process of visiting a Christian holy site and spending the night there hoping for a cure, including such issues as which parts of churches were linked to the practice, the length of time visitors would stay, the nature of the dreams as well as how the saints appearing in them would look and what they would do, the nature of the prayers before and after miraculous cures, and so on (Maraval 1985, 224–229). Maraval, along with Wacht and to some extent also Graf and Natalio Fernández Marcos, are the only scholars in the past century to analyze Christian incubation in terms of the steps taken before and after, as well as other ritual aspects (see Wacht 1997, especially

generally understood, the basic concept of Christian incubation was similar to that among the Greeks and other ancient cultures: a worshiper seeking a cure or, apparently much more rarely, some form of oracle-like or fertility-related revelation would pray and then sleep at a holy site hoping for direct contact and aid from the divine realm coming in a dream.³ This understanding,

254–263, Graf 2015, 262–263 (pp. 136–137 of 2013 version) and Fernández Marcos 1975, 33–3; cf. Delehay 1925, 72–73), while Ehrenheim is the only scholar to explore in detail the full range of archaeological evidence associated with Christian holy sites linked directly or speculatively to incubation (Ehrenheim 2009, 253–267 *et pass.*). Such work is essential for assessing the similarities and differences between pagan and Christian incubation, which are crucial to the question of what relationship, if any, there was between the two phenomena. Also, as discussed below (see Sect. XVI.4), studying such details concerning Christian incubation can on occasion provide significant comparanda supplementing our knowledge of pagan incubation.

In addition to the works cited below, and Wacht's extensive collection of the primary sources in his encyclopedia entry on incubation in antiquity (Wacht, *ibid.*, 230–263), there are several other studies of Christian incubation worth noting: Lucius 1904, 252–270, 299–301; López Salvá 1976 (with particular emphasis on Greek terminology pertaining to dreams); Dorati/Guidorizzi 1996, 361–364 *et pass.*; Bernardi 2006; Marksches 2006a, 198–209 (pp. 75–88 of 2008 reprint) and Marksches 2007, 177–190 (essentially identical; cf. Marksches 2006b, 1237–1241, a shorter version); Schulze 2013; Sfameni Gasparro 2007c; Canetti 2010a; Bozoky 2010, 21–33, 81–83 (improved reprint of Bozoky 2003); Csepregi 2011; Pratsch 2013 (primarily employing later Byzantine sources); Zeppezauer 2013 (on miracle accounts and medical language); and, Martien F.G. Parmentier, “Hij geert het zijn beminden in de slaap,” *Bulletin voor charismatische theologie* 19 (1987), 22–32 and “Incubatie in de antieke hagiografie,” in A. Hilhorst (ed.), *De heiligenverering in de eerste eeuwen van het christendom* (Nijmegen, 1988), 27–40 (not consulted); see also Déroche 2012a. Some short but useful discussions can also be found in works of broader scope, especially relating to Christian pilgrimage, including: Kötting 1950, 393–398 *et pass.*; Baumeister 1972, 68–71; MacMullen 1997, 126–127 (with notes); Talbot 2002; Klaniczay 2010, 239–240; Efthymiadis 2014, 108–113; and Dal Santo 2012, 156, 254–255, 278–279 *et pass.*; cf. Lehmann 2006 (especially pp. 109–115) and Skedros 2006, 84–87 *et pass.*

- 3 A fairly typical summary of the traditional view can be found in Peter Grossmann's claim that “The procedure of incubation rites did not change in Christian times. The only difference was that the pagan healing gods were no longer invoked. Now, Christian saints were responsible for their achievements” (Grossmann 2007, 126). In contrast to Greek sanctuaries, there is little evidence for divinatory or fertility incubation at Christian holy sites, and while it is possible that this is simply a function of the sources, which focus on miraculous cures obtained while dreaming, it appears more likely that seeking a prophetic dream was not a common practice among the Christians. If it was, the extant sources certainly do not support this. Indeed, the list collected by Maraval does not include one reliable example (Maraval 1985, 228–229): *Mir. Theclae* 21 and 22 each describe Thekla appearing in dreams or visions to reveal who had stolen an item, but with no sign of incubation in either case; *Mir. Menae* (Greek) 2, pp. 66–68, ed. Pomialovskii 1900 (= *Mir. Menae* (Coptic) 3, ed. Drescher) is an

however, is quite possibly incorrect, or at best only partly correct. As is shown in the final section, it is preferable to conclude that there is no reliable evidence for Christian incubation that matches this description: instead, the sources treated as evidence describe one of four situations, from dreaming at a holy site after falling asleep by accident (*i.e.*, “unintentional incubation”), to deliberately sleeping at such a site and either receiving a dream that is not said to have been solicited or receiving a cure that is not reported to have come in a dream, to sleeping at home (or in some lodging elsewhere) and receiving an unsolicited dream that brings about a cure. Moreover, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that incubation at Christian holy sites was generally organized and officially promoted, as had been the case at *Asklepieia* and other such sites: the potential evidence for the former consists of some physical evidence that can be hypothetically interpreted as having been intended for the use of those engaging in incubation, and also a single miracle narrative referring to a “*patēr*” at St. Kollouthos’s church who discussed the contents of one sufferer’s dream,⁴ while in the case of the latter the best evidence might be the small group of hagiographies emphasizing the role of miraculous dreams at a

irrelevant tale of a slave boy attempting to drown himself rather than face his master’s wrath over a lost silver dish, but instead being saved by the saint; Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. 129¹⁵, fol. 23–24, pp. 221–227, ed. Schenke 2013 is about an apparently unsolicited dream received at Kollouthos’s shrine that leads to recovery of stolen wealth; Evag. Schol., *Hist.eccl.* 3.8 tells of the emperor Zeno receiving from Thekla a promise of victory over the usurper Basiliskos in 476 CE, and gives no indication that this was anything other than yet another tale of an ancient political or military leader receiving a prophetic vision during a time of crisis; Cyril Scyth., *Vit. Euthymi* 2 and Anon., *Vit. Symeonis iun.* 2 are both stories of future saints’ as yet childless parents praying for a child at a holy site and finally receiving a dream promising one, which at best may be somewhat reminiscent of fertility incubation (see n. 27 and pp. 779–780); Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 27 is on a man praying to St. Leontius for help with freeing himself of a debt and later receiving an instruction in a dream, with neither prayer nor dream linked to a specific location (see n. 27); Cyril Scyth., *Vit. Sabae* 78 is yet another instance of a saint appearing in a dream in order to aid the recovery of stolen property, and one of many examples of unintentional incubation; and, *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 25 concerns an odd episode involving a man with failing eyesight receiving a dream from Kosmas and Damian at their church prescribing a cure that, due to its nature, establishes the faithfulness of another man’s wife. Only Eustratios, *Vit. Eutychii* 24, ed. Laga, which tells of the emperor Justinian sleeping at a shrine of St. Peter and being advised regarding a matter of Church hierarchy, cannot be easily ruled out as an example of divinatory incubation, but the experience of an emperor, as with those of ancient Near Eastern kings and Egyptian pharaohs who received god-sent dreams, is hardly reliable evidence for the practices among ordinary worshippers (see n. 27).

4 See pp. 774–775.

church that are known to have been composed by someone who was serving there and thus officially or unofficially promoting the saint's—and thus the site's—miracles.⁵ Therefore, it would be best to broaden the definition of the practice called “Christian incubation” so as to recognize it as different from traditional incubation in crucial respects: while it is certainly acceptable for the term to be used by scholars for the aforementioned experiences, it should at least be understood that even if “Christian incubation” in some ways resembled the forms of incubation as it was traditionally practiced, it nonetheless was a distinct phenomenon and one that, unlike so many other elements of Christian worship, does not appear to have been directly adapted from earlier practices. (In this and the other sections the term “Christian incubation” is used according to its traditional understanding for the sake of convenience, but in the final section this is challenged, and it is argued that the only way to accept the existence of “Christian incubation” as a detectable phenomenon is to redefine what is meant by “incubation.”)

There are multiple reasons for the current consensus that the Christians of antiquity would engage in incubation, not least among these being that a number of sources show them acting in ways that were quite reminiscent of their non-Christian ancestors' practices—from praying and making vows, to sleeping in particular areas along with others likewise seeking divine assistance, to receiving and following a prescription or some instruction. But there were also rather significant differences, both in their respective practices and the theological underpinnings for these.⁶ The most important contrast is that

5 The rarity of “institutionalized incubation” at early Christian sites has previously been noted in Ehrenheim 2009, 267–268, evidently following Maraval 1985, 227 on Christian incubation being generally informal rather than organized; see also Canetti 2010*b*, 49, on the lack of structure and organization in the Medieval West, and Graf 2015, 262 (pp. 136–137 of 2013 version), suggesting that “the institutionalization of incubation” and rise of pilgrimage to healing sites were linked. It is thus possible that any number of holy sites would occasionally be visited by individuals seeking a saint's help and deciding to spend the night there in order to enhance their chances of success, sometimes resulting in the dream-appearance of the saint.

6 On top of these differences in terms of beliefs and practices, there are differences in how word of these has come down to us, since the types of sources informing us regarding traditional incubation and the Christians' practices hardly overlap: whereas incubation among the Greeks and others has been richly documented in a greatly varied collection of written and visual media as well as architectural remains, the Christian sources are almost entirely literary, consisting primarily of collections of *post mortem* miracles, individual saints' lives or encomia, and short passages made in sermons and other writings of church fathers, with the only other potential evidence consisting of architectural remains at a small number

incubation among the Greeks would take place at cult sites of gods and heroes, while among the Christians it was neither “Father” nor “Son” nor “Holy Spirit” (*i.e.*, a god) nor even Mary (*i.e.*, the divine mother) from whom dreams would come,⁷ but rather human saints (the Christians’ closest equivalent to Greek heroes and the Egyptians’ divinized mortals, who were credited with *post mortem* miracles), as well as one of the angels.⁸ Thus with the one curious exception of a church of St. Michael, who as an angel had no physical remains, all of the holy sites linked by one or more sources to Christian incubation were devoted to saints, especially their tombs—a phenomenon quite possibly to be explained by the fact that at saints’ shrines their bodies (or relics) were physically present, and the saints themselves were believed to be asleep and already to have been made healthy and whole as they awaited the final resurrection, and those who slept in close proximity to them were hoping to awaken healthier and holier.⁹ Those receiving dreams typically would be sleeping in the shrine of a saint in close proximity to his or her tomb or relics, which was the preferred place of those seeking a cure or some other form of aid from the saint, with or without a dream. Christian incubation—or, more properly, the phenomena that might be termed as such—was thus a feature of the “cult of

of sites. The reasons for which the written sources were composed also appear to have been distinct. Since the miracle collections and other hagiographical works at least partly devoted to curative dreams significantly postdate the demise of paganism, the purpose for describing what worshipers achieved through prayer and overnight visits to holy sites would not have been to gain new converts to Christianity, but rather to celebrate the saints and reinforce belief in their powers and in God’s, just as the testimonies of miraculous cures at Epidauros represented a form of propaganda emphasizing the power of Asklepios (see Dillon 1994, 258–259, comparing the two types of miracle collections, and the lengthier treatment in Dorati 2001). As noted by Leslie S.B. MacCoull, who expressed surprise, no personal letter by an Egyptian Christian who refers directly or indirectly to incubation has been found (MacCoull 1991, 126), though since only a negligible number of such letters from Ptolemaic and Roman times survive, this lack of documentary evidence for miraculous dreams may be an accident of preservation.

- 7 Athanasius in his forty-second *Festal Letter* does state that people could call upon Jesus and receive a response in their hearts or through dreams, but there are not examples of people visiting churches to seek dreams directly from him (Athanas., *Ep. Fest.* 42, ed. and trans. Lefort 1955, 1:66 (text), 11:47 (trans.); Italian translation in Camplani 2003, 538–544, at §30; on this letter, see p. 110n.179).
- 8 See Jones 2010, 84–85, briefly touching on the issue of whether the hero and saint phenomena were related. For saints’ miracles a distinction can be drawn between those performed by a living saint (*i.e.*, *in vita* miracles) and those made posthumously, with “Christian incubation” exclusively associated with the latter sort.
- 9 I am grateful to Ray Van Dam for his thoughts regarding this issue.

saints,” though not a universal one, just as incubation was not practiced at every temple in Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt;¹⁰ similarly, just as not all ancient healing gods were called upon for cures through therapeutic incubation at their sanctuaries, not all saints valued as healers were believed to attend the sick in their dreams, and those who did were not believed to heal *only* in dreams, but also would often do so without appearing to the sufferer.¹¹ And, conversely, just as one could pray to any god for healing or protection of one’s health, it would

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- 10 For the cult of the saints in the Greek East, see Delehay 1933; for this phenomenon in the western Mediterranean during Late Antiquity the standard work remains Brown 1981, but see also Van Dam 1993. In addition, Egypt’s saints are surveyed in Papaconstantinou 2007, and are also the subject of a collection of the extensive epigraphical and papyrological sources for their cults (Papaconstantinou 2001), while the saints of North Africa are discussed in Saxer 1980 and Bejaoui 2006. See also Maraval 1985, 225, noting that incubation was practiced at Christian holy sites great and small (which would follow the pattern evident among the Greeks beginning in Classical times), and Nutton 2013, 299–317, on medicine during Late Antiquity and the Christians’ attitudes towards it as well as the rise of healing saints. A comprehensive collection of sources for the cult of saints from all parts of the ancient world up to c. 700 CE is now being prepared for an online database by Oxford’s “The Cult of Saints” project (<http://cultofsaints.modhist.ox.ac.uk>).
- 11 This is evident from the countless hagiographical works that do not even hint at incubation being practiced at a Christian holy site, and dwarf the few that appear to emphasize incubation, but the pattern can also be quantified. Most generally, it has been shown based on a study of 76 saints’ lives and 166 collections of miracles pertaining to Gallic saints dating before the end of the twelfth century, which collectively recount 2050 *post mortem* healing miracles, that only 259 (12%) of them involved dreams or visions, and among these 102 (40%) described a cure that occurred while the recipient slept and 157 (60%) told of the saint issuing a prescription or instructions to be followed later (see Sigal 1985, 134–147 and Klaniczay 2012, 156). Moreover, of the 102 accounts of direct cures during sleep, sixty involved a cure obtained at a holy site and forty-two occurred while sleeping somewhere else, most often at home. A breakdown of the 157 miracle tales involving prescriptions or instructions shows that in 121 cases dreams were received at the sufferer’s home, in eight where a pilgrim was lodged, seven while he or she was heading to the saint’s church or shrine, three at or near that site, eight at another saint’s holy site, and ten at an unidentified site—demonstrating the relative unimportance of dreaming at a church or shrine in order to receive a prescription. This pattern can also be seen in the primary collection of *post mortem* miracles involving the Gallic saint most often associated with incubation, Gregory of Tours’s *On the Powerful Deeds of the Bishop St. Martin*, in which an even lower 7% of the 232 miraculous cures attributed to Martin of Tours were said to have been effected through dreams (see Moreira 2000, 130, followed by Klaniczay 2012, 152; for this work, see p. 783). Similar studies remain to be done for the Byzantine sources.

have been possible to spend a night at any saint's shrine seeking similar aid, even if that saint was not normally associated with physical well-being.

It is impossible to identify the precise origins of Christian incubation, but while it is now forgotten where and when it first became an established practice at some saint's shrine, the broader problem of the circumstances leading to its development, especially the relationship between Christian and pagan incubation and to what extent the former was derived from or influenced by the latter, has received a considerable amount of attention, and has long been thought a settled matter.¹² That incubation would have been adopted by the Christians directly from the earlier practices is a reasonable assumption, since people who were willing to abandon the old gods could still have had certain expectations of what they might experience when visiting a cult site, including that when doing so they could directly contact a saint with the same ease as previous generations had sought aid and advice from gods and heroes. Indeed, the replacement of healing gods and heroes with healing saints at particular sites, not to mention the favorable comparisons of Jesus's healing powers to those of Asklepios, was part of the official narrative of the triumph of Christianity over paganism.¹³ However, recent articles by Fritz Graf and Robert Wiśniewski that appeared at roughly the same time have cast doubt on the common view that Christian incubation evolved directly from pagan incubation, even where a church replaced a temple at which incubation had been practiced before the old divinity was ousted.¹⁴ As Graf has indicated, the sources for Christian

12 Crucial to the formation of a consensus was Ludwig Deubner's work, which was followed by Mary Hamilton and a host of later scholars (Deubner (L.) 1900, 56–109 and Hamilton (M.) 1906, 109–171 (especially 109–118)). See Graf 2015, 245–246 (pp. 121–122 of 2013 version) on their significance (as well as Deubner's coining the term "incubatio Christiana"), and Wiśniewski 2013, 203n.1 for a representative list of other scholarship on the topic. A rare exception of a discussion not echoing Deubner's is Maraval 1985, 224–229, surveying the ancient and modern sources for Christian incubation but devoting only a single sentence to the fact that incubation had been practiced at pagan temples, and not claiming a direct link.

13 For comparisons between Jesus and Asklepios, see: Edelstein, *Asclepius* 11:132–138 *et pass.* (valuable but dated); Mathews 1999, 69–72 (briefly contrasting their representation in Roman art); Dinkler 1980 (arguing that the iconography of Asklepios statues influenced particular representations of Jesus and miracle-working apostles); and Benseddik 2010, 1:319–329 (with an emphasis on North Africa). Different Christian authors' perceptions of Asklepios are surveyed in dal Covolo 2008. See also Sfameni Gasparro 2007b, 270n.84, with additional references, and Filoramo 2008.

14 See Graf 2015, 241–267 (a slightly modified version of Graf 2013) and Wiśniewski 2013, whose conclusions were anticipated by two others: the idea of there having been a gap in time between the decline of the practice of incubation among pagans and its adoption

incubation at individual sites that had been temples significantly postdated the earliest phase of the shrines in question by many decades or even centuries, so there is no reliable contemporary source for incubation being practiced at a church or shrine soon after it had been established where Asklepios or another divinity had previously been issuing dreams.¹⁵ Furthermore, as he notes, it has been overlooked by scholars that the ban by Theodosius I on pagan public rituals would have ended the practice of incubation: thus the often repeated narrative of incubation in a traditional cult being replaced with incubation in a saint's cult must now be viewed as problematic due to the gap in time between the demise of *Asklepieia* and other such sites and the earliest sources for Christian incubation, though it remains possible that the Christian practice of sleeping at churches drew from the practices that had been commonplace among the Greeks for nearly a millennium.¹⁶ More significantly, though, there are both practical and theological reasons for why incubation would have started among the Christians relatively late, and thus well after all but a small number of pagan temples and shrines had been closed or destroyed and their rituals banned by imperial decree.

by Christians that both scholars endorse was the subject of a brief comment by Maraval (Maraval 1985, 225), while Ehrenheim stated that only at Menouthis did there seem to be "direct continuity" from pagan incubation to Christian (Ehrenheim 2009, 261, 269n.238, unaware of Gasco's freshly published arguments against such continuity at Menouthis (see p. 370n.91)). The phenomenon of churches replacing temples, either in the same spot or a general vicinity, has received significant attention and thus is the subject of a large bibliography: see, *e.g.*, Spieser 1976 and Foschia 2000 (for Greece); Frantz 1965 (for Athens, including the *Asklepieion* at pp. 194–195); Gregory 1986 (for Greece, with the Athenian *Asklepieion* at pp. 237–239); Karivieri 1995 and Melfi 2007a, 405–407 (focusing on the Athenian *Asklepieion*; see p. 133n.45); Brandenburg 2007 and Renberg 2006–07, 97–99 (for S. Bartolomeo ultimately replacing Rome's Tiber Island *Asklepieion*, and reaching similar conclusions regarding the substantial gap in time); Bayliss 2004 (primarily devoted to Cilicia, but surveying evidence for the phenomenon much more broadly); Csepregi 2015 (on Asklepios at Aegae being replaced by multiple Christian healing cults, including Kosmas and Damian; see pp. 209–210n.226); Gasco 1998, 30–36 (a skeptical treatment for Alexandria); and Hahn/Emmel/Gotter 2008 and Lavan/Mulryan 2011 (two collections featuring a number of articles on the fates of temples throughout the Mediterranean world, the latter including Dijkstra 2011 for Egypt). To these has recently been added Wiśniewski 2015, an important study both injecting an important note of caution regarding the sources and exploring the differences between East and West, attributing these in part to differing perceptions of pagan temples.

15 See Graf 2015, 254–258 (pp. 130–133 of 2013 version).

16 See Graf 2015, 244–245, 254–255 (pp. 121, 130 *et pass.* of 2013 version).

It thus would be best not to think of a direct continuum from Greek (and Greco-Egyptian) incubation to Christian—however, since the basic concept of sleeping at a cult site seeking divine aid was both ancient and widespread, and would have been well known in Late Antiquity after having all but stopped among traditional worshipers, it is certainly possible that this eventually did have an impact on the Christians' practices, even if they were not consciously emulating their ancestors'. There are other reasons as well to conclude that Christian incubation did not develop directly from the practices at pagan sites. As Graf emphasizes, a significant number of the sources for the sick being healed by saints who appeared to them in dreams describe this occurring not at a holy site, but rather in a bedroom or some other secular location, showing that engaging in incubation—which he defines as “a clearly defined ritual act of intentional sleeping in a sacred space in order to be healed by a superhuman healer in a dream,” thus making a distinction from the numerous tales describing miraculous dreams received in contexts not fitting these criteria—was by no means required in order to have a saint appear and restore one's health.¹⁷ Thus

17 See Graf 2015, 255, 259, 263–267 (quoting p. 263) (pp. 130, 133–134, 137–141 of 2013 version). Graf's point regarding saints intervening in dreams received away from holy sites, which can be seen in numerous hagiographies mostly composed decades or centuries after the events they portrayed, appears to be supported in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, an anonymous fourth-century document from Egypt that survives only in an Arabic translation, since one of its pronouncements is that “The sick are not to sleep in the dormitory, but rather the poor. That is why he who has a home, if he is sick, is not to be moved to the house of God. Rather he is only to pray and then return home” (*Canons of Hippolytus*, Canon 24, ed. Coquin 1966, 122–125 (= 390–393); trans. C. Bebawi in Bradshaw 1987). Deubner, in accordance with the scholarly opinion of his day, viewed this passage as evidence for incubation in Rome in the early third century, when Hippolytus was bishop, though it makes no mention of seeking dreams (Deubner (L.) 1900, 61). This has also been inferred by Ric Barrett-Lennard, who has seen in this restriction evidence that “this practice, with its pagan associations, particularly in relation to the healing cult of Asklepios, was unacceptable to the ecclesiastical authorities or at least to the author(s) of the Canons,” even though it is clear at best that, as he notes, “there were some among the sick who wanted to sleep either in the church or perhaps in what may have been an almshouse for the poor attached to the church” (Barrett-Lennard 2005, 161–162). However, the passage should be read not as a veiled criticism of incubation, but as a practical reminder that the saints could be expected to come to a sick person's home and deliver a cure, making sleeping at a church unnecessary. (For the phenomenon of miracles taking place away from a saint's tomb, albeit a work based on later hagiographies than those surveyed here, see Krötzel 2000; see also Moreira 2000, 132–135. See n. 11 on the majority of prescriptive dreams in Gaul noted in the hagiographies having been received away from churches.)

even a compelling comment like the reference made by Asterius of Amaseia around 400 CE to the saint's "manifest actions through dream-visions and therapies, from which those suffering have derived benefit" (τὰς . . . ἐνεργείας διὰ τῶν ἐν ὀνείρασιν ὄψεων καὶ τῶν θεραπειῶν, ὧν οἱ κάμνοντες ἀπολαύουσι) in his homily *Encomium for the Holy Martyr St. Phokas*, which prompted Johan Leemans to comment that it "may hint at the practice of incubation," can only be linked to the practice speculatively because of such alternatives.¹⁸ There is also much evidence for dreams being received at holy sites without having been deliberately sought, as can first be seen at the all-night "martyrs' vigils" that became commonplace at *martyria* beginning in the fourth century, and this is more an example of "unintentional incubation" than evidence for deliberate incubation.¹⁹ However, since the earliest known example of a Christian possibly seeking a dream, recounted by Gregory of Nyssa in his *Sermon in Praise of the Forty Martyrs, Spoken in their Martyrion* of 379 CE, is that of a lame soldier who attended a vigil around 360 CE and was miraculously cured by a dream after "having prayed to God, (and) called for the intercession of the saints" (θεῷ προσευξάμενος τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πρεσβείαν ἐπεκαλέσατο), it is quite possible that Christian incubation began as an informal practice on such occasions before becoming a more regular one, and apparently to some degree institutionalized at certain sites.²⁰ (The emperor Julian may have been

18 Asterius of Amaseia, *Homily IX*, §13.1, ed. Datema (= *PG* 40, 300B–313D, quoting 313C (= *BHG* 1538/*CPG* 2815)). See Leemans 2013, 198n.137, linking the homily to a festival honoring the martyr at Amaseia.

19 What has been termed "unintentional incubation" occurred when a worshiper would unexpectedly fall asleep at a holy site and receive a meaningful dream—a phenomenon found repeatedly among the collections of miracle narratives and other Christian writings that refer to individuals' dreams, including the sermon of Gregory of Nyssa discussed in the next note, but one first described in sources from two millennia earlier (see pp. 13–14n.36, as well as p. 802).

20 Greg. Nyss., *Sermo in XL Martyres II*, pp. 166–167, ed. Lendle, *GNO* 10.1 (= *PG* 46, 784B–D (= *CPG* 3189)). Of particular note is the experience of the young Gregory around 355–360 CE, described in the same sermon, of falling asleep while attending one of these vigils at the shrine of the Forty Martyrs in Ibora and then dreaming that the martyrs were attacking him over his rudderlessness, following which he committed himself to leading a more holy life (Greg. Nyss., *Sermo in XL Martyres II*, pp. 167–168 (= *PG* 46, 784D–785B); see Wiśniewski 2013, 204n.2, 207; cf. Maraval 1999, 197–198). As Wiśniewski observes, the future saint would not have been the only one to have found himself unintentionally sleeping at a martyr shrine and receiving a dream, especially given the presence of alcohol during these feasts, and this may have been a forerunner of incubation; however, as Gregory himself witnessed when the soldier attended a vigil seeking a remedy from the

alluding to such a phenomenon in *Against the Galilaeans* when he criticized the Christians for “wallowing among the tombs” (προσκαλινδεῖσθε τοῖς μνήμασιν) and followed this with a quote from the *Septuagint* translation of *Isaiah* about those who “both in tombs and in caves sleep for the sake of dreams” (καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι’ ἐνύπνια), claiming that this form of “trickery” associated with seeking dreams among tombs had been pioneered by the Jews long before (παλαιὸν ἦν τοῦτο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς μαγγανείας τὸ ἔργον, ἐγκαθεύδειν τοῖς μνήμασιν ἐνυπνίων χάριν).)²¹

Despite the effectiveness of the arguments of Graf and Wiśniewski, it is at least worth considering whether there is support for the more traditional belief in continuity. That some Christians would consciously or unconsciously continue forms of pagan divination is made clear not only by the widespread popularity of the *Sortes Sanctorum* in Late Antiquity, which stemmed from a no less popular tradition of other types of *sortes*, but also by the discovery of more than 250 Christian ticket oracles in Egypt, where instead of Sarapis and other gods it was saints such as Kollouthos at Antinoopolis and Philoxenos at

Forty Martyrs and was cured by them, such events could also be occasions for receiving dreams after invoking divine aid. See Limberis 2011, 20–21 for a broader discussion of the nature of πανηγύρεις (*i.e.*, festivals) in martyr cults, which touches upon such vigils and the not infrequent tendency of worshipers to envision saints, including both Gregory’s own experience at Ibora and the episode involving the soldier, along with a comment by Basil of Caesarea in his twenty-third *Homily, Regarding the Holy Martyr Mamas* that possibly alludes to a similar phenomenon at the *martyrion* of Mamas (or Mammes) in Cappadocian Caesarea in 373 CE (Basil Caes., Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μάρτυρα Μάμαντα 1 (= PG 31, 589C (= BHG 1020–1020a/CPG 2868)); for the date, see Troiano 1987). See also Leemans 2013, 197–198, treating the two episodes described by Gregory as examples of incubation and also noting that Basil’s passage may hint at such a practice.

- 21 Julian, *Gal.*, frag. 82, ed. Masaracchia (= 339E–340A, ed. Neumann); *Isaiah* 65:4 (*Septuagint*), ed. Rahlfs; see pp. 109–110 on these passages as well as comments by Shenoute that might be directly relevant, or may pertain to an unrelated folk practice in early-Byzantine Egypt of seeking oracles at tombs. *Isaiah*’s original Hebrew merely refers to those “who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places,” so the *Septuagint* does not provide an accurate translation. While this comment by Julian may mean that around 362 or 363 CE some form of incubation was being practiced by the Christians, presumably at martyrs’ tombs rather than those of ordinary individuals, the overall purpose of the passage was to attack the Christians for pursuing activities among tombs in direct violation of *Isaiah*, and therefore his inclusion of the language concerning dreams may be no more than an echo of *Isaiah*’s language. For Cyril’s denial of the accusation, which is only preserved because of his criticism of Julian’s claim, see Wiśniewski 2013, 208. (I am grateful to Robert Wiśniewski for his thoughts on this issue.)

Oxyrhynchus who came to be consulted in this manner.²² The relative scarcity of sources referring to Christian incubation in the western Mediterranean may also be significant, and serve as indirect evidence for continuity in the East: since incubation was an important element of Greek but not Roman religion,²³ the apparently more widespread practice of incubation by Christians in the East than in the West reflected in the various hagiographies, unless purely a function of these sources, might best be explained by there previously having been a substantial tradition of incubation in the culturally Greek lands but not the Latin-speaking world.²⁴ (A parallel for this might be seen in eastern Syria and Mesopotamia, since there were no known incubation sanctuaries in the ancient Middle East—with the possible exception of one Baal sanctuary—and in Byzantine times incubation was rarely attested in the hagiographical works set in the region.)²⁵

Christian incubation often has been addressed by scholars as part of the broader phenomenon of Christian dreams and dreaming, primarily when exploring such subjects as the role of dreams in Christian literature, the nature and symbolism of specific dreams described in such sources, and the place of dreams in Christian theology, which was a matter of considerable thought among some of the Church Fathers. Furthermore, in addition to the studies that have focused on the dreams experienced by prophets (*e.g.*, *Shepherd of Hermas*) and saints (*e.g.*, *Suffering of Saints Perpetua and Felicity*), a significant number have examined how dreams affected the lives of ordinary Christians,

22 For the ticket oracles, see Husson 1997, Frankfurter 1998, 193–195, Papaconstantinou 1994, and Naether 2010, 115–120 *et pass.*, and see Naether's book for *sortes* in general. See Naether, *ibid.*, 307–310 for the *Sortes Sanctorum* and *Sortes Biblicae*, and, most recently, Lujendijk 2014, devoted to the publication of a new Christian *sortes* text (see n. 57 for this text and oracle questions from the shrine of St. Kollouthos), as well as Schenke 2011, publishing a ticket oracle from an inquiry of the Antiochene saint Severus in the seventh or eighth century (P.Colon. Äg. Inv. 10211). For ticket oracles of Sarapis, see p. 383.

23 See p. 7.

24 Though not about this subject specifically, Wiśniewski 2015 illustrates well some of the theological differences between eastern and western Christianity in Late Antiquity—and it is such differences that most likely account for the disparity in Greek and Latin sources recounting miraculous dreams received at Christian holy sites. See also Parmentier 1989, 279–282 on East-West theological differences, noting the relative scarcity of non-Christian incubation in the Latin West at p. 280.

25 See Dal Santo 2012, 258, 278–279, noting the rarity of incubation in East Syrian hagiography. In addition to an unusual connection between the living St. Symeon Stylites and dreams, in Syria incubation is only potentially known at the shrines of Kosmas and Damian in Cyrrus and St. Dometios at Antioch (see below). For Baal-Shamim at Baitokaike, see p. 309.

and many of these works have included a survey of the evidence for dreams received by devout—and usually desperate—worshippers visiting and sleeping at a church or shrine.²⁶ As with the cult of Asklepios, the main sources that

26 The bibliography for early Christian dreams and the theological explorations devoted to them is too large to cover fully here. Among the recent studies of importance are: Moreira 2000; Keskiäho 2005 and Keskiäho 2015; Harris 2009, 66–76, 217–224 *et pass.*; and Graf 2010 and Graf 2015, 245–254 (pp. 121–129 of 2013 version). There are also three recent collections of articles on the subject: Koet 2012, which features ten articles covering dreams from *Hermas* to Aquinas (most notably Koet's introduction to the volume, providing an overview of Christian dreams as well as bibliography at pp. 1–21, and Giselle de Nie's work on epiphanies and similar phenomena among the early Christians (de Nie 2012)); Oberhelman 2013, which presents fourteen articles, several focusing on Christian incubation (especially Constantinou 2013, Csepregi 2013, and Miller (T.) 2013, to which should be added the editor's brief discussion, at pp. 10–12); and Angelidi/Calofonos 2014, a collection of thirteen articles on dreaming in the Byzantine world, only one of which is primarily concerned with therapeutic dreams (Constantinou 2014). Another such collection from 1989 remains of great value (*Augustinianum* 29). As with the more recent studies, the ones devoted to dreams that are older but still useful vary in the amount of attention they give to incubation: Jacqueline Amat's wide-ranging study of dreams in early Christian writings explores numerous issues other than incubation (Amat 1985); Guy Stroumsa's article on Christian dreams does briefly touch on the subject (Stroumsa 1999a, 193–194; see also Stroumsa 1999b, 198–199, in a nearly identical chapter entitled “Dreams and Magic among Pagans and Christians”); Jacques Le Goff in his study of dreams in Christian theology notes Tertullian's objections to the practice among the pagans (Le Goff 1985, 192–193 (p. 209 of 1988 translation), citing Tert., *Anim.* 46.13, 48.3) and also briefly discusses the evidence of Gregory of Tours (*ibid.*, 207–208 (*ibid.*, 222); for Gregory, see below); and Patricia Cox Miller's work on dreams in Late Antiquity touches on Christian incubation to a negligible extent (Miller (P.) 1994, 107–108, 117). See also Dagron 1985 on dream interpretation, Näf 2004 (especially pp. 129–141 on dream interpretation among Jews and Christians in antiquity, and 157–166 on the Christians and dreams), and Steven M. Oberhelman's translations of and commentaries on six dream books from the Byzantine Period (Oberhelman 2008). (To these works has now been added Jeffrey B. Pettis, *The Sleeper's Dream: Asclepius Ritual and Early Christian Discourse* (Gorgias Studies in Classical and Late Antiquity 17; Piscataway, 2015), which appeared too late to be consulted.)

Also of interest, in addition to these synthetic studies, is MacCoull's discussion of two unpublished Coptic parchment leaves preserving part of an anonymous theological discourse on the reliability of dreams, which, she argues, can best be assigned to a Pachomian context and may pertain at least in part to dreams obtained through incubation (Duke Coptic Ms. 25; see MacCoull 1991). (This papyrus has now been re-edited and studied in Prada 2016b. Prada doubts that the text is necessarily

have been linked to Christian incubation pertain to a small number of holy sites that are unusually well documented, and these sources are supplemented by considerably shorter ones concerning several other sites, and from these it has been inferred that incubation was a widespread and popular phenomenon in the Byzantine East. However, in addition to the sources that may plausibly support this, the amount and reliability of the evidence for incubation in the early Byzantine world has been exaggerated by a number of unsupported claims—most of them based on hagiographies,²⁷ but also on other written

linked to incubation, as it could just be discussing unsolicited dreams (personal communication).)

- 27 The largest number of questionable claims regarding Christian incubation depend on hagiographical sources telling of healing miracles obtained during sleep—even when neither the miracle nor a dream had been deliberately sought. Most notably, Maraval identified a number of sites not otherwise associated with incubation at which he believed it was practiced, though in several cases without sufficient reason (Maraval 1985, 225n.102, 228–229; cf. Wacht 1997, 247–248). Some of the sources in question clearly do not describe incubation, and should be dismissed outright: Georgios Syk., *Vit. Theod. Syk.* 8, ed. Festugière (= *BHG* 1748/*CPG* 7973), recording an episode involving the young Theodoros Archimandrites of Sykeon envisioning St. Georgios while sleeping at home (see Teja 2008, 146–154 on the cult and this episode); Cyril Scyth., *Vit. Euthymi* 2, p. 9, ed. Schwartz (= *BHG* 647–648/*CPG* 7535), on the parents of the future saint Euthymios, who were as yet childless, spending several days praying at the shrine of Polyeuktos in Melitene and finally having their prayer interrupted by a vision of the saint promising them a son (εὐχομένων αὐτῶν μόνων θεία τις ὀπτασία φαίνεται αὐτοῖς λέγουσα); and Anon., *Mir. Bar Sauma* 55, ed. Nau 1914, 115, a Syriac narrative which refers to people sleeping within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but specifies only that the future saint Bar Sauma, a monk active in the fifth century, healed one of them, and does not state that the sleepers were hoping for therapeutic dreams. Other sources, however, might indeed refer to incubation but do not provide sufficient information to conclude that this was the case: Cyril Scyth., *Vit. Euthymi* 50, 54, pp. 72, 76, ed. Schwartz, on the funerary cave-shrine of Euthymios and individuals there being cleansed of demons by the saint through nocturnal visions (see Teja, *ibid.*, 143–145); Cyril Scyth., *Vit. Sabae* 78, pp. 184–185, ed. Schwartz (= *BHG* 1608/*CPG* 7536), describing a silversmith's visit to Theodoros's *martyrion* in Jerusalem and his five days of desperate prayer over the theft of his goods, which is finally rewarded by an apparently unsolicited dream in which the saint told him where to find his silver; Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 27 (*On the Martyr St. Leontius*), pp. 34–37 (= 568–571), eds. Brière/Graffin 1974 (cf. *CPG* 7035, with reference to Coptic version), on a poor man praying to Leontius for help with eliminating a monetary debt and seeing the saint at night along with a symbolic dream, but not necessarily having asked to see him, nor clearly having either prayed or dreamed at the saint's *martyrion*; and Eustratios, *Vit. Eutychii* 24, ed. Laga (= *BHG* 657/*CPG* 7520), which refers to the emperor

Justinian sleeping at a shrine of the Apostle Peter in Athyra and receiving a revelation that he should make Eutychios the next bishop of Constantinople. In addition, one of the sources Maraval cites features an episode that would count as “unintentional incubation” because the person fell asleep at Golgotha and received a dream (Mark the Deacon, *Vit. Porphirii* 7, eds. Grégoire/Kugener (= *BHG* 1570/*CPG* 6722); see Teja, *ibid.*, 139–140). Similarly, Maraval, along with Wacht, cites the account by Gregory of Tours of a prominent official under the Merovingian King Theudebert, a contemporary of Justinian, being afflicted by a kidney stone while in Patras and at the suggestion of the local bishop heading to the tomb of the Apostle Andrew, a “celestial doctor” (*caelestis medicus*), where after hours of prayer he fell asleep, but was suddenly awakened by the need to eject the stone, without any appearance by the saint recorded (Gregory, *Glor. Mart.* 30 (= *MGH, SRM* 1.2, pp. 506–507); see Wacht, *ibid.*, 253; for a partial parallel from the cult of Asklepios, see p. 168n.11).

Such problems are not limited to Maraval, since others have also reached questionable conclusions regarding certain sources serving as evidence that a saint’s miracle was the result of incubation. Both Paul Devos and Frankfurter have done so for a Coptic source—an encomium attributed to the early-fourth-century pope Celestine I that survives in different redactions—that describes a woman with a breast ailment, the emperor Honorius’s niece, falling asleep at the Deir el-Gebrawi *martyrion* of Victor Stratelates, and also states both that upon arriving there she prayed aloud for a cure and that she fell asleep around midnight and envisioned the saint instructing her on how to be cured, but does not specify that she solicited the dream (Brit.Mus. Oriental ms. 7022, fol. 31b–33a, ed. Budge 1914, 56–58 (text), 309–311 (trans.) and Vienna, K 9442, ed. Till 1935–36, 1:45–47 (text), 1:51–52 (trans.); also translated in MacDermot 1971, 703; see Devos 1981, 297–298 and Frankfurter 2005a, 244–245; cf. Wacht *ibid.*, 248–249). Certain Christian holy sites that Vincent Déroche (Déroche 1993, 95n.1) listed as having been used (or possibly having been used) for incubation can also be eliminated from consideration, or at least should be considered with skepticism: it should not be concluded that there was incubation at the *martyrion* of Julianos in Antioch based on Daniel of Sketis’s account of the lives of two married saints, *Andronikos the Money-Dealer and His Wife Athanasia*, since when Athanasia sleeps there and envisions the saint she clearly had not decided to spend the night at the site in order to engage in divination, but rather did so because earlier in the day she and her husband had buried their children at the shrine and she was too distraught to leave, until the saint appeared and consoled her (Ἐπὶ Ἀνδρονίκου ἀργυροπράτου καὶ Ἀθανασίας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, pp. 168–171, ed. Dahlman 2007 (= *BHG* 121/*CPG* 7363)); John Rufus is not a good source for incubation in a church of John at Edessa, even if this saint was recognized for healing miracles there, since the story on which this conclusion is based involves a monk with failing eyesight spending the night at the church and praying without success, but envisioning the saint when he is leaving with the intention of throwing himself down a nearby well (John Rufus, *Plerophoria* 90, pp. 157–158 (= 557–558), ed. and trans. Nau 1912; *IG* IV² 1, 122, ll. 26–35 (= Test. No. 25) and ll. 69–82 (= Test. No. 33) both represent something of a parallel from the cult of Asklepios (see p. 177n.138)); and, the presence of a crowd of sick people waiting to be healed at the *martyrion* of Epiphanius on Cyprus in the mid-seventh century is not sufficient reason to associate the site with incubation,

sources,²⁸ and even a small number of archaeological remains into which too much has been read.²⁹ In some cases archaeological remains have been

as no reference to therapeutic dreams is made (Anastasios Sinaites, *Quaestio* 26.4, eds. Richard/Munitiz; previously *Quaestio* 94, at *PG* 89, 732D–733A; see Déroche, *ibid.*, 105n.27). A different type of problem is to be seen in the claim of Hermann Usener, later echoed by others, that incubation-related miracles would occur at the tomb of Tychon, another Cypriot saint who had been a bishop of Amathous in the late fourth century, according to the hagiography attributed to the seventh-century Alexandrian archbishop John Eleemon (*i.e.*, John the Almsgiver): not only do none of the three miracle narratives in question suggest that his aid was obtained through incubation, but the dreams associated with two of these miracles are only mentioned in the later epitome of this work, which most likely dates to the eighth or ninth century and thus is hardly reliable evidence, while the third miracle clearly involved a waking vision of the saint (Anon., *Vit. Tychonis/Epit. Vit. Tychonis* §§30.16–28/42.26–30 (leper), 31.1–16/43.1–4 (lame foot), 31.17–36.5/43.4–17 (demon), ed. Usener 1907 (= *BHG* 1859–1860/*CPG* 7977; epitome also edited in Delehay 1907, 229–232, with miracles at §6); cited by Usener, *ibid.*, 11, Kötting 1950, 187, and Wacht, *ibid.*, 248 as evidence for incubation, while Ehrenheim 2009, 253n.125 expresses skepticism). Finally, Peter Grossmann claims that the Coptic tale known as *Apa Claudius and the Thieves* tells of “incubation rites,” but this story of three thieves traveling from church to church and stealing the treasures they found within merely refers to the practice of sleeping at a holy site hoping to be healed, but not incubation specifically (Morgan Library, Cod. M 587, fol. 96 *verso*–102 *recto*, ed. and trans. Drescher 1942; cited by Grossmann 2014, 276n.125, cf. 272, 279).

- 28 Literary sources can also be misunderstood as referring to incubation in general. This can be seen in Stroumsa's treating as an attack on incubation the pronouncement by the Council of Carthage in 401 CE opposing the establishment of martyr shrines by individuals who were prompted to do so in dreams (Stroumsa 1999a, 194), but this was a different phenomenon bearing no relevance to incubation (*Canon* 83, *De falsis memoriis martyrum*, ed. C. Munier, *CCSL* 149, pp. 204–205, with later Greek version in *Περὶ τῶν πλαστῶν μνημείων τῶν μαρτύρων*, eds. Ralles & Potles 111:508–511; on this passage, see Dagron 1985, 39–40, Maraval 1989, 595, Stewart 2004, 349, and Harris 2009, 74–75, 222).
- 29 See in particular the questionable claims regarding the Byzantine church at Tel Dor, which have received the greatest amount of attention (see Appendix 1.7.1). Similarly, a few scholars have stated that incubation was practiced at the large, octagonal church complex devoted to the martyred Apostle Philip in Phrygian Hierapolis, but those making these claims have not pointed to reliable evidence and this is therefore a purely speculative matter: see D'Andria 2013, 196–197, noting the possibility of therapeutic bathing being linked to the practice, and Limberis 2011, 211n.57, 90, Amsler 1999, 399–402, and Maraval 1985, 385, stating without explanation (or, in Maraval's case, speculating) that there were specific rooms devoted to incubation. In addition, Amsler unconvincingly claims that there had been incubation practiced in Hierapolis's cult of Cybele and that this shifted to Philip's church, also citing as pertinent a healing miracle in the apocryphal *Acts of Philip* (*Acta Philippi* 14 (= *BHG* 1516)).

plausibly but inconclusively interpreted as showing that incubation was practiced at a church,³⁰ a problem which is made more difficult by the lack of a

30 A particularly noteworthy survey, devoted primarily to Egyptian remains, has been produced by Grossmann, the only archaeologist to have taken a significant interest in the physical evidence for incubation, arguing that the remains of stone beds and benches found in certain contexts in Egypt and neighboring lands may be compelling evidence for incubation (Grossmann 2007). Such features, unfortunately, are only found at sites for which there is no independent evidence pointing to incubation and, conversely, are not present at the churches associated with miraculous dreams, and therefore while they can reasonably be viewed as potential evidence for incubation, they are not definitive evidence (see pp. 770–771). Drawing partly from Grossmann's work—though, regrettably, not the 2007 article that had recently appeared—and also building on it significantly, Ehrenheim has produced the other important study of the remains of churches associated with incubation either by ancient sources or modern speculation, comparing them to earlier Greek incubation sanctuaries as well as churches at which incubation is only indicated by written sources (Ehrenheim 2009, 253–269). See also Graf 2015, 255–258 (pp. 130–133 of 2013 version), a brief assessment of the claims linking three non-Egyptian churches—the basilica at Tel Dor (see previous note), the one for St. Andrew that replaced the Athenian *Asklepieion*, and S. Maria Antiqua in Rome—to incubation based on archaeological evidence. While in the case of Tel Dor the possibility is, as Graf writes, “conjectural at best,” and the case for Christian incubation where Asklepios had once been worshiped on the slopes of the Acropolis is also speculative (see next note), the case for incubation at the early-Medieval church in Rome is worth considering, though it, too, is ultimately unresolvable. As has been argued by David Knipp, S. Maria's “Chapel of Physicians,” which was given this name because of the presence of a series of paintings of Byzantine healing saints that were created at the beginning of the eighth century, may have served those seeking therapeutic dreams—a conclusion he reaches because of the focus of this painting program and the icon's unusual positioning, which suggests that it was meant to be viewed by those reclining on the floor (see Knipp 2002, 11–16; for the church, see M.G. Zanotti, *LTUR*, “S. Maria Antiqua,” 111:214–216). Knipp also supports his interpretation by stating, “But, given the fact that the church of S. Maria Antiqua is Byzantine in plan and decoration, being frequented by a Greek community, the import of another Eastern cult form—namely, incubation—seems not implausible, despite the lack of written evidence” (p. 11), which is a sensible point in light of an earlier potential parallel: the fact that the only sanctuaries in the Latin West that can be convincingly linked to incubation were devoted to Greek divinities (see Renberg 2006, especially p. 140; on the possibility that Rome's Esquiline *Asklepieion*, if it indeed existed, primarily catered to a local Greek community, which would be similar to the situation that Knipp proposes, see p. 207, with n. 222). However, Knipp's evidence at best points to a church at which those seeking cures would have the option of reclining as they waited for divine aid, as was commonly done at the shrines of healing saints—but it cannot be known whether they would try to sleep there in the hope of receiving a dream that might lead to their recovery.

single architectural type that can be associated with the practice,³¹ but the sites for which the best case for incubation might be made are those for which one or more lengthy hagiographical texts focus on the nocturnal activities of a saint or pair of saints: most prominently, Cyrus and John at Menouthis, Thekla in Cilicia, and Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople, but also Artemios and Therapon in that same city, and Demetrios at Thessalonika. To these might be added a very small number of other sites for which the evidence is limited but plausible.

XVI.2 Incubation in the Byzantine East

As discussed in a previous chapter, incubation in Menouthis, where Isis had long been worshiped and Cyrus and John were venerated beginning in the fifth century or later, is suggested by multiple written sources, most notably the *Account of the Miracles of the Wise and Unpaid Saints Cyrus and John* by Sophronios, who himself had an eye ailment cured by means of a therapeutic dream there.³² While the origins of the joint cult of these two saints is a

31 The problem with attempting to use architectural remains as evidence for incubation, as noted in Ehrenheim 2009, 267–269 and Graf 2015, 263 (p. 137 of 2013 version), is that, as with the incubation dormitories of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, there was no one type of structure that was closely enough associated with the practice that its discovery can be relied on as proof that Christians would indeed sleep there seeking dreams (see, *e.g.*, pp. 768–771). However, even if there was no distinctive type of structure, it is possible that there *was* a distinctive type of feature: it has been suspected in the case of certain churches that an extra aisle was used for incubation. Most importantly, Timothy E. Gregory has noted that the *Kosmidion* in Constantinople was supposed to have had a special aisle, and he has applied this information to the basilica of St. Andrew that replaced the Athenian *Asklepieion* and had a fourth, asymmetrical aisle (see Gregory 1986, 238–239, citing *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 30, 34, and noting that the Apostle Andrew, considered as a healing saint, may have been venerated there; see also Ehrenheim, *ibid.*, 247, 259 and Graf, *ibid.*, 256–257 (pp. 131–132 of 2013 version), expressing skepticism; for Kosmas and Damian and the *Kosmidion*, see p. 763, and for the *Asklepieion* see p. 133n.45). On the other hand, further emphasizing the ambiguous nature of the architectural evidence, Graf has pointed to the written evidence for incubation in churches occurring quite close to the saint's remains or relics in order to argue against the need for such an additional space to be constructed, raising the possibility of an alternative explanation for the aisle (Graf, *ibid.*, 257).

32 The main sources for Cyrus and John as well as the issues pertaining to the establishment of their cult—especially what, if any, relationship there was between their cult and that of Isis of Menouthis—are discussed at pp. 369–377, 387–388. In addition to the works cited

matter of controversy, as is the date when they were established at Menouthis and what link, if any, there was between this development and the Christians' desire to eliminate the worship of Isis, it is quite clear that by the end of the sixth century those with ailments would come to their shrine hoping for a treatment that sometimes would come in a dream. While their cult's relative prominence as a destination for pilgrims has been questioned, there is no doubt regarding the importance of the other pair of saints who are believed to have healed through incubation: Kosmas and Damian, brother saints who in life were supposed to have been doctors known for curing their patients without charge, and who therefore had the shared identity of "unpaid saints" (ἄγιοι ἀνάργυροι). Incubation at the *Kosmidion*, one of Constantinople's six churches devoted to the two, is primarily indicated by several stories found among the forty-eight miracles comprising the anonymous, mostly sixth-century *Miracles of the Unpaid Saints Kosmas and Damian*.³³ It is also recorded by Procopius that the emperor Justinian had himself been cured there in a vision and out of gratitude subsequently made improvements to the church, and the two saints' propensity to heal in this manner was even known to Gregory of Tours in distant Gaul towards the end of the sixth century, though it appears that he was referring to the church in their native Syrian town of Cyrrus.³⁴ Constantinople's

there, notable studies of the *Miracles* include Maraval 1981, Duffy 1984, Booth 2009 and Booth 2014, 44–89, and Dal Santo 2012, 173–183; cf. Wacht 1997, 240–243.

33 Anon., *Θαύματα τῶν ἁγίων ἀναγύρων Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ*, pp. 97–208, ed. Deubner (L.) 1907 (= *BHG* 385–392). In addition to this standard text, edited by Deubner with other pertinent works, there is an edition of another manuscript discovered in a Coptic monastery the year of Deubner's edition and preserving thirty-eight miracles that should also be consulted, as it includes fourteen miracles not found in Deubner's edition (Rupprecht 1935 (= *BHG* 373b); see Csepregi 2010, 64–67 on this "London Codex" representing an earlier tradition that at certain points promotes Monophysite orthodoxy). The *Miracles* has been fully translated with annotations in Festugière 1971, 84–213; see also Efthymiadis 1999, 197–198, 209 on the various editions. For extensive analysis of the miracles attributed to the two saints, see Csepregi 2002, Toul 1975–76, and Heinemann 1974; see also Dal Santo 2012, 159–173. On their cult, see Kötting 1950, 213–220, and Wacht 1997, 237–240 on incubation specifically; cf. Stewart 2004, 351–353 and Efthymiadis 2014, 108–109. Ehrenheim 2009, 258–261 analyzes the *Miracles* in order to determine which parts of the *Kosmidion* were used for incubation, since the church itself has not been discovered, while Mango 1994 employs these texts and others to identify the church's likely location before its destruction during the siege of 626 CE.

34 Justinian: Procop., *Aed.* 1.6.5–8. Unlike most of the other saints associated with incubation, Kosmas and Damian were venerated far and wide at their own churches and shrines, and incubation has been suggested for some of their other holy sites with various degrees of plausibility. The best case can be made for the church at Cyrrus, at which they were

sick who felt the need to seek divine aid had several options in addition to visiting the *Kosmidion* that might lead to a dream or vision. According to the anonymous seventh-century *Account of the Miracles of St. Artemios the Glorious Great-martyr and Miracle Worker*, which features forty-five episodes that in almost every case involve a dream or direct epiphany,³⁵ they could also come to the church of John the Baptist in Constantinople's Oxeia quarter, where Artemios's relics were kept, and sleep in the porticoes, hoping to be cured or to receive a prescription to follow (often for a male genital ailment, suggesting that this was the saint's area of specialization).³⁶ Or, they could seek treatment

entombed (Procop., *Aed.* 2.11.4), since Gregory referred to the sick praying at their tomb and receiving treatment and even prescriptive dreams (Gregory, *Glor. Mart.* 97 (= *MGH, SRM* 1.2, p. 554, ed. Krusch); quoted 799–800), and an unrelated hagiography attests that the sick did indeed visit this site seeking cures, since it makes brief reference to “one of those sick ones lying about there” (τινι τῶν ἐκεῖσε κατακειμένων ἀρρώστων) when it was visited by the future saint Dometios (Anon., *Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Δομετίου* 12, ed. [Van den Gheyn] 1900 (= *BHG* 560)). One of the miraculous tales involving Kosmas and Damian, however, arguably undermines the site's prominence as a healing shrine, since it refers to an individual coming to this church in the hope of a cure and being told by the saints that he should instead head to the *Kosmidion* (*Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 18, p. 45, ed. Rupperecht 1935). It has also been claimed—repeatedly by Deubner, with other scholars following his lead—that Kosmas and Damian healed through incubation in the Roman Forum, but this finds no support in the sources (see Renberg 2006, 117n.49, with references). More recently, Grossmann has speculated that a church at Pharan (modern Firân) in southern Sinai, identified as Kosmas and Damian's by an inscription, might have provided cures in this manner, but notes that there is insufficient evidence among the remains to demonstrate this (Grossmann 2007, 138–140).

35 See p. 796–797 for a breakdown of the types of experiences described in the work.

36 Anon., *Διήγησις τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Ἀρτεμίου*, pp. 1–75, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909 (= *BHG* 173, cf. 173a–c); epitomized in *Ἐκ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀρτεμίου*, pp. 76–79, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (= *BHG* 174). The most vital study of this text and the saint's cult is Crisafulli/Nesbitt 1997, which features a reprinted Greek text and English translation (pp. 76–225) along with a commentary (pp. 229–291) and lengthy essay by John F. Haldon on the historical context of the work (Haldon 1997); see also Kazhdan/Sherry 1998. Among the pertinent subjects covered in the preceding pages that form the “Introduction” (pp. 1–30) are the work's date being assigned to 658–668 CE based on internal evidence (p. 7), the layout of the church of St. John Prodromos and how this was linked to the saint's functions (pp. 8–19) and specific aspects of ritual and daily life there (pp. 23–25). See also Déroche 1993; cf. Wacht 1997, 245–246, Skedros 2006, 84, and Efthymiadis 1999, 201–202, Efthymiadis 2011, 66–67, and Efthymiadis 2014, 111–113. The church has not been discovered, but from the *Miracles* it is possible to obtain information regarding how incubation would have functioned there and where within the church it could be

from the Cypriot saint Therapon at a church of Mary called τῆς Ἑλαίας that was thought to have stood in the Pera district, according to the *Praise for the Miracles of St. Therapon the Holy Martyr*, compiled in the late-seventh or early-eighth century.³⁷ There is even potential evidence preserved in Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History* for incubation at a church of the archangel Michael on the European side of the Bosphorus in Anaplous,³⁸ in two hagiographies for Mary's church of Theotokos *ton Kyrou* (also known as Ta Kyrou) and her church founded at a healing spring known as "the Pege,"³⁹ and at the church

practiced, as well as that those seeking the saint's aid would be locked in for the night behind latticed gates (see Ehrenheim 2009, 263–264). On the saint's area of medical specialization, see now Alwis 2012.

- 37 Anon., Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Θεράποντος, ed. Deubner (L.) 1900, 111–134 (= *BHG* 1798/*CPG* 8196). For the date and possible authorship by Andrew of Crete, see Haldon 2007, 265–274, building on Auzépy 1995, 10–11; cf. Efthymiadis 1999, 202–203. For the church's identification, which is a matter of some dispute, see Haldon 2007, 265 with n. 14. This work, consisting of a lengthy introduction and fifteen miracles (at sects. 15–21), has received considerably less attention than the other hagiographies associated with Christian incubation, with the articles of Auzépy and Haldon representing the only two significant studies since Deubner's edition.
- 38 Sozom., *Hist. eccl.* 2.3.9–13; cited as evidence for incubation by Deubner (L.) 1900, 65–66, Otranto 1983, 242–243, Wacht 1997, 244, and Teja 2008, 141–143. In addition to referring to unspecified manifestations of Michael at the church (quoted p. 801), and noting that he himself had received benefits from the archangel there, Sozomen mentions that there had been numerous healing miracles, focusing on two with which he was especially familiar: a colleague whose illness was so severe and seemingly incurable that, nearing death, he ordered himself to be carried to the church, where while lying down at night he envisioned a "divine power" that "ordered" him to employ a potion of honey, wine and pepper (κειμένῳ δὲ ἐνθάδε νύκτωρ ἐπιφανείσα θεία δύναμις προσέταξε τὰ ἐσθιόμενα πόματι βάπτειν τοιούτῳ, ὃ σύνθετον ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ οἴνου καὶ πεπέρεως ἀναμιγνυμένων ἅμα τὴν κατασκευὴν ἔχει) (sects. 10–11, quoting 11); and, another contemporary, a pagan who served as a physician at the imperial palace, having been cured at the church in an unspecified manner and then rewarded with a vision of the Cross (sects. 12–13). See Graf 2015, 261–262 (p. 136 of 2013 version), arguing that based on the details provided by Sozomen neither episode should be considered an example of incubation, though the first is more reminiscent of incubation narratives. (This is especially true because after describing the prescription Sozomen states that it ran counter to what was considered sound medical practice—for which a number of parallels can be found in the *Sacred Tales* of Aelius Aristides, who seems to have derived satisfaction from recounting cures obtained by listening to Asklepios's advice even when physicians and others expressed concern.)
- 39 The possible link between Mary's "ta Kyrou" church and incubation is attested by the *Miracles of St. Artemios*, which mentions that one of this saint's patients had first been

of St. Laurentius, to which the relics of the prophet Isaiah were relocated from Jerusalem in early Byzantine times, according to a short hagiography recounting nineteen miracles achieved there.⁴⁰ Similarly, the *Account Concerning the Miracles of St. Demetrios*, composed in part by an archbishop who was in office during the first half of the seventh century and in part by an anonymous author roughly sixty years later, presents a series of twenty-one miraculous tales suggesting such practices at this saint's church in Thessalonika.⁴¹ In the case of

brought by his mother there to wait for a cure, but that she had received a dream telling her instead to take her son to be treated by Artemios (Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 12). Healing at Mary's church of the Pege, which was established by Leo I (reigned 457–474 CE) and expanded by Justinian, is known from an anonymous hagiography preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript, the *Account Concerning the Establishment of the Shrines of the Theotokos at the Pege and the Miracles Occurring in Them*, that features forty-seven miracles occurring between roughly 450 and 950 CE, most of them from the ninth and tenth centuries. Among these is one concerning a sick individual holding the office of *protospatharios* who while visiting the church prayed at night for a cure and then had a dream, though it is not stated whether he was seeking a dream specifically (Διήγησις περὶ τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ τῆς Θεοτόκου ναῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενομένων θαυμάτων 10 (= *BHG* 1072), ed. and trans. A.-M. Talbot in Talbot/Johnson 2012, 203–297). Rather curiously, the only other two individuals said to have received dreams at this church likewise were *protospatharioi*, one unknown and the other holding office in 934 CE (*ibid.*, 31–32), and since this position is not known before 718 CE these are most likely relatively late miracles, and certainly not reliable evidence for practices at the site in early Byzantine times. Whether incubation would have been practiced at either of these churches of Mary can be questioned on the grounds that, as noted above, the sources for miraculous dreams are primarily associated with sites devoted to the physical remains of saints, not Mary. (I am grateful to Robert Wiśniewski for references to both churches.)

40 Anon., Εἰς τὰ ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τελεσθέντα θαύματα νυνὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου προφήτου Ἡσαΐου, ed. Delehay 1924, 259–265 (= *BHG* 958f); see Delehay 1925, 39–40 and Efthymiadis 1999, 204–205, the former indicating that incubation was practiced at this church. None of the six miracles involving a curative dream received there states that it had been deliberately sought, as is likewise the case for those merely referring to a miraculous cure without noting the prophet's appearance. While the manuscript preserving this work dates to the twelfth century its contents point to the eighth through eleventh centuries, but may reflect earlier practices.

41 John, Archbishop of Thessalonika (Collection A) and Anon. (Collection B), *Διήγησις περὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, eds. Chrestou 1993, 168–485 (Collections A, B) and Lemerle 1979–81, 1:47–241 (Collections A, B) (= *BHG* 499–523/*CPG* 7920); in addition, a partial abridgment that also includes two miracles from the saint's *Vita* is known (Collection C, in *PG* 116, 1384C–1397C (= *BHG* 524–531); reprinted in Paschalidis 2005, 83–94), as is one likewise including two miracles from the *Vita* and fourteen from the seventh-century collections, edited in Sigalas 1936 (= *BHG* 531m; reprinted in

Thekla, however, there are extensive accounts of this follower of Paul of Tarsus being credited with miracles in *The Life of St. Thekla, the Apostle and Martyr of Christ, and Her Miracles*, and many of these involved dreams, but only a relatively small number were received at Hagia Thekla, her church at modern Meriamlik.⁴² Thus while the aforementioned hagiographical works devoted to

Paschalidis, *ibid.*, 95–131). Chrestou's book, in addition to providing editions and Modern Greek translations of the two main collections of miracles, includes an important study of both the text and the saint's cult; there is also a Modern Greek translation with commentary for the two main collections (Bakirtzis 1997). For brief overviews of Demetrios's hagiographies, see Efthymiadis 1999, 199–200, Efthymiadis 2011, 77–78 and Efthymiadis 2014, 113–115. For a detailed study of the saint's cult, see Skedros 1999, with the authorship and date of the *Miracles* discussed at pp. 107–120, and Dal Santo 2012, 183–195; cf. Skedros 2006, 84–85 and Wacht 1997, 247. For rituals at the basilica, relics, and pilgrimage there from the seventh century onwards, see Bakirtzis 2002, arguing that the locus of incubation was in close proximity to where Demetrios's tomb may have been (p. 191); see also Bakirtzis 2014, a study of the mosaics at the basilica attesting to Demetrios's accomplishments as a physician. Ehrenheim 2009, 264–265, unaware of Bakirtzis 2002, does not assign incubation to a specific part of the basilica.

- 42 Anon., Πράξεις τῆς ἁγίας ἀποστόλου καὶ μάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θέκλας, καὶ θαύματα, ed. and trans. Dagron 1978, 166–412 (= *BHG* 1717–1718/*CPG* 6675); trans. S.F. Fitzgerald in Talbot/Johnson 2012, 2–183, 413. This work was formerly attributed to Basil of Seleukia, though the author is now recognized as an anonymous priest (see Dagron 1974). The *Life and Miracles*, which in its original form dates to 444–448 CE (see Davis 2001, 41 and Dagron 1978, 17–19), consists of two main parts: a biographical narrative that draws from the apocryphal second-century *Acts of Paul and Thekla* (= *BHG* 1710–1716), which is complemented by an account of the end of Thekla's life, and this is followed by the collection of forty-six posthumous miracles performed by her. (Thus it is possible to cite passages in the “*Life*” (*Vit. Theclae*) and “*Miracles*” (*Mir. Theclae*) as though from separate works.) On this work, see Davis, *ibid.*, 39–47; cf. Efthymiadis 1999, 196. On the *Life and Miracles*, see also Johnson 2006, focusing primarily on the work's biographical and narratological aspects, as well as the influences of preceding pagan and Christian miracle accounts.

Graf has noted that of the twelve “helpful” dreams recorded in the work, just two are said to have been received in the church, whereas five clearly were not, and also that the overall point of recounting the miracles is to glorify the saint rather than emphasize the role of incubation in her cult: “The *Miracles* stress the helpful intervention of the saint, but make her help either through a dream or in any other way; they do not serve to legitimize dream incubation in Thekla's church” (Graf 2015, 259 (quoted), 262 (pp. 133–134, 136 of 2013 version)); see also Ehrenheim 2009, 253n.123, 254–255, topographically analyzing the pertinent miracles case by case). On Thekla's miracles, both those that were achieved through dreams and those that were not, see López Salvá 1972, Dagron 1978, 101–108, Sfameni Gasparro 2007c, 339–342, and Monaca 2008 (with incubation at pp. 167–171); cf. Davis 1998 and Wacht 1997, 234–237. For the cult of Thekla in general the most extensive study is Davis 2001, though Dagron 1978 also remains essential for its introduction and

Kosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Artemios, Therapon and Demetrios that emphasize therapeutic dreams received from these saints may point to incubation, it appears less likely that this was the case for Thekla's cult.

While these eight saints have been the focus of most of the scholarship pertaining to Christian incubation due to the rich and varied narratives of dream-related miracles in their hagiographies, sources featuring similar though considerably fewer miracles could suggest that the practice was somewhat more widespread. The greatest concentration of Christian holy sites that have been linked to incubation with at least some plausibility is in Egypt, where in addition to Cyrus and John's Menouthis church several others may have been visited by those seeking therapeutic dreams, as has been claimed based on written sources and, in certain cases, archaeological remains.⁴³ Rather curiously, as noted above, the most well documented site in Egypt at which incubation is thought to have been practiced, the Menouthis shrine of Cyrus and John, appears not to have been a major pilgrimage center drawing numerous worshipers from far and wide.⁴⁴ In contrast, the most important destination for pilgrims in Egypt who needed healing, the fifth-century church of Menas at Abû Mînâ, cannot be clearly linked to incubation based on written sources, leaving only ambiguous archaeological evidence, in the form of an unusually-shaped building featuring several rooms—one with the remains of a *klinē*—that appear to have hosted visitors.⁴⁵ Located roughly forty-five kilometers

commentary. The archaeological remains at Meriamlik are detailed in Hill 1996, 208–225; see also Ehrenheim, *ibid.*, 254–257 and Davis 2001, 37–39 *et pass.* For the cult of Apollo Sarpedonios that preceded Thekla at the site of her church, see Appendix 1.3.1.

- 43 For the suspected incubation sites in Egypt, see Grossmann 2002, 235–241 and Grossmann 2007, drawing heavily on archaeological sources, and, more broadly, see Cannuyer 2013 on Egyptian healing saints (with brief discussion of Christian incubation at pp. 36–37). According to Arietta Papaconstantinou, at the turn of the century the list of shrines in Egypt known from patristic sources numbered forty-three and from papyri and inscriptions 232 (Papaconstantinou 2001, 14), so even the seemingly large number of sites at which incubation is thought to have been practiced represents a very small percentage. (It can be argued, however, that the percentage of known *Asklepieia* for which incubation is documented is similarly low, so the significance of these numbers is unclear.)

- 44 See pp. 372–373.

- 45 On the history of the Abû Mînâ cult see Drescher 1946, x–xxxii and Jaritz (F.) 1993, 35–48 *et pass.*, along with the studies primarily devoted to the site's remains (see n. 48). A dated though still important work is Kaufmann 1910, a detailed study of the flasks for holy water or oil (*ampullae*) from the site that were found all over Egypt, indicating pilgrimages to Abû Mînâ; cf. SEG 60, 1818, with more recent references. Litinas 2008 provides an important contribution towards documenting the monastic community. See also Davis 1998.

southwest of Alexandria, this extensively excavated church (the “*Grufkirche*”), may indeed have served as a site for incubation, but despite the large number of written sources none provides reliable evidence of this: unlike the two saints venerated at Menouthis, for Menas there is no lengthy hagiography filled with tales of miracles linked to his appearances in dreams, even with the survival of texts attesting to healing and other types of miracles written in Greek, Coptic, and other languages, most notably the *Account of Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria, Concerning the Miracles of the Glorious Martyr St. Menas*.⁴⁶ Even

46 There is a collection of thirteen miracles, surviving in Greek in two recensions and several abridgments, that has been attributed—perhaps spuriously—to an archbishop of Alexandria in the late-fifth century, with only four of the miracles (*Mir. Menae* (Greek) 1, 5, 6, 13) describing the saint’s appearance in a dream or waking vision (Timothy of Alexandria(?), Διήγησις Τιμοθέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας περὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ, ed. Pomalovskii 1900, reprinted with corrections in Detorakis 1995, 165–179 (= *BHG* 1256–1269/*CPG* 2527); briefly summarized in Delehay 1910, 128–135 and Delehay 1925, 46–49; cf. Efthymiadis 1999, 196–197 and Drescher 1946, 104–105). There is also a small number of Greek miracles not involving dreams preserved in *The Discovery of the Relics of the Holy Martyr Menas Kallikelados* (Anon., Εὑρεσις τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ τοῦ Καλλικελάδου, ed. Delehay 1910, 146–150 (= *BHG* 1254m)). The miracles of Menas recounted in other languages are no more helpful at determining whether dreams played a role in the cures obtained from this healing saint. The Nubian sources are edited in Griffith 1913, 6–15, No. 1.1 (reproduced with translation and commentary in Zyhlarz 1928, 132–144) and Browne 1994, while the Ethiopian is in Devos 1960, 340–343 and Devos 1959–60, the latter also including a shorter Coptic passage describing the same miracle. See also Budge 1909, 62, 73 (text) and 43, 58 (trans.) (= *BHO* 746), two Ethiopian martyrdom narratives making brief references to the miracles obtained at Menas’s church. The primary Coptic source for Menas’s miracles is to be found in an untitled collection of seventeen of them (ed. Drescher, *ibid.*, 7–34 (text), 108–125 (trans.)) and an *Encomium* (*ibid.*, 35–72 (text), 126–149 (trans.)), which along with a short account of Menas’s martyrdom (*ibid.*, 1–6 (text), 97–104 (trans.)) are all preserved in a single Coptic manuscript (Morgan Library, Cod. M 590), and this is complemented by another manuscript in the same collection (Morgan Library, Cod. M 585) preserving two lengthy “Further Miracles” (*ibid.*, 73–96 (text), 150–159 (trans.)).

While Menas was clearly a saint from whom miraculous aid would be expected, the Coptic sources provide little evidence for this aid being obtained through incubation: with the exception of the ninth miracle in the main Coptic collection (see next note), there is only one miraculous tale involving a cure obtained through sleep, and it gives no indication that the paralyzed boy who regained his mobility had either slept at the saint’s tomb deliberately or requested a therapeutic dream (*Encomium*, pp. 64–65 (text), 143 (trans.)). In addition, the “Further Miracles” tells of the shrine’s archbishop falling asleep after keeping an all-night vigil and envisioning the saint (pp. 94–95 (text), 159 (trans.)), but as noted above, this sort of phenomenon can at best be considered “unintentional

though with a single exception—a single, highly unreliable exception⁴⁷—these miracles did not involve dreams received at Abû Mînâ, archaeological evidence reveals the possibility of resting or sleeping (or, of course, both) at the church on beds, and the presence of these has been viewed by Peter Grossmann, the foremost authority on Christian archaeology in Egypt, as a reason to conclude that incubation was commonly practiced there.⁴⁸ According to Grossmann's

incubation." Due to Menas's popularity, tales of his *post mortem* miraculous prowess were eventually translated into Arabic, surviving in multiple manuscripts from which twenty-eight associated with the cult at Abû Mînâ are known, not including the six linked to Menas's church in Medieval Cairo (ed., trans. and comm. Jaritz (F.) 1993, 145–249). But even this relatively large collection of miracles in Arabic, however, adds no new knowledge regarding the possibility of incubation in the saint's cult, since the miracles involving dreams are already known from the Greek and Coptic versions: in addition to the miracle of the crippled man and mute woman (*Mir. Menae* (Arabic) 11; see next note), there are tales of a camel-driver and a Samaritan woman each receiving dreams of Menas *away* from the church (*Mir. Menae* (Arabic) 17, 23, paralleling *Mir. Menae* (Greek) 9, 6 and *Mir. Menae* (Coptic) 1, 16, respectively). Thus while it is attested, according to another Arabic miracle, that there was a "place for the sick" (*Mir. Menae* (Arabic) 14, with commentary in Jaritz, *ibid.*, 226–227), there is no evidence among these Arabic sources, either, for incubation at the church, and negligible evidence for Menas appearing in dreams. (For Menas in dreams, see Jaritz, *ibid.*, 147–148 *et pass.*)

47 The one miracle that has been treated as evidence for incubation at the sanctuary at least once (Duffy/Bourbouhakis 2003, 75n.15; cf. Csepregi 2011, 269n.42), preserved in three languages, is hardly proof: a lengthy tale about a crippled man and mute woman who both sleep at the church, where the man receives multiple dreams from the saint instructing him to go to the woman and violate her, which he attempts to do when he is suddenly able to walk, awakening the woman, who just as suddenly is able to give voice to a scream (*Mir. Menae* (Greek) 5, which also appears as *Mir. Menae* (Coptic) 9 in the main Coptic collection, in which it is too poorly preserved to have been edited, and *Mir. Menae* (Arabic) 11; for the Arabic version, see Jaritz (F.) 1993, 171, 194–195, 221–222, cf. 301–302, and for the Greek and Coptic editions see the previous note; see Duffy/Bourbouhakis, *ibid.*, 78–81, presenting the first easily accessible Greek text of the miracle along with English translation, in addition to editing a twelfth-century manuscript with abridged versions of five of Menas's miracles, in which a sanitized version of this tale appears fourth). Even if the crippled man's dreams were supposed to be the result of engaging in incubation, this story cannot be viewed as strong evidence for the practice at Abû Mînâ, since, as has been noted by others, essentially the same story was associated with Kosmas and Damian (*Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 24) and is to be found among the unpublished Arabic sources for John and Cyrus at Menouthis (as Miracle No. 4; see Boutros 2008, 139), and therefore this obviously was among the reusable stories in circulation at the time and there is no reason to conclude that it originated in the cult of Menas.

48 The most important study of the site and its remains, other than the primary archaeological publication (Grossmann 1989), is Grossmann 1998, especially pp. 288–290;

interpretation, incubation is especially likely because the unusual hemicycle structure to the south of the church was designed so that the series of rooms along the interior (*i.e.*, those facing the church) would be roughly equidistant from the saint's crypt, and one of these rooms even has the remains of a *klinē*, which along with the presence of toilet facilities suggests that this building was used by those wishing to remain for a period of time in close proximity to the saint—with therapeutic incubation being an appealing explanation of their desire to do so.⁴⁹ Though plausible, this is purely a matter of speculation and should be recognized as such,⁵⁰ especially now that one of Grossmann's archaeological comparanda has been eliminated.⁵¹

see also Grossmann 2002, 210–216 (with figs. 15–21) and Grossmann 2007, 126–128, which along with Grossmann 1981 provide the illustrations lacking in the 1998 article.

- 49 For the “Hemizyklum,” see P. Grossmann & W. Hölzle in Grossmann 1995, 401–405 and Grossmann 2002, 214, 235–237. Grossmann has also proposed that before this building's construction incubation was practiced in a series of rooms along the church's south side (see Grossmann 1989, 77 and Grossmann 2002, 237), which if correct would represent a parallel for the changes known or assumed to have been made at certain *Asklepieia* as they gained in popularity and needed a larger area for visitors who came to seek dreams.
- 50 Grossmann has stated, “I am of the opinion that wherever one finds beds inside a church or attached to the outer walls that church served as a healing centre where incubation rites were performed” (Grossmann 2007, 136). While there is no reason to doubt that beds and benches found in close proximity to a saint's tomb or relics can reliably identify a healing shrine, the abundant written evidence for the sick and infirm spending hours, days or even weeks at such holy sites praying for improved health undermines the assumption that these attest to incubation at such sites. To date, only Ehrenheim has expressed skepticism regarding such claims, concluding that “Incubation at Abu Mina is an interesting question but it is difficult to make a case for its existence” (Ehrenheim 2009, 265–266; quoting p. 266). Ehrenheim is also correct to note that the written sources show how common it was to sleep on temporary bedding, and Grossmann himself subsequently recognized this in his discussion of Kollouthos's church at Antinoopolis (see below) by arguing that in the case of this church, for which no reliable evidence of incubation exists, it is not significant that no beds have been found, since “incubants could have slept simply on mats laid out directly upon the floor of the church” and thus “no recognizable traces would have been left” (Grossmann 2014, 277). But it is rather problematic to claim that where beds were found incubation was practiced, and yet that this could also have been the case where they were not, and thus some degree of skepticism is in order. Regardless of this issue, Grossmann is correct to note elsewhere that the positioning of those hoping to receive healing miracles from saints at their shrines in Egypt was, as elsewhere, in close proximity to the saint's relics or remains (Grossmann 2002, 239–241).
- 51 Grossmann has pointed to the “*sanatorium*” at Dendara's Hathor sanctuary, where a central area thought to have provided therapeutic water was surrounded by a series of small chambers assumed to have been used for incubation, as a parallel for the hemicycle

A partial parallel for this site has been found just north of Abû Mînâ, in a church close to the tomb of Sîdî Maḥmûd that Grossmann identified as a healing center at which incubation was practiced because of the presence of beds in two areas: in a cluster at the western contra-apse located near and above an underground burial chamber that presumably held the unidentified saint's remains, and along one wall (as well as on the wall's exterior side, suggesting an at least occasional overflow of visitors).⁵² This site and Abû Mînâ are not the only ones in Egypt to have been associated with incubation by Grossmann due to the presence of beds: most notably, in a southern area of Antinoopolis an unidentified basilica church, labeled D3 by excavators and thought to date to the second half of the fifth century, has been considered a healing center at which incubation was practiced, since it featured beds in the *naos* and a series of small rooms in an atrium (and now in part for this reason is believed by Grossmann to have been or become St. Kollouthos's main church in Antinoopolis).⁵³ Similarly, Grossmann has speculated due to the

structure at Abû Mînâ due to its featuring small rooms that formed a half-ring about the saint's tomb (see Grossmann 2002, 240–241 with n. 177). However, it has recently been shown that the Dendara structure was misidentified and neither provided therapeutic water nor an opportunity for incubation (see Appendix 1.8.1), and thus while Grossmann's explanation for the use of a semicircular layout at Abû Mînâ remains plausible, it is without any parallel at a known incubation sanctuary.

52 See Grossmann/Khorsid 1994, 87, Grossmann/Khorsid 1998, 60–62, Grossmann 2002, 221–224 (with fig. 13), and Grossmann 2007, 128–136, identifying these as beds rather than benches because the curved ends of several correspond to headrests. Whereas Grossmann's original 1994 publication only linked the exterior rooms on the northern wall to incubation—"According to their distribution these rooms might be explained as incubation rooms"—but did not treat the benches as pertinent (Grossmann/Khorsid 1994, 80–81, 84), subsequently these became his primary reason for concluding that incubation was practiced at the church. (Ehrenheim 2009, 267–268 expresses skepticism over whether such physical remains are sufficient evidence of "institutionalized incubation," since there is no way to know whether the people lying down in these areas were doing so specifically to seek dreams or were simply infirm individuals who needed to rest while awaiting some form of divine aid.)

53 The excavations, which continue under the direction of Rosario Pinaudi, have been documented by Grossmann in several publications, including Grossmann 2009, 261–266, Grossmann 2010a, Grossmann 2010b, 183–189, and Grossmann 2011, 81–85. The church's *naos* had "many *klines*," according to Grossmann, and the purpose of these was identified by him as therapeutic (Grossmann 2010a, 151–152 and Grossmann 2010b, 184). For the hypothetical identification of this church with Kollouthos, who had a known church to the north (see below), see Grossmann 2014, 254, 272–274, reaching this conclusion in part because of these remains. Six rooms of equal size (roughly 4.30 × 2.70 meters) that were

presence of benches that there was incubation at the unidentified “Southern church” at the Nubian site at modern Abdallah Nirqi,⁵⁴ and at the church of St. Epimachos east of Pelusium, in the rooms off the portico that ran along three sides of the atrium.⁵⁵ (Grossmann also has raised the possibility of incubation in the church at Archelais (modern Hīrbat al-Bayūdāt/Khīrbet el-Beiyudat), a Palestinian site rather than an Egyptian one, on the strength of two *klinai* just outside its entrance.)⁵⁶

In addition to Menas, the other Egyptian saint associated with an important therapeutic pilgrimage center was Kollouthos, a martyred physician who as a saint was a great healer and whose church at Antinoopolis has recently been identified (at the complex in the northern necropolis previously labeled “kôm 2”). Kollouthos’s link to incubation has been based mainly on some tales of miracles,⁵⁷ with the church’s structural remains contributing limited

subsequently discovered behind the portico of an inner colonnade within the western atrium were identified by Grossmann as a likely *enkoimētērion* (Grossmann 2010a, 154–155; Grossmann 2010b, 184–185; Grossmann 2011, 82), which is plausible because the seclusion provided by these rooms would have been comparable to what can be seen at certain *Asklepieia*. More recently, see Spencer 2012, 26–27, conveying news of the discovery during the 2011 excavation season that “As anticipated a series of small rooms was found on the N side, equal in size to the S rooms and having served the same purpose as *enkoimētēria* for incubants joining the healing centre of the church. Only the foundations of the partition walls survive with the rooms proper added later.” While it is possible that this church was devoted to Kollouthos it is by no means certain: Grossmann’s primary reason for the identification is the archaeological evidence for visitors being able to rest and sleep in certain areas, which certainly indicates a healing shrine, but as Grossmann himself notes the written sources for the saint’s cult at Antinoopolis only refer to a *martyrion* on the side of the mountain north of the city (Grossmann 2014, 274). While Grossmann’s speculative solutions to this problem cannot be ruled out, neither is compelling, and it is thus possible that church D3 belonged to another saint.

54 See Grossmann 2002, 240n.173. For the site, see Hajnóczy 1974, with brief reference to benches at p. 359n.57.

55 See Grossmann 2010a, 154–155. For this church, see Bonnet/Abd el-Samie 2003, 84–88 and al-Taher/Abd el-Hafiz/Grossmann 2003; see Papaconstantinou 2001, 79–80 for Epimachos.

56 See Grossmann 2007, 136–138.

57 The primary source for Kollouthos’s miracles, which have been incompletely preserved, is to be found in a number of Coptic manuscripts (now all re-edited and commented upon in Schenke 2013, 193–276), as well as in an Arabic manuscript in which the saint is referred to as a “doctor” (Ms. St. Makairos, Hagiog. 35, fol. 75 *recto*–100 *verso*, ed. Zanetti 2004); see Zanetti, *ibid.*, 44–50 for a survey of the known miracles and their respective editions. These have led Grossmann in particular to view the church as a healing shrine at which incubation was practiced (see Grossmann 2008, 47 and Grossmann 2014, 242n.5, 276, citing the Arabic miracles). However, the miracles that Grossmann links

potential evidence as well.⁵⁸ Among the miracle collections is one particularly tantalizing Coptic tale, involving first a paralyzed man and subsequently a

to incubation are problematic: at p. 276 of his most recent treatment he cites Miracle Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12 of Zanetti's edition, but these either involve healing without a dream being specifically requested (see Miracle No. 1 in particular), or an unsolicited dream about lost property rather than a medical problem (Miracle No. 11), or even being cured in response to a prayer while still awake (Miracle No. 12). Thus neither the miracles Grossmann cites nor any of the others preserved in this work should be pointed to as evidence for incubation, when they at best represent the same pattern seen elsewhere of "unintentional" incubation and prayers for aid leading to dreams that are not said to have been solicited. While the evidence for incubation at the church is uncertain, it is clear from the discovery of roughly 250 Coptic ticket oracles linked to Kollouthos as well as fragments of the *Sortes Sanctorum* that this church, like some of the sanctuaries of an earlier era, enabled visitors to engage in more than one form of divination; in addition, the recent publication of the *Gospel of the Lots of Mary*, which includes passages overlapping with some of the *Sortes* fragments, would represent further evidence if their editor, AnneMarie Luijendijk, is correct that they originated there as well (see Luijendijk 2014, 47–49). For the *Sortes* fragments see Papini 1998 and Luijendijk, *ibid.*, 7 *et pass.*, and for divination at the shrine of Kollouthos in general, see Frankfurter 2005a, 244–250 (with references) and Grossmann 2014, 280–282.

The ticket oracles are being edited by Alain Delattre (personal communication), who has announced newer texts from the church (Delattre 2010 and Delattre 2013), and also discussed incubation at the church, pointing to hagiographical sources in both articles, and in the earlier treatment linking incubation to the discovery of bronze anatomical votives in the area (Delattre 2010, 174). Among these anatomicals was one representing a breast, which Delattre associates with the Coptic tale of a woman suffering from a demon-inflicted breast ailment who prays and sleeps at the church, receiving a prescription from the saint in a dream and dedicating to him such a votive (*ibid.*, citing Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. 129¹⁵, fol. 22–23 *recto*, pp. 216–221, ed. Schenke 2013 and the Arabic version, Miracle No. 9 (§§71–74), ed. Zanetti, *ibid.*, 78–79 (text), 101 (trans.)). The tale's relevance, however, is undermined by the fact that a parallel story, apparently composed earlier, is to be found in an encomium of the Egyptian saint Victor Stratelates (see n. 27)), and thus the votive is only acceptable as evidence of healing, not healing through incubation. Another Coptic tale that has been cited as evidence of incubation but is no more reliable concerns a married couple who had been unable to have children traveling to Kollouthos's shrine and praying that he ask Jesus to give them a child, and after a long time seeing the saint appear to them at midnight and announce that they would have one (*PLondCoptLondon* 1 329, ed. Till 1935–36, 1: 172–173 (text), 179–180 (trans.), cf. Schenke, *ibid.*, 183–184; cited by Wacht 1997, 249). See also, in general, Grossmann 2008, briefly touching on incubation (p. 47) as well as the ticket oracles, and Sanzi 2008; cf. Wacht, *ibid.*, 249–250 and Cannuyer 2013, 33–34. (If incubation was indeed practiced at Kollouthos's church then it would be the only one known to have made it possible for the devout to obtain oracles either through dreams or another divinatory medium—a phenomenon with a number of antecedents, both in Egypt and elsewhere in the Greek world (see p. 28n.77).)

⁵⁸ For the church, see Grossmann 2014, including an important discussion of the cult's history at Antinoopolis (pp. 268–276), followed by one about incubation there (pp. 276–

prostitute named Maria, both of whom spoke with the site's *patēr* (i.e., a priest), in the case of the former consulting him regarding a dream received from the saint while staying at the church; however, there are reasons not to accept either part of the surviving narrative as pertaining to incubation.⁵⁹ By the sixth century Kollouthos's church came to be among the foremost pilgrimage sites for those in Egypt seeking healing—perhaps partly due to the opportunity to engage in incubation, though due to the lack of a reliable source attesting to the practice this is speculative.⁶⁰

While the shrines devoted to Menas and Kollouthos both became quite prominent in part because of their association with their respective saint's miracles, among which may have been cures issued to those engaging in incubation, a small number of lesser sites in Egypt have also been linked to the

280). Grossmann has identified a series of four small rooms found in the southeastern area (Rooms 1–4), two of which were from an earlier building phase than the church itself, as “incubation chambers,” noting “They could be locked from inside and are thus comparable with the *enkoimētēria* of the pagan healing centres. Inside of these chambers the clients took their sleep to await in their dreams the visit of the doctor-saint” (*ibid.*, 242, with main discussion of the rooms at pp. 260–262, 278 + Pls. 3b, 12, 15). Putting aside the lack of any such comparanda at “pagan healing centres” that enabled would-be dreamers to lock themselves away, this is purely speculative, especially given the distance from where the saint's remains would have been—which can be contrasted with Grossmann's earlier recognition of the importance of sleeping close to a saint's relics or remains (see n. 50)—and this is also true of Grossmann's suggestion that an area outside of Room 9 was used for open-air incubation (*ibid.*, 266). Moreover, Grossmann himself notes the lack of any traces of *klinai* at these rooms, explaining that those sleeping in Rooms 1–4 could have used mats placed on the floor (*ibid.*, 277)—which is certainly true, but only highlights the speculative nature of the claim.

59 Borg. Copt. 109 + Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. 129¹⁵, fol. 21, 25^{bis}, pp. 244–267, ed. Schenke 2013; see Devos 1980; cf. Zanetti 2004, 48 and Buzi 2012, 143–146. In contrast to this man, who spoke with the *patēr* about the saint's dream-message upon awakening, the surviving portion that concerns the prostitute does not preserve such a consultation; rather, it begins with the *patēr* visiting her at home and advising that she come to the church and remain there for a few days seeking strength and enlightenment so that “St. Kollouthos will come to you in a vision and powerfully strengthen your heart” (translation based on Schenke's), and when she does so the saint appears to her in a dream telling her to obey the *patēr* in order to be saved. Thus the portion of the tale pertaining to her gives no overt indication of incubation having been involved, while the possibility of the paralyzed man having engaged in the practice is undermined by the detail that when he initially envisioned the saint he had to ask who he was—an element found in several other such tales concerning different saints, and one that is incompatible with the idea of sleeping at a holy site specifically in order to receive a dream-visit from its saint or saints. (For the possible role of the *patēr* as a dream interpreter, see pp. 733–734.)

60 See Papaconstantinou 2001, 289, noting the lack of references to Kollouthos before the sixth century.

practice based on written sources that prove unreliable. For example, it is possible that incubation is indicated by the first two healing miracles in the Arabic *Miracles of St. Ptolemaios*, both of which involve an individual sleeping at his shrine at modern Ishnîn near Oxyrhynchus and envisioning the saint, but these do not state that the dream itself was sought.⁶¹ Another example is to be found in the description of a child—one of a number of sick people sleeping at the church of Benjamin at the Abû Maqâr monastery in Wâdî Natrûn, roughly one hundred kilometers northwest of Cairo—being healed and then recounting a dream in which St. Makarios had appeared and spoken to him of his cure, according to the *Book of the Consecration of the Sanctuary of Benjamin*.⁶² Similarly ambiguous is the evidence for the shrine of the “Three Children” (also known as the “Three Hebrews”) near Alexandria, since one of the miracles in the *Miracles of the Three Children*, a collection dubiously attributed to the bishop Cyril of Alexandria, describes a pregnant woman visiting the shrine with the intention of waiting for the saints to come to her at night and drive off the two demons possessing her and her unborn son, and the ensuing description of their exorcism does not state that a dream was involved.⁶³ In addition,

61 Anon., *Mir. Ptolem.* 1–2, ed. Leroy in Leroy/Nau 1910, 371–374 (= 779–782) (= *BHO* Appendix, p. 278). See Maraval 1985, 229n.142, 325.

62 Agathon, *Book of the Consecration*, pp. 177–183, ed. Coquin 1975. The text, dating to the late seventh century, was supposedly composed by Agathon, the patriarch who succeeded Benjamin and died in 681 CE (Coquin, *ibid.*, 46–49), and though originally written in Greek survives only in a Coptic-Arabic manuscript from the monastery. The passage is cited as an example of therapeutic incubation in Grossmann/Khorsid 1998, 62.

63 Ps.-Cyril, *Miracles of the Three Children*, No. 7, pp. 111:89–193, ed. De Vis 1922–29. This cult, devoted to three Jewish youths whom Nebuchadnezzar ordered burned alive for their faith in God, is known primarily from the *Miracles* (ed. De Vis, *ibid.*, 111:158–202) as well as brief mentions by Sophronios (Sophr., *Thaum.* 28.9) and in the anonymous second *Life* of Cyrus and John (*Life* 11, §2 (= *PG* 87.3, 3677A–B)). For the cult, see Papaconstantinou 2001, 198–200, Frankfurter 2005b, 437–443 and Gasco 2007, 249–250, the former citing the papyrological and epigraphical sources; cf. Frankfurter 1998, 193n.193, associating the shrine with incubation, and Gasco 1998, 25, 29, on the question of its origin. Sophronios is arguably evidence *against* incubation at this shrine, since he tells of a fruit vendor who would regularly conduct his business outside this site not seeking aid for a medical problem from the Three Children, but instead traveling to Menouthis and being cured by Cyrus and John. However, since the anonymous *Life* links Cyrus to the shrine of the Three Children by stating that he had a hospital in an apse there, where in life he had functioned as a physician, it is clear that there was a close association between the cults of the Three Children and Cyrus, and therefore it is possible that one group of saints recommended a visit to the others' shrine—in a manner similar to the episode recorded by Gregory of Tours in which a woman was advised

an unidentified shrine of Philotheos of Antioch referred to in an unpublished, lacunose passage of a Coptic text describes a sick woman and a deacon both praying to the saint at night, with the latter receiving a dream instructing him to utter a formula to the woman in order to bring about her recovery—but whether the dream had been solicited is not indicated.⁶⁴ It is also unclear whether there was incubation at a church of the archangel Michael in Egypt, as is sometimes claimed, since the source is an unidentified Coptic collection of ten miracles, four of which have been thought to describe incubation—but in two cases the setting is Rome and in the other two the setting is not indicated, and in none of the four cases is it stated that a dream had been sought.⁶⁵

As is true for Egypt, some saints' shrines in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean have been linked to incubation, even if—in contrast to Artemios, Demetrios, Thekla, Therapon, and Kosmas and Damian—they have

by Martin of Tours to seek the help of his fellow saint Julian of Brioude (Gregory, *Virt. Iulian.* 47; see p. 785). (The references to Cyrus's ἱερεῖον and its precise location are found in unpublished manuscripts in Moscow and Glasgow, which supplement the published version of this text and provide additional information about the shrine. These manuscripts are being prepared for publication by Jean Gascoü, who shared the pertinent passage in the Moscow manuscript (personal communication).)

- 64 See Vergote 1935, 293 and Zanetti 2004, 45, the latter stating that the patient had been incubating, but also at n. 18 treating the miracle as “suspect.” For Philotheos in Egypt, see Papaconstantinou 2001, 202–203.
- 65 Anon., “Les dix merveilles de l'Archange Michel,” trans. Amélineau 1888, 1:69–84; cited as examples of incubation in Deubner (L.) 1900, 65, Rohland 1977, 80–87 and Wacht 1997, 243–244; see also Ehrenheim 2009, 253n.125. Due to Amélineau's notoriously imprecise editorial work, it is not known which manuscript he consulted, and the accuracy of his translations—and authenticity of the title—must remain in some doubt. The four miracles possibly describing incubation are Nos. 4, 6, 7 and 10, of which 6 and 7 are set in Rome; some of the other miracles in the work involved dreams but clearly not ones obtained through incubation (Nos. 2, 5), or else overnight stays at a church with no dream mentioned (No. 8). Each of the four episodes is problematic as evidence for incubation, regardless of church setting: Miracle No. 4 is about a sick person being brought to a church and calling on Michael to “Come to my aid, heal me of this malady, save me!” (translation based on Amélineau's) and the saint appearing at midnight and healing him, and No. 6 concerns a person praying and receiving a healing dream, but in neither case is it specified that a dream was requested; this is also true of No. 10, which concerns a person praying and later seeing Michael; and, No. 7 tells of a sterile couple praying day and night for child until Michael appears in a dream promising one, and then when the boy who later is born to them is ten years old he becomes sick and his mother brings him to the church, where he is healed overnight, but in the case of the original dream it is not said to have been solicited, while in the case of the miraculous cure ten years later no dream is mentioned. See Papaconstantinou 2001, 154–159 for the worship of Michael in Egypt.

not been the subject of lengthy hagiographies recounting numerous (or at least several) miracles achieved through dream-appearances.⁶⁶ Instead, the evidence is limited to brief passages in hagiographical works, but not narratives regarding specific cures.⁶⁷ Most notably, a passage found in Severus of Antioch's 514 CE Syriac homily *On the Martyr St. Dometios*, about the local healing saint who spent three decades living in a cave, is potential evidence for incubation, since after noting that the sick would invoke Jesus's aid he describes them lying about Dometios's church on the ground awaiting "a quick cure," and accompanies this with a reference to Dometios appearing and healing them when invoked, and this is slightly reminiscent of the incubation scene in Aristophanes's *Plutus*, when the god appears and moves from patient to patient, as well as other sources:

That is why it is after obtaining a quick cure that each one goes away: one can see people of each sex and every age stretched out pell-mell on the ground; and while the moan of a sick, old man ceases when he has been cured, the shout of an adolescent or the pitiable cry of a small infant is heard in response; and a woman, often their mother, weeping over them, tearing at her robe, striking at her breast, tearing at her cheeks, leaning over the sick one, wishes to transfer the illness to herself, without

66 To this small list of sites where Christians might have practiced incubation can perhaps be added another based on circumstantial evidence: the tomb of the Seven Maccabee Brothers south of Antioch, at a cave called "Matrona" in the territory of its suburb Daphne. According to John Chrysostom in his *1st Oration against the Jews*, Jewish "faithful" would visit this holy site to sleep (πολλοὺς . . . τῶν πιστῶν ἀναβαίνειν ἐκεῖ, καὶ παρακαθεύδειν τῷ τόπῳ), presumably for therapeutic purposes (Joh. Chrys., *Adv. Jud.* 1.6 (= PG 48, 852); cf. Joh. Chrys., *In Epist. ad Titum* 3.2 (= PG 62, 679); see Simon (M.) 1936, 406–408 and Liebeschuetz 1972, 233; cf. Trzcionka 2007, 130). If these scholars are correct that this was incubation being practiced by the Jewish population whom Chrysostom was criticizing, then by implication at least some of the Christians whose Judaizing tendencies—which included visiting Matrona—Chrysostom criticized on another occasion were doing likewise (Joh. Chrys., *Adv. Jud.* 1.8 (= PG 48, 855); see Ziadé 2007, 118–119). (Discussions of this passage have associated the Matrona site with a synagogue that was converted into a church, but this is supposed to have happened earlier than the date of Chrysostom's oration, which is thought to have been 386/7 CE. Thus Lothar Triebel's conclusion that the synagogue was a fiction of later sources is certainly appealing (Treibel 2006; see also Ziadé, *ibid.*, 118–123), in which case the Jewish "faithful" and Christians who were keeping certain Jewish practices would have been visiting a holy site devoted to the Maccabees, but not a synagogue that became a *martyrion* when relics were introduced to it.)

67 Similarly, the archangel Michael at Anaplous has been linked to incubation not in a hagiography, but in a passage of ecclesiastical history (see p. 765).

accomplishing this, and finally she mixes in with her tears a prayer and she demands of the martyr himself to help in her supplication. And suddenly all at once, it is towards this woman when she calls upon him, and it is towards the others, even when they are keeping silent, that the envoy himself appears spontaneously and procures for all joy and deliverance from their ills. And those who are healed, giving up their places to those who are arriving, exit while describing to those there their own recovery as a true guarantee that they, too, will obtain what they are awaiting.⁶⁸

Despite the similarity to the *Plutus* scene, it is noteworthy that those sleeping at this site in the scene conjured up by Severus were said to pray to Jesus for aid, with Dometios being invoked only as a secondary measure so as to help with this supplication, and also that the passage describes a request for aid rather than a therapeutic dream specifically—and a request made by a third party, at that.⁶⁹ The Greek and Syriac hagiographies of this saint, the latter of which has been dated to the seventh or eighth century, do not provide evidence for incubation in his cult despite describing a number of *in vita* healing miracles.⁷⁰ However, potential—though admittedly thin—evidence is to be found in one of the miracles detailed by Gregory of Tours in his *Glory of the Martyrs*, according to which a Jew seeking healing from the saint but having been forbidden entrance because he was a non-believer instead prayed in front of the church, leading him to be healed and converted by Dometios in a dream.⁷¹ Another possible example, but of fertility incubation rather than therapeutic, is to be found at the beginning of the *Life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger*, written c. 600 CE, when his mother Martha, herself a future saint, spends days praying

68 Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 51, pp. 88–99 (= 368–379), eds. Brière/Graffin 1969 (quoting pp. 370–373; translation based on Brière/Graffin's). Treated as evidence of incubation in: Maraval 1985, 225n.102, 339; Parmentier 1989, 288; and Csepregi 2005, 116 and Csepregi 2010, 67–68. On Dometios, see Peeters 1939 and Parmentier, *ibid.*

69 For a somewhat comparable scene, see the description of the tomb of St. Ouranios in Ibora in the mid-sixth century written by Eustratios in his *Life of Eutychios*, noting the presence of the sick lying about near the tomb of this Patriarch of Constantinople and leaving once the saint has restored their health (Eustratios, *Βίος τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου Εὐτυχίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 17, pp. 18–19, ed. Laga).

70 Greek *vita*: Anon., *Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Δομετίου*, ed. [Van den Gheyn] 1900. Syriac *vita*: Anon., [Untitled], ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum* VI:536–556 (= *BHO* 263); trans. Taylor 1938.

71 Gregory, *Glor. Mart.* 99 (= *MGH, SRM* 1.2, p. 554). Linked to incubation in Deubner (L.) 1900, 61–62, Wacht 1997, 253 and Klaniczay 2012, 151–152. For other dream-related miracles in this work, see pp. 783–785.

for a child at a church of John the Baptist in Antioch, ultimately envisioning him in a dream stating that her prayer had been granted and instructing her to spread incense in the church.⁷²

While most of the scholarship wholly or partly devoted to Christian incubation seeks to place it in the broader contexts of Christian life in Late Roman and Byzantine times or the era's theological debates, or else is devoted to the cult of a particular saint or pair of saints, there have also been several other approaches to the materials. In addition to the works that study the relevant texts as a subset of Christian hagiographical writings,⁷³ there have been illuminating studies on the contents and types of dreams described, such as Stavroula Constantinou's breakdown of the different approaches to healing found in the various therapeutic dreams (with "medical dreams" divided into "pharmacological, prescriptive and surgical dreams," as had been the case in earlier eras),⁷⁴ and Csepregi's treatment of Eucharist symbolism in incubation dreams, and her study arguing that medical practices in Byzantium affected the contents of dreams, with worshipers beginning to envision the healing saints making medical rounds like doctors in hospitals.⁷⁵ The pertinent hagiographical sources have also been occasionally employed for historical analysis, including studies of: the various professions represented by those who were

72 Anon., *Vit. Symeonis iun.* 2, ed. van den Ven 1962–70 (with annotated translation at pp. 11:6–8) (= *BHG* 1689/*CPG* 7369). For an overview of this *Vita*, see Efthymiadis 2011, 52–54 and Dal Santo 2012, 195–205; cited by Maraval 1985, 225n.102 among examples of therapeutic incubation. For fertility incubation, see Appendix III. Symeon himself, living in 521–592 CE, came to be venerated as a formidable healer in his lifetime, which was spent at his monastery on the "Wondrous Mountain" (Θαυμαστὸν Ὄρος) near Antioch, and in this context had an unusual link to curative visions: according to this *Vita*, those who would travel to Symeon seeking a cure would obtain it in a variety of ways, one of which was "in a vision" (ἐν ὁράσει) or "through visions" (δι' ὁραμάτων) (*Vit. Symeonis iun.* 41, 255). An example of such a vision might be found in the twice-told miracle of the man with deformed feet who during the daytime envisioned two angels flanking the saint and was healed after believing that he heard Symeon command him to become healthy (*Vit. Symeonis iun.* 81, 242). It is thus possible that at his monastery Symeon would encourage the sick to seek dreams, though this is quite speculative. For Symeon as a healer, see Vikan 1984, 67–73; cf. Dorati 2001, 94–95n.17.

73 See especially Csepregi 2013, focusing on the hagiographers who produced the collections of miracles devoted to Artemios, Cyrus and John, Kosmas and Damian, and Thekla; her forthcoming book likewise is primarily devoted to the hagiographical nature of the sources for Christian incubation more than the nature of the practice itself (see *supra*, n. 1). See also Déroche 1993 and Constantinou 2013.

74 See Constantinou 2014 (quoting p. 28); see also Constantinou 2013.

75 See Csepregi 2005 and Csepregi 2012, respectively.

said to have engaged in incubation at the *Kosmidion* or another church in Constantinople during the sixth through twelfth centuries;⁷⁶ the evidence for the operation of Byzantine hospitals preserved in the collection of miracles of Kosmas and Damian and other such works⁷⁷ and, more broadly, the evidence for the practice of Byzantine medicine in this and similar hagiographies;⁷⁸ the practice of rewarding the saints for cures with gifts, as is occasionally revealed by such texts;⁷⁹ the nature of communal identity among certain groups living in Alexandria as revealed by the *Miracles* of Cyrus and John;⁸⁰ the role of perfumed oil as the primary medicine given to those who would visit holy sites in need of healing (sometimes taken in compliance with a saint's nighttime prescription, according to several of the miracle collections);⁸¹ how certain dream-narratives in the four major collections of dream-related miracles were colored by the positions of their writers in the Christological debates of the early Byzantine Period and can be used to show shifting definitions of orthodoxy and heresy;⁸² and, the demonstrable link between the saints' physical appearance in incubation dreams and their iconographical representations, and the significance of such visions of saints as recognizable figures for the theological debate regarding whether the souls of saints retained a human likeness and had a "visionary body."⁸³ There has also been significant attention paid to comparisons between Christian incubation and incubation in the cult of Asklepios—an obvious subject, given his widespread popularity as a healer in earlier times—and while such comparative work has often been part of broader studies, there have been occasional works specifically devoted to such comparisons, particularly regarding the aretalogical nature of the

76 See López Salvá 1975.

77 See Miller (T.) 2013, 200–206.

78 See Magoulas 1964 for a general treatment, and Lascaratos 1992 for an examination of accounts of miraculously cured eye ailments that employ a medical perspective, in which he concluded that some of the operations attributed to Kosmas and Damian were in fact performed by physicians at the *Kosmidion*, and observed that their cures were more medically valid than those of Cyrus and John at Menouthis.

79 See Déroche 2006.

80 See Gasco 2008b.

81 See Caseau 2005.

82 See Csepregi 2010. Csepregi also uses some of the evidence to suggest the existence of distinct incubation centers for Monophysites and Diphysites, sometimes even in the same town or city (at p. 67; see also Csepregi 2005, 116). See also Parmentier 1989, using St. Dometios as a case study for the different attitudes of Monophysites and anti-Monophysites towards the practice.

83 See Dal Santo 2011.

testimonial inscriptions from Epidauros and the hagiographical accounts of saints' miracles.⁸⁴

XVI.3 Incubation in the Medieval West

The question of whether incubation was practiced in the Latin West in Late Antiquity and early Medieval times is quite problematic, due to the ambiguous nature of the sources.⁸⁵ Since incubation appears to have been practiced at multiple churches by the height of the Medieval Period it is certainly possible that this began centuries earlier but was not well recorded.⁸⁶ However, despite both the numerous instances of miraculous cures obtained while spending the night close to the tomb or relics of a saint—primarily in Gaul, the setting of most of the pertinent episodes found in the Latin sources—and even the smaller but still significant number of such miracles that refer to a dream or vision of the saint, not a single example survives of a person visiting a western church with the stated goal of spending at least one night there in order to receive a curative dream, let alone a prophetic one. It is thus not surprising that Peter Brown has declared that “There is no incubation in Gaul,” based on

84 See especially Tolstoi 1926, comparing the Epidauros testimonies with the collected miracles of Artemios, and Dorati 2001, which includes a similarly detailed comparison but one not limited to a single saint's miracle narratives.

85 For the issues pertaining to incubation in western Christianity, see now Canetti 2010b and Klaniczay 2012, as well as the still essential discussion in Moreira 2000, 108–135 (with therapeutic dreams, including prescriptive ones, at 131–135); cf. Sigal 1985, 136–138, Wacht 1997, 250–254, and Beaujard 2000, 325–329. Earlier studies that were influential and are still cited despite being quite dated include Hamilton (M.) 1906, 159–171 and Saintyves 1930, 27–33 (pp. 518–523 of 1987 reprint).

86 This survey, as with the preceding section, only covers the pertinent sources up to an approximately eighth-century cut-off point. Among the sites at which incubation is thought to have been practiced in later times in Italy are several churches in Naples, most notably the site at which St. Agnello in the ninth and tenth centuries was said to have worked numerous healing miracles in dreams, according to the *Miracula S. Agnelli*, ed. Vuolo (= *BHL* 150) (see, e.g., Mallardo 1949, Canetti 2010b, 39–40 *et pass.*, and Klaniczay, *ibid.*, 157n.47 (with additional references)). For incubation in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Sangermano 2003 and Canetti 2013. For incubation in France during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Sigal 1985, 134–135, 138–144, and for a broader survey of mostly later examples see Gessler 1946; see, too, Canetti 2010b, 37–38 for a brief discussion of the phenomenon's association with St. Fides at her church in Conques during the late-tenth century.

what is to be found in the frequently cited works of Gregory of Tours.⁸⁷ Although Brown was not necessarily incorrect, it is not this simple: from the more than a dozen miracle accounts among the works of Gregory, Augustine (and Ps.-Augustine), and a small group of other writers that have been treated by one or more scholars as examples of incubation, it is possible to argue either for or against incubation having been practiced in the Gaul of Gregory's day, the North Africa of Augustine's, the England of Bede, or the other times and places that are the subject of lesser figures' writings. Despite the different genres represented by these authors' works, the passages that have been linked to incubation at western holy sites by one or more scholars, which tend to be brief, generally follow one of the four patterns outlined above: a description of "unintentional incubation" leading to an obviously unsolicited dream at a church or shrine; reference to a dream or dreams without indicating that they had been deliberately sought; a description of an individual being miraculously healed overnight while sleeping or maintaining a vigil near a saint's tomb or relics, or else regaining his or her health after a longer stay at such a shrine, without any reference being made to a dream having played a role in the sudden recovery; or, an unsolicited dream from a saint that brought about a miraculous cure, but was received by someone while sleeping at home or somewhere else other than a holy site.⁸⁸

Martin of Tours, a fourth-century miracle-worker whose tomb became a place for posthumous miracles according to Gregory, one of his successors as bishop of Tours in the late-sixth century, is the most prominently represented saint in discussions of incubation in the Latin West, with more than a half-dozen different passages in Gregory's *On the Powerful Deeds of the Bishop St. Martin* and *History of the Franks* having been cited by one or more scholars in discussions of incubation, and these illustrate some of the patterns outlined here.⁸⁹ What is clearly unintentional incubation, for example, can be seen in

87 See Brown 1976, 18 (p. 188 of 1982 reprint); cf. Brown 1981, 174n.67. Though not addressing the topic of incubation, see Lisa Bailey's cautionary comments regarding using Gregory's miracle tales as historical sources (Bailey 2012, 123–124). See also Delehaye 1927, 143–146, noting that incubation was not as widespread as generally thought, especially in the Latin-speaking world (quoted p. 802).

88 These same patterns, as has not been properly recognized, also apply to the Byzantine sources (see Sect. 5).

89 *De virtutibus sancti Martini*, MGH, SRM 1.2, pp. 584–661, ed. Krusch (cf. MGH, SRM VII, pp. 741–756) (= BHL 5618); ed. and trans. de Nie 2015, 421–855. *Historia Francorum*, MGH, SRM 1.1, ed. Arndt. On Martin and miracles involving dreams, see Klaniczay 2012, 151–153, and Van Dam 1993, 13–28 *et pass.* for the saint's cult and miracles in general, with translation at pp. 199–303; cf. Delehaye 1925, 311–322 *et pass.* Among those treating one

an episode involving a slave incapacitated by gout being brought to Martin's church and left there by his master, a priest who prayed to the saint that his faithful slave be cured, and the slave's miraculously recovering on the sixth day when sleep overcame him and he dreamed that he could fully use his foot.⁹⁰ A similar phenomenon found in this and other works involved individuals praying and subsequently receiving a dream: for example, Gregory tells of a blind man weeping and praying to Martin at a minor shrine and after falling asleep receiving a dream instructing him to go to the saint's main church at Tours, where he regained his sight—and from the way the narrative is written it appears that he was praying for a cure, not a curative dream.⁹¹ But, as noted above, miraculous cures might occur after spending the night close to a saint's remains even if the saint did not appear in a dream, as can be seen in the stories of the partly crippled slave Leomeris being healed by keeping vigil overnight at Martin's church,⁹² a paralyzed man who was carried to Martin's church and was suddenly able to walk after many days,⁹³ and a deaf-mute who spent the night there after a day of prayer and whose cure was announced to the deacon in a dream.⁹⁴ That dreams could be associated with miraculous cures that were not obtained through intentional or unintentional incubation,

or more of the passages in Gregory's works cited here as examples of incubation are: Deubner (L.) 1900, 59–60, 64; Hamilton (M.) 1906, 160–163; Wacht 1997, 252–254; Le Goff 1985, 207–208 (p. 222 of 1988 translation); and Klaniczay, *ibid.* In addition to the passages in Gregory's works discussed below there is another miracle tale cited by Wacht (*ibid.*, 250, 252) that should not be associated with incubation: *Virt. Martin.* 1.16, pp. 597–598, about a sick man sleeping at the church and the abbess receiving a dream from Martin about his intention of curing him.

90 Gregory, *Virt. Martin.* 2.4, pp. 610–611, tentatively linked to incubation in Wacht 1997, 252. Two other accounts of miraculous cures likewise feature unplanned sleep—and if sleep was not the point of those ailing individuals staying close to a saint's entombed remains or relics, but merely the result of their succumbing to a biological inevitability, the divine dreams that were seen by them cannot be viewed as evidence of incubation (Gregory, *Virt. Martin.* 2.26, pp. 618–619 and 3.16, p. 636; cited in Deubner (L.) 1900, 63–64 in a discussion of vigils and cures, without stating that the two tales reflect incubation; cf. Beaujard 2000, 327). A different sort of parallel for the story of the slave is that of a mute and partly crippled man forced to live as a beggar, who one night while lying within the church of St. Martin at Candes, as he had been doing for six years, suddenly received a vision in which he was healed—notable because there is no reference to his praying for a cure on that particular night, let alone seeking a therapeutic dream (Gregory, *Virt. Martin.* 3.23, p. 638).

91 Gregory, *Virt. Martin.* 2.23, pp. 616–617.

92 Gregory, *Virt. Martin.* 1.22, p. 600.

93 Gregory, *Virt. Martin.* 2.6, p. 611.

94 Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* 8.16, pp. 335–336.

since they were not even received at a holy site, is demonstrated by one of the passages in the *Powerful Deeds* that has been cited by multiple scholars as evidence for incubation—the story of a woman with a crippling hand problem, identifiable as untreated rheumatoid arthritis, who on her way back from a festival of the saint, during which she had prayed for a cure and touched his tomb, fell asleep at her lodging and received a dream in which she was healed.⁹⁵

Three of Gregory's other writings feature accounts of miracles that follow one of these patterns: his *On the Suffering and Powerful Deeds of the Martyr St. Julian*,⁹⁶ about the life, death and miracles of this saint venerated in the Auvergne region, and his two wide-ranging collections of tales about numerous saints, the *Glory of the Martyrs* and *Glory of the Confessors*.⁹⁷ His treatment of Julian features three miraculous cures that have each been associated with incubation by one or more scholars: the recollection of his own uncle, a future bishop at the time, who had once injured his foot on a large thorn and kept vigil at Julian's tomb in Brioude, praying for relief until finally returning to his bed, falling asleep and then awakening with the thorn expelled from his wound, with no dream having been involved;⁹⁸ the story of a paralyzed woman who lived at the church and collected alms, until one night, evidently without solicitation, while she was sleeping on her couch she envisioned the saint, who questioned her about why she was not participating in the vigil and, upon learning that the reason was her immobility, gave her full use of her limbs;⁹⁹ and, perhaps most significantly, the story of a blind woman praying for three days before Martin's tomb in Tours until "she received a response in a dream" (*responsum accepit per somnium*) informing her to go to a local shrine of Julian and ask that saint to join with Martin in an effort to restore her eyesight, an episode which would describe incubation if *responsum* refers to a request for a dream-oracle specifically, but not if *responsum* simply refers to a response to prayer that turned out to be a verbal instruction.¹⁰⁰ The *Glory of the Martyrs* and *Glory of the Confessors* each include a miracle narrative that has been cited

95 Gregory, *Virt. Martin*. 2.56, p. 628.

96 *De passione et virtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris*, *MGH, SRM* 1.2, pp. 562–584, ed. Krusch (cf. *MGH, SRM* VII, pp. 737–741) (= *BHL* 4541); ed. and trans. de Nie 2015, 299–419. See Van Dam 1993, 41–48 *et pass.* for the saint's cult and miracles, with translation at pp. 162–195; cf. Delehaye 1925, 306–311.

97 *Liber in gloria martyrum*, *MGH, SRM* 1.2, pp. 484–561, ed. Krusch. *Liber in gloria confessorum*, *MGH, SRM* 1.2, pp. 744–820, ed. Krusch.

98 Gregory, *Virt. Iulian*. 23, p. 574; see Wacht 1997, 252–253.

99 Gregory, *Virt. Iulian*. 9, pp. 568–569.

100 Gregory, *Virt. Iulian*. 47, p. 583. See Delehaye 1925, 323–324, associating Gregory's language with the phrase *responsum acceperat a Spiritu Sancto* found in *Luke* 2:26, and questioning whether the episode involved incubation.

as evidence for incubation, but merely follows one of the patterns described above: the former provides an example of unintentional incubation following an all-night vigil,¹⁰¹ while the latter features another example of unintentional incubation, involving a paralyzed man being brought to the tomb of the former bishop Albinus of Angers and, having fallen asleep, receiving a dream of the saint providing instructions regarding how to be cured miraculously.¹⁰²

Gregory of Tours is the source for the greatest number of accounts of miracles that have been cited as examples of incubation in the early Medieval world, but discussions of the subject typically also include one or more references to such miracles found in the works of others. Chief among these are Augustine's discourse on St. Stephen in *On the City of God*—a subject of particular interest to this bishop of Hippo because of the presence of Stephen's relics in that city and his *martyrium* in nearby Uzalis—as well as the broader treatment in the anonymous (and long thought Augustinian) hagiography *On the Miracles of St. Stephen*.¹⁰³ Among the nineteen miracles recorded in the latter work, commissioned by Augustine's contemporary and fellow bishop Evodius, is one concerning a paralyzed man who was brought to the shrine and stayed there for some time seeking a cure, until he finally received a dream leading to his recovery, though the dream was not reported to have been solicited.¹⁰⁴ The miracles of Stephen at Uzalis occupy a significant portion of Augustine's discussion of miracles in *City of God*, among which is one involving a dream—the most likely meaning of *per revelationem*—in which a visitor was given a prescription for gout, though it is unclear whether the dream was sought and, if so, whether this occurred at the shrine.¹⁰⁵ But there are also examples of miracles associated with the *martyrium* in both the anonymous *Miracles*

101 Gregory, *Glor. Mart.* 5, pp. 490–491.

102 Gregory, *Glor. Conf.* 94, pp. 808–809.

103 August., *De civ. D.* 22.8.10–22; Ps.-August., *De miraculis sancti Stephani libri duo*, ed. Meyers 2006, 263–368, with translation and commentary; previous edition *PL* 41, 833–854 (= *BHL* 7860–7861/*CPL* 391). On this shrine of Stephen and the miracles associated with it, see the articles collected in Meyers 2006, as well as Saxer 1980, 245–279. For the widespread practice of communities collecting the miracles performed by their local saints, including at Uzalis, see Moreira 2000, 125–131.

104 Ps.-August., *Mir. Steph.* 1.11 (= *PL* 41, 839–840). See Delehaye 1925, 83 and MacMullen 1997, 127 (with n. 79), considering this an example of incubation; cf. Saxer 1980, 250 and Wacht 1997, 251.

105 August., *De civ. D.* 22.8.14; treated by MacMullen as evidence for incubation (see previous note).

and Augustine's work that clearly should not be linked to incubation.¹⁰⁶ Two examples of apparently unintentional incubation set in Britain—the only episodes that have been linked by scholars to incubation being practiced there in early Medieval times—are both set at the same site, which Deubner believed not to be a coincidence.¹⁰⁷ The more noteworthy can be found in the eighth-century writings of another prominent Church figure, the Venerable Bede, who describes the second Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Laurentius, deciding to sleep in the church of Peter and Paul (later St. Augustine's Abbey) the night before departing from Britain and, after first devoting himself to much prayer and weeping regarding the Church's problems, falling asleep and envisioning Peter reprimanding and whipping him.¹⁰⁸ The other episode, a miraculous cure experienced by a man after praying at the tomb of St. Letardus, who was interred at this church, and then envisioning the saint when overcome by sleep (*sopore depresso adstitit pius Pater*), is preserved in an anonymous work devoted to Letardus from the seventh century.¹⁰⁹

Another saint unconvincingly associated with incubation is Maximinus, the former bishop at Trier and subject of a short eighth-century *Life* linking him to a number of posthumous miracles,¹¹⁰ including two cures at his tomb that are not said to have involved a dream.¹¹¹ More telling, however, is another miracle attributed to Maximinus, since it illustrates that it was the act of sleeping in close proximity to a saint's remains rather than merely dreaming of the saint that was most important for obtaining a cure: the eighth-century Frankish leader Carolus Martellus (*i.e.*, Charles Martel),

106 Most notably, Miller has misconstrued an episode recounted twice by Augustine regarding Paulus, a young man afflicted by a nervous disorder who prays before Stephen's relics and collapses for a time before rising up completely healed—certainly an account of what those present would have perceived as a healing miracle, but not, as Miller states, “a Christianized version of Asclepian incubation, although the lying-in for the purpose of sleep and attendant dream is, admittedly, briefer, colored as it is by the aura of instantaneous miracle” (Miller (P.) 1994, 107, on August., *Serm.* 322 (= *PL* 38, 1443–1445); similar version in August., *De civ. D.* 22.8.22). In the *Miracles*, see, *e.g.* Ps.-August., *Mir. Steph.* 1.4 and 1.13 (= *PL* 41, 836–837, 840), the former involving a therapeutic dream received at home and the latter a cure after an eight-day stay that occurred without a dream-appearance by the saint.

107 See Deubner (L.) 1900, 58, apparently the first to associate the site with incubation.

108 Bede, *Hist. eccl.* 2.6. Linked to incubation in Wacht 1997, 251, following Deubner.

109 Anon., *Vit. S. Letardi* 6, edited in *AA.SS.*, Feb. III, p. 475 (= *BHL* 4893).

110 Anon., *Vita de Sancto Maximino episcopo Trevirensi*, edited in *AA.SS.*, May VII, pp. 21–25 (= *BHL* 5822–5823). Linked to incubation in Deubner (L.) 1900, 60–61 and Hamilton (M.) 1906, 163–166, and partly followed by Wacht 1997, 254.

111 Anon., *Vit. Maximini* 8, p. 23D and 10, p. 23F.

suffering from a serious fever and having dreamed that the saint had advised him to visit his tomb for a cure, had traveled to the church and fallen asleep before Maximinus's tomb, dreaming of him for a second time and regaining his health.¹¹² The sixth-century Merovingian bishop and poet Venantius Fortunatus has also been cited as a source for incubation in Gaul, particularly a poem partly devoted to recounting seven posthumous miracles of St. Medard that were associated with his tomb in Soissons, but the healing miracles in question are attributed to the sufferer's proximity to the tomb rather than dreams.¹¹³ Elsewhere in Gaul the tomb of the seventh-century bishop Eligius of Noviomagus (modern Noyon) has also been associated with incubation, though the passages of the anonymous, eighth-century *Life of Eligius, Bishop of Noviomagus* cited do not appear to indicate that dreams were intentionally sought there.¹¹⁴ A saint's tomb is likewise the

112 Anon., *Vit. Maximini* 12, p. 24AB.

113 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 2.16, ed. Reydellet; linked to incubation in Deubner (L.) 1900, 59 and Wacht 1997, 254. Lines 65–160 describe the seven miracles, which include a woman with a withered hand regaining its function when she came to the tomb (ll. 105–122) and a blind man who received a dream instructing him to come to the shrine, where he was cured after spending two days close to the tomb (ll. 139–156). Another work of Fortunatus that is discussed by Klaniczay 2012, 151, 153–155 in the context of dream-healing in Gaul does not contribute to our knowledge of incubation in the Medieval West, either: two of the dream-related miracles in Fortunatus's *Life of St. Radegund*, the sixth-century Frankish queen who became an abbess and later a saint, are irrelevant, since the first concerns a *monacha* (i.e., nun) having her life saved after receiving on her death bed an apparently unsolicited therapeutic dream of the apparently still living future saint, while the second tells of a tribune of the *fiscus* dreaming of Radegund on the day she died, which cannot possibly be considered incubation because there was neither a cult site for this saint nor a reason to view the dream as solicited (Venantius Fortunatus, *De vita S. Radegundis* 1.35, 1.38 (= *MGH, SRM* II, pp. 375, 376, ed. Krusch (= *BHL* 7048/*CPL* 1042))). Fortunatus's *Life of Germanus, Bishop of Paris* has also been cited in this context, since Deubner treated as relevant the story of a blind man cured by dreaming of seeing the Cross, even though no mention is made of the dream's having been sought (*Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci* 55 (= *MGH, SRM* VII, pp. 405–406, ed. Krusch (= *BHL* 3468/*CPL* 1039)); see Deubner, *ibid.*, 62–63).

114 There are two standard texts of the *Vita* (*BHL* 2474/*CPL* 2094), though the later one (Anon., *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, *MGH, SRM* IV, pp. 634–742, ed. Krusch (cf. *MGH, SRM* VII, pp. 842–844) omits several miracles found in the earlier (Ps.-Aldwin of Rouen, *Vita S. Eligii episcopi Noviomensis* (= *PL* 87, 477–594)). The miracle cited by Deubner and Wacht, concerning a woman who is mute and blind, involved an unintentional dream (*Vit. Eligii* 2.52, p. 729, ed. Krusch (= 2.51, *PL* 87, 578A–B); see Deubner (L.) 1900, 59 and Wacht 1997, 253–254), while one cited by Wacht as pertaining to incubation only involved being cured while lying at the saint's tomb but did not refer to a dream (2.48, *PL* 87, 576C–D; see Wacht, *ibid.*, 254). While a number of other miraculous cures are attributed by this

focus of a tale that is thought to represent an example of incubation at Rome: according to the *Suffering of St. Agnes* spuriously attributed to Ambrose, the emperor Constantine's daughter Constantina, herself a future saint, when sick had fallen asleep at Agnes's tomb and received a vision, apparently unintentionally.¹¹⁵ Similarly, according to Gregory the Great, Redemptus, a sixth-century bishop of Ferentino, while visiting the church at which Eutychius—almost certainly the saint martyred at Messina—was entombed became tired and asked for a bed near his remains so that he could rest there, and ended up seeing the saint in a vision.¹¹⁶

It has also been thought that incubation was practiced elsewhere in Italy, at a site with great significance—Monte Gargano, where Calchas had issued dreams at his cenotaph in previous centuries.¹¹⁷ In early Medieval times it was not this Greek prophet but the archangel Michael who was venerated there, at the church of S. Michele Arcangelo, which according to legend was established in a cave following repeated appearances of Michael to a local bishop.¹¹⁸ The angelic epiphany has occasionally been viewed as significant in light of the site's history, but there is only one attestation of an individual receiving dreams from Michael there, and this is described ambiguously: according to the *Life of Ma(g)dalveus*, a bishop of Verdun in the mid-eighth century, he had visited "the church of the archangel, before whose doors, sleeping outside for several nights, he was comforted by angelic consolations and gladdened by divine revelations" (*Archangeli ecclesia, cuius pro foribus aliquantis excubans noctibus confortatur Angelicis consolationibus, exhilaratur divinis revelationibus*), but no indication is given that he had sought these "consolations" and "revelations," at least some of which were presumably received through

work to Eligius, these do not appear to reflect the practice of incubation at his shrine, either.

115 Ps.-Ambrose, *Passio S. Agnetis* (= *Epist.* 1), §15–16, edited in *AA.SS.* Jan. II, p. 717 (= §§17–18, *PL* 17, 820A–C (= *BHL* 156/*CPL* 2159)), cited as evidence for incubation by Wacht 1997, 251.

116 Greg., *Dial.* 3.38, linked to incubation by Deubner (L.) 1900, 57–58, 61 and Wacht 1997, 251. See also Delehaye 1927, 145–146, who recognized this episode as one of "unintentional incubation," but did not use the (as yet uncoined) phrase.

117 See p. 322.

118 Anon., *Liber de apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*, *MGH, SRL*, pp. 541–543, ed. Waitz (= *BHL* 5948), previously dated c. 663–750 CE, now thought to have originated at the end of the sixth century. For the church's early history, especially issues relating to the contents of this work, see Otranto 1983, Arnold (J.) 2000, Everett 2002, and Sinisi 2014 (with discussion of date at p. 50); see also Graf von Keyserlingk 1987, 215–239 (including discussion of Calchas's shrine at pp. 220–224), and Santer 2011 for the site's history to the current day.

dreams.¹¹⁹ Thus Italy, like the other western lands, has been viewed by some scholars as a place where Christian incubation can be detected, but arguably deserves to have been included in Peter Brown's declaration that "There is no incubation in Gaul," since the same types of problems and issues to be found in the writings of Gregory of Tours are present in the sources for the other regions.

XVI.4 Sources for Christian Incubation as Evidence for Incubation in Ancient Cults

The subject of Christian incubation during the early Byzantine and early Medieval periods is large and complex, and still in need of further investigation in order to expand our understanding of early Christianity. However, putting aside the question of whether the Christians did engage in incubation loosely or closely modeled on Greek antecedents, it has not been sufficiently appreciated that Christian incubation can also be of use for the study of incubation among the various cults of the Greco-Roman world. To date there have been few detailed treatments of what was involved in terms of rituals, prayers or other activities when a suppliant spent one or more days and nights seeking a miraculous cure at a Christian holy site, but these reveal several parallels with the earlier practices.¹²⁰ More importantly, the pertinent sources not only

119 Anon., *Vit. S. Magdalvei episcopi* 2.24, edited in *AA.ss.*, Oct. IV, p. 538 (= *BHL* 5133); see Otranto 1983, 220n.42, 242–243, concluding both that there was incubation at this site and comparing it with Michael's church at Anaplous in Constantinople (see p. 765). (Otranto's suggestion at p. 220 that there was incubation in the cult of Michael at Colosse can be discounted, since it relies on an irrelevant hagiographical tale (Anon., *Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀρχιππου καὶ προσμοναρίου τοῦ πανσέπτου οἴκου τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν ταῖς Χώναις* 3, pp. 291–293, ed. Bonnet 1889 (= *BHG* 1282)).)

120 See n. 2 for these works. In addition to similarities in the way one went about obtaining a saint's help and, when necessary, acting upon any instructions received in a dream, the experiences of these worshipers and their pagan ancestors who had engaged in incubation were often similar in certain other ways. For example, Christians sometimes were summoned by a saint or saints to their shrine in order to be healed (e.g., *Vit. Maximini* 12 (see pp. 787–788); see Moreira 2000, 131–132), as Aelius Aristides, Marcus Julius Apellas and others had been summoned to *Asklepieia* (see p. 215n.238). (In one case a Christian source, the *Life of Severus* composed by Zacharias Scholasticus, tells of a non-Christian, Asklepiodotos, being summoned to the Menouthis shrine of the "demon" Isis (quoted pp. 374–375), which shows that early Christians might despise the old gods, but could still believe them to be appearing in their worshipers' dreams and issuing advice.) The nature of the therapeutic dreams described in the different hagiographical sources

parallel the sources for incubation in earlier eras, but can also on occasion supplement them. As already noted in a previous appendix, for example, the *Miracles of the Unpaid Saints Kosmas and Damian* features three tales of cures in which men and women were sleeping in close proximity at the *Kosmidion*, which is pertinent to the question of whether the genders would mix in the incubation structures at *Asklepieia* and other sanctuaries.¹²¹ Another issue regarding where Asklepios's worshipers would incubate, at least at Pergamon and Athens, concerns whether the wealthy might be able to do so in a special area to which the poor would not have access, and one of the miracles of Cyrus and John at Menouthis recounted by Sophronios suggests that the saints' wealthier patients could pay more to sleep closer to the tomb, since it was believed that the power of saints' bodies and relics was strongest right above or adjacent to them.¹²² A somewhat related issue involves the sleeping arrangements for those engaging in incubation at *Asklepieia* and other such sites, with limited evidence existing for worshipers bringing bedding materials to a sanctuary, and there are parallels for such a practice among Artemios's *Miracles*, three of which refer to a mattress being brought to the church.¹²³ In addition

shows a range of approaches employed by the saints, with Cyrus and John at Menouthis issuing prescriptions and instructions but never performing surgery and rarely touching the sleeper, in contrast to both Artemios and his fellow saints Kosmas and Damian at Constantinople (see Montserrat 2005, 235), and this is somewhat reminiscent of the way that earlier sources for Asklepios describe healing miracles that frequently involved the god's touching or operating on an ailing worshiper, whereas later sources referred primarily to his prescriptions (see pp. 216–218). Moreover, as noted by Montserrat, the prescriptions of Cyrus and John were similar to those issued by doctors, which reflects a parallel with the significant overlap between several of Asklepios's prescriptions and those known from the medical writings (Montserrat, *ibid.*, 235–237; for Asklepios, see p. 235). There is also another parallel that pertains to doctors: among both accounts of saints' cures and testimonies of cures obtained from Asklepios and other gods there are to be found a number of comments that the sick person had first consulted one or more physicians, only turning to a divine healer when human medicine proved ineffective (see Haldon 1997, 44–45 and Wacht 1997, 262 for the Christian sources, and for Asklepios and other gods see p. 23). This failure of human practitioners was due in no small part to the nature of the ailments: as has been shown was the case for those seeking Asklepios's help (see p. 23n.69), the medical problems that would bring an individual to a saint's shrine were typically chronic in nature, and often did not have an effective cure available.

121 *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 24–26 (see pp. 631–632).

122 Sophr., *Thaum.* 24; see Montserrat 2005, 235. Pergamon and Athens: see pp. 136–137n.48.

123 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 10, 13, 37. In the first of these it is parents who brought a mattress or bedding (σπρωμνή) for their ailing son to sleep on—one of a number of miracle tales showing family members accompanying a sick person to the holy site, as is known from

to the physical location and sleeping arrangements considered best for engaging in incubation, its duration is another issue worth considering: some of the tales of miraculous cures obtained in this manner, including Sophronios's own account of having his eye problem cured at Menouthis, required multiple dreams received over a period of time, and this can give some sense of how often visitors to *Asklepieia* and similar sites may likewise have had to stay for some period of time.¹²⁴ It has been common, if not standard, for studies of Christian incubation to include relatively brief discussions of the pagan antecedents and to some extent to present them as comparanda; but, conversely, as these examples show, it is quite clear that the Christian sources can inform us regarding certain aspects of incubation as it was practiced at *Asklepieia* and other incubation sanctuaries, regardless of the gap in time and the possibility that there was not a direct link between the pagans' and Christians' practices. The early Christians, after all, were not so completely different from earlier worshipers, as is shown by the very fact that many of them would sleep at holy sites seeking divine aid, and that those sites would not have seemed wholly alien to their ancestors.

XVI.5 Is "Christian Incubation" a Misleading Category of Religious Practice?

As noted above, one prominent scholar has concluded that "There is no incubation in Gaul," and it has been more broadly recognized by others, most notably Hippolyte Delehay, that the sources for incubation in the early Medieval world are insignificant compared to the richer Byzantine sources.¹²⁵ However, it can be argued that the evidence for incubation in the Byzantine world is itself ambiguous at best, exceeding the Latin sources in quantity without being qualitatively different in terms of content—as is especially evident in

pre-Christian sources as well. For the use of mattresses and pillows at Greek sites, see p. 258.

124 Sophr., *Thaum.* 70. See Graf 2015, 263 (p. 137 of 2013 version) on this point, though suggesting that lengthy visits to *Asklepieia* were relatively rare and based on "personal and not necessarily health-related reasons," even though the evidence from the cult of Asklepios is insufficient for us to know how typical long stays were; and, moreover, one can argue that there must have been Christian counterparts to Aristides and presumably many other worshipers of Asklepios over the centuries whose lengthy stays at *Asklepieia* may have been "personal" (*i.e.*, psychological) rather than strictly physiological. (For the issue of length of stays at *Asklepieia*, see pp. 236–237.)

125 See Delehay 1927, 145–146 (quoted p. 802).

the similar lack of references to dreams as having been solicited. Indeed, even the account by Sophronios of his own cure for an eye ailment at the hands of Cyrus and John in Menouthis describes the dreams he received, but does not state that he had slept there seeking them.¹²⁶ The issue at the heart of this matter, as is rarely recognized, is how to define “incubation,” for which the Christians did not have a term, in the context of early Christianity: if it refers specifically to the practice of visiting a holy site and asking a saint or saints to appear in one’s dreams and provide some form of aid, then the evidence for such a phenomenon is little better for the Greek East than it is for the Latin West;¹²⁷ however, if taken more broadly to refer to staying and sleeping at a holy site and praying for aid to be delivered in some manner—which could be, but did not have to be, a direct visitation in a dream—there is abundant evidence in the East and substantial evidence in the West.¹²⁸ The most basic meaning of the traditional terms ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι/ἐγκαθεύδειν/*incubare*, after all, is “to sleep within,” so sleeping in a sanctuary hoping for aid would seem to qualify as a form of incubation. But there is a significant difference between this and what is attested for *Asklepieia* and similar sites, where worshipers would spend the night, usually in a specially designated structure, after having engaged in rituals deliberately intended to solicit not just any form of aid, but a dream-oracle of a prophetic or therapeutic nature specifically—rituals that at some (or perhaps even most) sites were so well established as to be officially mandated by means of inscribed cult regulations. While it is fine to use either meaning for “incubation,” the fact is that scholars, most of whom have favored the second, broader approach, have typically failed to note this issue, creating the misleading impression that Christian incubation was essentially the same as traditional incubation, and indeed that they were so similar that there was a direct evolution from one to the other.¹²⁹ But since the evidence for dreams being solicited at Christian holy sites is negligible, if the term “Christian incubation” is to have any validity as a category of religious practice it should apply more broadly to the widespread custom of seeking divine aid in whatever form it might come at a holy site while resting or sleeping—even if we do not know how much importance was placed by those doing so on seeking dreams. Either

126 Sophr., *Thaum.* 70.

127 See p. 753 for Graf’s traditional definition of incubation.

128 Similarly, examples of “unintentional incubation” are quite common in both the Greek and Latin sources and represent a tangential issue, other than the fact that so many of the miracles that scholars have treated as incubation are clearly described as unintentional.

129 A rare exception is Luigi Canetti, who in his important recent article on incubation in the Medieval West has explored some of the pertinent issues (see below).

way, scholars using the term should indicate precisely how they intend it to be understood, recognizing the nature of the distinctions that can be made, and also that using the broader definition without qualification can be problematic because it masks our ignorance concerning much that we would like to know.

A detailed survey of all of the sources that have been cited as evidence for incubation in the Latin West, as can be seen above, reveals that not one account of miraculous aid delivered by Martin, Stephen or another saint at a holy site states that the recipient had asked for this to occur in a dream. Moreover, it is clear that visiting a church or shrine was not essential to seeking a saint's miraculous assistance in general, and that the same types of dreams that would be received at such sites could also be received at one's home or elsewhere.¹³⁰ With no obvious pattern of worshipers visiting holy sites to ask saints for curative (or revelatory) dreams, and with abundant evidence for such dreams instead being received *away* from holy sites as well as for the saints delivering assistance in a broad range of ways that did not involve dreams or even require visiting a church or shrine, there is no reason to conclude that incubation—as it would have been recognized by a worshiper of Asklepios—was a feature of early Medieval Christianity. Thus Brown and others, implicitly using the narrower standard, were justified in concluding that there was little or no incubation being practiced in Gaul and other western lands. However, as indicated above, it has not been properly recognized that the same criticisms can be applied to the much more abundant sources associated with incubation in the eastern half of the Mediterranean world during the same period, if one likewise maintains a narrow definition. The limited nature of the evidence has been obscured by the hagiographical works describing dozens of miraculous cures delivered by a small group of saints through dreams at Constantinople, Menouthis, Seleukia, and Thessalonika, which have made incubation seem an essential element of their worship—and this, in turn, has made the association of other eastern saints with incubation on the basis of usually just one or two miracles an accepted practice among scholars for more than a century.¹³¹ But the dream-related miracles that comprise the bulk of the hagiographies of the former group, and that also are found scattered through those of the latter, are essentially the same as the scattered episodes that have been used by some to associate Martin and certain other western saints with incubation—the primary difference between eastern and western sources is not so much in the nature of the miracles as the extent to which they were the focus of the hagiographer, with certain works on eastern saints featuring a very high percentage of

130 See n. 11.

131 See especially the unreliable conclusions collected in n. 3.

dream-related miracles, in contrast to those for several western saints credited with at least one dream-related miracle having a low percentage.¹³²

When one studies the miracles attributed to the eastern saints who were most prominently associated with incubation it becomes apparent that the noticeably large number of dream-related miracles has masked the fact that the narratives do not describe the dreams as having been deliberately sought at a holy site. Roughly 75% of the miracles attributed to Kosmas and Damian and Cyrus and John in their respective hagiographies involved dreams received at their churches in Constantinople and Menouthis, but not one of these dreams is said to have been solicited, and some clearly were not. Indeed, the two collections feature only two accounts of miracles that could arguably be considered exceptions: in the case of Kosmas and Damian there is one that is not wholly pertinent because it involved a pagan seeking a revelation leading to a conversion, while dreams experienced by the author Sophronios himself are not said to have been sought, but it can be inferred that these were not necessarily unexpected.¹³³ Of the other miracles attributed to Kosmas and Damian in the primary collection, there is a roughly even balance among those describing therapeutic dreams received at the *Kosmidion* but not said to have been sought, with accounts of similarly unsolicited dreams featuring a prescription or instruction leading to a cure, and those describing miraculous cures obtained there but without reference to a dream, while a smaller number involved dreams received elsewhere (some health-related).¹³⁴ In contrast, the majority of the seventy miracles described by Sophronios, in what is the longest and most detailed of the pertinent hagiographies, involved therapeutic dreams, a significant number of them providing either prescriptions—some, especially the ones found in the second half of the work, being prescriptions reminiscent of those found in sources for the cult of Asklepios—or instructions to engage in one or more rituals or some other activity.¹³⁵ In the case of

¹³² See n. 11.

¹³³ Kosmas and Damian: *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 10. Sophronios: Sophr., *Thaum.* 70. See also Sophr., *Thaum.* 27.4, in which an ailing visitor is said to have lain down on a couch so as to await the saints' aid.

¹³⁴ Therapeutic dreams: *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 1, 13, 17, 21, 22, 23, 25, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38; cf. 12, 26. Prescriptive/instructive dreams: *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 2, 3, 6, 8, 11, 29. Cures without dreams: *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 5, 7, 15, 16, 19, 31; cf. 12, 20, 28. Dreams received away from *Kosmidion*: *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 14, 27, 32, 36. In addition, *Mir. Cosm. et Dam.* 24 tells the story of the mute woman and paralytic found in the hagiographies of other saints (see n. 47).

¹³⁵ Therapeutic dreams: Sophr., *Thaum.* 14, 16, 21, 37, 42, 48, 56, 69; cf. 1. Prescriptive/instructive dreams: Sophr., *Thaum.* 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70; cf. 4

the two cults it is certainly plausible that hearing of the significant number of miracles involving dream-visitations would encourage the sick to visit their churches hoping that they, too, might receive aid directly and swiftly in the form of a dream, but even if so we can only speculate that they would *ask* for this form of aid.

Another illustrative example is to be seen in the collection devoted to Artemios, the seventh-century work that is generally treated as clear evidence that this saint would cure the sick through incubation at a church of John the Baptist in Constantinople's Oxeia quarter.¹³⁶ Close examination of the accounts of forty-five miracles narrated by the unknown author of his *Miracles* does not support this, however: twenty-four of them do record that this saint (or, in the case of a female visitor, St. Febronia) had cured directly or indirectly through a dream or vision, but none of these is said to have been solicited, and one of the sick individuals said to have experienced such attention had fallen asleep accidentally;¹³⁷ fourteen involve a dream received away from the church, sometimes after having visited it and then left;¹³⁸ four of the miracles occurred without the beneficiary sleeping or dreaming, or the saint's even appearing;¹³⁹ and, there are even examples of a miracle involving an appearance by Artemios in a non-therapeutic dream received away from the church and of a dream that was received at an unidentified location.¹⁴⁰ Only a single miracle account even hints at a curative dream having been solicited at the Oxeia church, one including the detail that the young man "gave forth cries

and 52 (waking visions). Non-therapeutic dreams: Sophr., *Thaum.* 31, 32, 62. Cures without dream: Sophr., *Thaum.* 12, 15, 19, 41, 45. Dreams received away from church: Sophr., *Thaum.* 13, 29, 33. Not all of these dreams came right away, however, which undermines the idea of visiting the saints' shrine, seeking a dream, and then receiving it: one miracle tells of blindness being cured by means of a dream after a year (Sophr., *Thaum.* 37), while another man had to wait for two years before the saints came to him in a dream (Sophr., *Thaum.* 48).

136 For Artemios, see p. 764.

137 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45 (Febronia). No. 29 is an example of unintentional incubation during an all-night vigil (on which see p. 754).

138 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, 27, 31, 34, 39, 40, 44.

139 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 4, 17, 19, 21. Nos. 19 and 21 show the use of holy oil from Artemios's tomb being applied to the afflicted area in the hope of a cure, rather than the suppliant's seeking help from the saint in a dream. The latter even quotes the prayer addressed to Artemios, which includes the plea "cure me" (ἰασαί με), rather than "cure me in a dream," or the phrase "come to me" known from some pagan sources for pre-incubatory prayers (see Appendix v).

140 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 18, 20.

of lamentation, begging the saint to visit him" (φωνὰς θρήνων ἀφιέναι αὐτόν, ἐξαϊτούμενον τὸν ἅγιον ἐπισκέψασθαι αὐτόν)—a term that can have medical connotations, *i.e.* a physician's visit—but this narrative is problematic because it states that after this sufferer had begged the saint to assist him it was a warden (προσμονάριος) who had told him how to get relief while he slept that night, and it was only on the second night that he dreamed of Artemios himself healing, thus representing a gap of roughly twenty-four hours between cries of lamentation and dream-epiphany.¹⁴¹ Balanced against this, however, are some other accounts of Artemios's miracles that include details suggesting that incubation was not emphasized at Oxeia, such as a church warden advising one visitor that he could leave and still be miraculously cured by the saint, as others had been cured remotely.¹⁴² More broadly, many of these accounts simply state that the sick person visiting the church was waiting to be cured, as opposed to waiting specifically for Artemios to appear in a dream and effect that cure. Like Artemios, Kosmas and Damian, and Cyrus and John, the collections of miracles that according to scholarly tradition have designated Demetrios, Thekla and Therapon as saints who cured through incubation follow similar patterns, and do not indicate that dreams were specifically sought at their respective churches. This has already been pointed out regarding Thekla by Graf in his recent study, since as noted above only two of the twelve "helpful" dreams collected in her *Life and Miracles* were received at her church.¹⁴³ Similarly, few of the fifteen miracles collected in the encomium to Therapon involve any sort of communication from the saint, with most of the cures having been received simply by visiting the church of Mary where he was venerated, sometimes after waiting a significant period.¹⁴⁴

In contrast to Therapon's encomium, the main collection of Demetrios's miracles consists mostly of those involving dreams—which is partly why it has received significantly more attention from those working on Christian

141 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 41.

142 Anon., *Mir. Artemii* 44.

143 See n. 42. The miracles in question are Anon., *Mir. Theclae* 17–18, both concerning the saint's appearance in the dreams of visitors whose legs had been broken in accidents, and whose ability to walk was in both cases restored instantaneously. In addition, Anon., *Mir. Theclae* 39 tells of a sick non-Christian sophist sleeping at Thekla's Aegae church and receiving a prescription from her, though it is not stated whether the dream was solicited, while *Mir. Theclae* 41 states that the saint had cured this anonymous author's ear ailment in a dream in the days before he was a senior priest, from which it can be inferred that he was sleeping in his own bed somewhere in the church complex rather than among the suppliants.

144 Anon., *Enc. Therap.* 15–21, pp. 127–130, ed. Deubner (L.) 1900 (see n. 37).

incubation—but only a few of the accounts pertain to sick people visiting his church at Thessalonika, with the majority instead describing miracles illustrating his roles as protector of the city during crises or overseer of his church.¹⁴⁵ Though the author of the larger collection, an archbishop of Thessalonika, does more than once make general comments about the saint's numerous healing miracles,¹⁴⁶ and also notes that during a time of plague Demetrios would heal those who took refuge at his church while appearing to them at night,¹⁴⁷ only two accounts pertain to the healing of individuals, and while one does involve a dream received at the church after praying for help, the other is about a sick person who recovers upon arriving there.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the case of a soldier possessed by a demon being exorcized when he apparently stays overnight at the church does not involve a dream and certainly does not qualify as incubation since the visit and stay were compelled by the individual's comrades.¹⁴⁹ The other miracles in this collection are unrelated to personal health, instead concerning a range of situations: two involved unsolicited dreams regarding Demetrios's church,¹⁵⁰ three represent examples of the saint making an appearance to someone far from his church during a crisis (which can be contrasted with three other times when the saint's miraculous intervention on behalf of Thessalonika did not involve his appearing in a dream or vision),¹⁵¹ another involved a dream received by a prominent citizen at the church likewise during a time of crisis,¹⁵² and there is one case of Demetrios punishing someone for blasphemy.¹⁵³ Thus while it is clear that Demetrios was believed to appear to residents of Thessalonika for both private and public matters, and mosaics from his church attest to his role of healer,¹⁵⁴ the amount of evidence for therapeutic incubation in this work is quite limited.

145 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* (= Collection A) (see n. 41).

146 E.g., John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* §§7–8 (= pp. 52–53, ed. Lemerle).

147 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 3 (at §39).

148 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 1 (at §§20–21), 2. For examples of miraculously sudden recoveries experienced by some visiting *Asklepieia* without the benefit of a dream, see p. 214n.237.

149 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 4.

150 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 6, 7.

151 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 8, 9, and 10 (appearances); see also 12, 13, 14 (interventions). (Of the six miracles in Collection B, only one involved the saint's appearance, and the setting was not his church.)

152 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 15.

153 John of Thessalonika, *Mir. Demetr.* 11.

154 See Bakirtzis 2014.

Even if these hagiographical works do not state that curative dreams were being deliberately sought from these saints, the fact remains that works highlighting their ability to heal in this manner were composed about them—but not, to our knowledge, other saints—and this, understandably, has led to the conclusion that incubation was regularly practiced at their churches. There are two obvious explanations of this: the first is that something unusual was indeed thought to have been happening at certain churches in terms of frequent dream-appearances made by this small group of saints, and their respective hagiographies accurately reflect this; the second is that the frequency of dream-related miracles linked to these saints was not particularly unusual but the authors of the works recounting their miracles included a disproportionately high number of dream-related ones in their collections, either because of a personal interest in such miracles or a belief that tales of their visitations were especially noteworthy proof of the saints' virtues. Neither explanation should be ruled out, especially since it is clear that some hagiographers did have a particular interest in dreams, but there is also reason to think that certain saints *were* associated with dream-appearances more than others. Whether this means that incubation was practiced at their holy sites, however, cannot be known.

The best piece of evidence that at certain churches there was indeed a belief that the saint or saints would regularly visit the sick in their dreams and cure them is one that has often been overlooked, the reference by Gregory of Tours in his late-sixth-century *Glory of the Martyrs* to healing by Kosmas and Damian at their church in Cyrrus:

*Nam si quis infirmus ad eorum sepulchrum fide plenus oraverit, statim adipiscitur medicinam. Referunt etiam plerique, apparere eos per visum languentibus et quid faciant indicare; quod cum fecerint, sani discedunt. Ex quibus multa audiui, quae insequi longum putavi, hoc aestimans posse sufficere quod dixi. Cuncti fideliter deprecantes sani discesserunt.*¹⁵⁵

155 Gregory, *Glor. Mart.* 97 (= *MGH, SRM* 1.2, p. 554, ed. Krusch). The passage is quoted by Deubner without comment (Deubner (L.) 1900, 68) and briefly noted by Canetti (Canetti 2010a, 173). That the church in question was the one at Cyrrus is clearly indicated by the reference to the saints' tomb (see n. 34). Gregory's interest in Kosmas and Damian was strong enough that he introduced relics of the two saints to the Tours cathedral where St. Martin had served (*Hist. Franc.* 10.31 (= *MGH, SRM* 1.1, p. 448, ed. Arndt)).

For if anyone who is ill prays at their tomb filled with faith, immediately he obtains healing. And many even report that they [*i.e.*, Kosmas and Damian] appear in a vision to those who are infirm and indicate what they should do—and when they have done it, they depart healthy. From them I have heard many things, a subject which I think would take long to pursue, so I am of the opinion that what I have said should be sufficient. All praying faithfully have departed healthy.

Even if the passage does not reveal the deliberate practice of incubation, since it only refers to prayer but not seeking direct encounters specifically, the fact that it says that some seeking a cure would obtain one by following an instruction issued by the saints makes it clear that by the last decade of the sixth century something quite unusual involving therapeutic dreams was happening in the cult of Kosmas and Damian.¹⁵⁶ after all, Gregory does not make a similar comment for any of the roughly one hundred other saints (or pairs or groups of saints) whom he discusses in this work or the similar *Glory of the Confessors*. Indeed, none of the other saints commonly associated with incubation—Artemios, Cyrus and John, Demetrios, Thekla or Therapon, all of whom were martyrs and thus eligible for inclusion—is even mentioned in *Glory of the Martyrs*, and while their respective cults had not all achieved significant prominence by Gregory's day, presumably if these saints were regularly appearing in dreams and healing sick visitors at their holy sites word would have reached Gregory, as it did regarding Kosmas and Damian in distant Syria.¹⁵⁷

The other example of something unusual occurring along these lines at a holy site is to be found in Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History* and concerns the archangel Michael—who, being neither a martyr nor a confessor, was not a suitable topic for Gregory's two works—at Constantinople, where as noted above his Anaplous church was described by the author as the setting of an

156 Presumably, the use of *facere* in the phrase *quid faciant indicare* rather than language indicating a medical prescription shows that Gregory believed the patients of Kosmas and Damian to be receiving instructions that they touch the tomb, use holy oil, or engage in another such ritual activity (see n. 168 for other examples).

157 Though based in part on an *argumentum ex silentio*, it is possible that Gregory's reference to frequent curative dreams in the cult of Kosmas and Damian but his lack of similar references for the other eastern saints who likewise would become known for this *modus operandi* is an indication that this phenomenon became a significant feature of their cult first—a conclusion supported by the fact that the earliest works recording their dream-related miracles of this sort likewise date to the sixth century. See p. 763.

episode strikingly similar to therapeutic incubation.¹⁵⁸ On top of this, Sozomen also described the church as a place where “it has been believed that the divine archangel Michael would become manifest inside” (πεπίστευται ἐνθάδε ἐπιφαίνεσθαι Μιχαήλ τὸν θεῖον ἀρχάγγελον).¹⁵⁹ The verb ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, however, is an ambiguous one that can refer to a visible appearance by a divinity, but also some development or event believed to be a sign of divine intervention—which could include a miraculous cure—and thus this phrase cannot be viewed as clear evidence for Michael appearing in dreams and visions, although the verb’s not having been widely used for interventions by saints means that its application to the archangel’s role at this church may well be significant and suggest that this was indeed the case. In addition, the tendency of Artemios and some of these other healer saints to be envisioned as physicians and even to be making the rounds of patients as though in a hospital represents a very specific pattern, and thus may reveal that something unusual was happening at the church in question, possibly therapeutic incubation.¹⁶⁰

To date there has been no detailed challenge to the general consensus regarding the nature of “Christian incubation,” even though some prominent scholars have expressed varying degrees of skepticism. The most important scholar to do so was Delehaye himself, who ninety years ago stated unambiguously that those believing that incubation had been practiced at Tours and Brioude (*i.e.*, in association with the cults of Martin and Julian) were not taking into account that incubation was more than just simply sleeping at a church, but rather involved going to a church *for the purpose* of sleeping and receiving a communication in a dream:

Ceux qui en ont découvert des traces dans les livres des Miracles de Grégoire oublient trop que l’incubation ne consiste pas à s’endormir dans le temple, ni même à y avoir, durant le rêve, une vision céleste. Il y a

158 Sozom., *Hist. eccl.* 2.3.10–11 (see n. 38).

159 Sozom., *Hist. eccl.* 2.3.9.

160 See especially Csepregi 2012. A telling example is *Mir. Artemii* 6, in which it is stated that “The saint is accustomed to go through the portico on the left like one running a hospital, just as many have often been assured by their experience” (ἐν τῷ οὖν εὐωνύμῳ ἐμβόλῳ πάροδον ὡς ἐπὶ ξενώνος εἰώθει ποιεῖν ὁ ἅγιος, καθὼς τῇ πείρᾳ πολλοὶ πολλάκις πεπληροφόρηται); see also *Mir. Artemii* 2, 42 and 44, in which Artemios appears “in the form of a physician” (ἐν σχήματι ἰατροῦ).

incubation lorsqu'on se rend à l'église pour dormir, et recevoir pendant le sommeil, une communication du patron du lieu.¹⁶¹

Two years later, Delehayé commented that "On a certainement exagéré la diffusion dans le monde chrétien du rite de l'incubation, et notamment dans l'Église latine," noting that many of the cited examples bear no more resemblance to incubation than Gregory the Great's anecdote concerning the bishop Redemptus, which is an example of unintentional incubation.¹⁶² Two decades later Domenico Mallardo, in contrast, had challenged the need for incubation to be defined narrowly and depend on a dream being requested, noting the similarities between what was described in the *Miracles of St. Agnello* and what was known to have occurred at *Asklepieia*.¹⁶³ Most of the skepticism that has been expressed concerns the Latin sources. Pierre-André Sigal, citing a different work by Delehayé and the previously quoted comment of Peter Brown that "There is no incubation in Gaul," notes the questionable nature of these sources, since they do not specifically refer to people *seeking* sleep.¹⁶⁴ Brigitte Beaujard, emphasizing the frequent examples of unintentional incubation that Delehayé had recognized, distinguishes between pagan worshipers for whom sleeping at a cult site was an essential ritual element of incubation, and the Christians visiting holy sites who would often be surprised by sleep as they were resting.¹⁶⁵ Luigi Canetti, in contrast, in discussing the pertinent miracles in the Latin sources placed importance on a therapeutic intervention being made possible by entering a dream-state in proximity to a saint's tomb or relics, even if this was not specifically invoked:

161 Delehayé 1925, 322–324 (quoting pp. 322–323), responding to Deubner (L.) 1900, 59–60 and Bernoulli 1900, 296–298.

162 See Delehayé 1927, 145–146, citing Greg., *Dial.* 3.38 (see p. 789).

163 See Mallardo 1949, 473.

164 See Sigal 1985, 136–138, and nn. 87 (Brown) and 161 (Delehayé). As Sigal notes, Delehayé's views regarding incubation evolved, since in an earlier edition of his *Les légendes hagiographiques* he had denied that it was practiced at Christian holy sites (Delehayé 1906, 172–173), but in his major 1925 article on miracles he had returned to the issue and stated that it was practiced at several eastern sites (Delehayé 1925, 65–66), a view he maintained by updating his discussion in the third edition of *Les légendes hagiographiques* and indicating that what was occurring at the shrines of these saints was essentially not different from incubation, other than in terms of ritual elements (Delehayé 1927, 143–144).

165 Beaujard 2000, 328–329.

Mi riferisco invece a due tratti perspicui, certo non esclusivi delle antiche ritualità incubatorie ma nondimeno abbastanza specifici da poter circoscrivere un ambito relativamente omogeneo sul piano dei gesti e delle esperienze dichiarate dagli attori stessi. Da un lato, la visita al santuario memoriale alla ricerca di una guarigione (e tale viaggio poteva inserirsi o meno all'interno di una sequenza più ampia: uno o più consulti medici, visite presso altri santi, visioni premonitrici, ecc.); dall'altro, il sonno (*sopor*, *somnium*, ecc.), intenzionale o meno, e non necessariamente notturno, presso il sepolcro del santo o nelle sue vicinanze, implicita garanzia del suo intervento onirico-visionario nonché teatro o comunque premessa della possibile guarigione. Più dell'intento di recarsi a sognare presso il santuario conta la dichiarata esperienza visionaria di un intervento terapeutico del santo.¹⁶⁶

Isabel Moreira has gone into more detail, issuing perhaps the most perceptive statement on the subject of Christian incubation, albeit focusing on the western Church:

Whether Christians approached the shrine, as the pagans did, with the clear intention of having a dream of the god, or kept vigils in the hope that some miraculous cure would occur, the fact was that nighttime at the shrine provided optimal conditions for such an event. "Incubation" sometimes happened by default, as it were. Napping at the shrine may not have been a choice but a necessity occasioned by the fatigue of sickness or long travel. Daytime siestas were common moments when visions occurred: Gregory of Tours saw a vision of his mother at noontime when he snoozed in St. Martin's basilica, and a heavenly voice spoke in a noontime dream to St. Rusticula "as she rested in St. Peter's basilica." The sources make clear that vigils of the sick and travel-weary at the railings of the saint's tomb were often punctuated by periods of sleep, creating the perfect opportunity for dreams of the saint and ensuring that such visions remained an integral part of the drama of healing. The substitution of vigils at the tomb of the Christian saint for a couch before the shrine of a pagan god of healing thus did nothing to diminish the suppliant's avenues of recourse. Indeed, although no permanent provisions were made for sleeping in churches (that is, no dormitories), pilgrims rested on bedding in the courtyards in front of churches. Those occasions when the saint deigned to appear to the sick suppliant were obviously

166 Canetti 2010b, 49–50.

noteworthy and sometimes public events; they remained an important way in which ordinary people encountered the power of the saint in dreams which were reported to, and given authority by, the clergy.¹⁶⁷

As Moreira also notes, dreams were one of a number of ways that an ailing worshiper could be cured at a shrine, since applying either dust from a saint's tomb or oil made holy at one, or just being in close proximity to a tomb or relics, also were believed to have miraculously curative effects: thus, as Moreira concludes, the Christians did not see a qualitative difference between cures obtained at holy sites through dreams or in another manner.¹⁶⁸ William V. Harris has likewise recognized the emphasis placed on merely sleeping at such sites and the numerous tales of people who awoke cured without having dreamed of a saint's intercession, coining the term "dreamless Christian incubation" in reference to one such episode.¹⁶⁹ Even Wacht, whose important encyclopedia entry includes a number of references to ancient sources that upon close inspection do not appear to show that incubation was practiced at a particular holy site, also notes that the boundary of what is called "incubation" is a bit fluid: "Damit wird die Grenze zu dem, was als Inkubation im strengen Sinne anzusehen ist, fließend."¹⁷⁰

Overall, it appears necessary either to redefine the term "Christian incubation" by broadening it so that it applies to sleeping at a holy site seeking divine intervention of any sort—typically from a saint or saints venerated there—or else to recognize that there is not a single piece of evidence that unambiguously points to the practice of incubation at a Christian holy site. It is, of course, certainly possible that people would go to such sites and specifically request that a saint deliver aid in a dream, but without positive evidence for this it may be best to conclude simply that in both the Byzantine and Medieval worlds

167 Moreira 2000, 120.

168 Moreira 2000, 126: "Medieval authors did not distinguish qualitatively between dream-healings and healings effected through the many other sorts of contact with the saint's presence: potions made from the dust of a saint's tomb, contact with the tomb railings or those around the saint's bed, use of candles or holy oil which had been left at the tomb over night, linen cloths (*brandea*) which had absorbed the relics' holiness, and masses said in the saint's honor." See also Ehrenheim 2009, 257–258, noting that not all those visiting Thekla's church expected to envision her in a dream, with other forms of miraculous cure possible.

169 See Harris 2009, 223 with n. 596. The episode, told by Augustine, is an imperfect example because the individual in question had collapsed rather than gone to sleep, however (August., *De civ. D.* 22.8.22; see n. 106).

170 Wacht 1997, 250–251.

when those in need of help would visit a shrine and supplicate themselves they would sometimes stay there long enough to sleep, and when this happened they sometimes would receive a dream and believe that they had been miraculously aided by the saint or saints. Moreover, even without deliberately asking for a dream, at some sites these may have been common because of a heightened expectation of receiving one: just as those visiting the Epidauros *Asklepieion* would read the dozens of testimonies recording the god's miraculous cures and (presumably) be more prone to dream of Asklepios as a result, those who came to Kosmas and Damian's *Kosmidion* in Constantinople or the Menouthis shrine of Cyrus and John after having read or heard of the numerous miracles achieved by the saints through dreams would be similarly prone to dream of saintly intervention. Thus the two collections of dream-related miracles devoted to these two pairs of saints may have served the twofold purpose of recording past miracles while encouraging more in the future. This may also have been the case for Artemios, since half of the miracles attributed to him involved dreams, but it seems less likely for Demetrios, Thekla and Therapon, as well as western saints such as Martin, Julian and Stephen, whose hagiographies feature a relatively low percentage of dream-related miracles.

To date there has been too much willingness to accept hagiographies with significant numbers of dreams—or even just a few—as evidence for incubation, but it should not be ignored that such works may primarily reflect the personal interests of their authors. A telling example of this can be seen in the case of Demetrios, since most of the fifteen miracles recounted in Collection A involved dreams, but among the six miracles in Collection B there is just one involving the saint's appearance (with this occurring away from the church), which suggests that the authors had different interests or agendas. Moreover, just as there is need for greater skepticism when considering such written sources, the archaeological evidence that has been claimed to point to incubation likewise should be reevaluated. In particular, the presence of beds and benches cannot tell us that people would come to certain churches specifically seeking to dream of the saint—however, if employing a broad definition of “Christian incubation” then such features are significant because they tell us that a site was visited by those planning to remain there until they had received help from the saint, often resting or sleeping while they waited. The collections of miracles, physical evidence for worshipers being able to lie down at certain sites, and all of the other sources covered in the preceding pages do demonstrate a widespread belief that one could do this, but unless “Christian incubation” is to be broadly defined as more than visiting a holy site in order to solicit a beneficial dream, the concept will remain problematic—and future scholarship in this area needs to recognize this problem.

XVI.6 Conclusion

Overall, a very broad range of written and archaeological sources from both the Greek- and Latin-speaking halves of the Late Antique world clearly show both that receiving dreams of divine origin and sleeping at holy sites were important elements of Christian worship, but it is far less evident that these elements would be deliberately combined so that the latter would encourage the former: in other words, there is not a single unambiguous or non-problematic source for a practice corresponding to Graf's succinct definition of incubation quoted above.¹⁷¹ As the vast majority of miracles preserved among the saints' lives and other hagiographical works show, just the act of sleeping in close proximity to a saint's body or relics was believed to bring about overnight cures due to the great power centered there—what one scholar has termed “dreamless Christian incubation.” It is only a relatively minuscule number of such works that feature multiple miracles associated with dreams, which raises the question of whether these reflect the personal interests of the hagiographers rather than that the saints who were their focus had been known for sending curative (or prophetic) dreams and thus would be sought out by those in need of aid. It is, of course, certainly possible that the *Kosmidion* and certain other churches gained reputations for the unusual frequency with which saints would appear and perform miracles, and in turn that the works devoted to these saints and their *post mortem* feats accurately reflect this. However, it is also possible that the authors of such works selected some types of miracles and excluded others—just as those serving Asklepios at Epidauros a millennium earlier had collected and inscribed on steles only the most memorable instances of the god's interventions, excluding the presumably far more common examples of visitors who recovered from relatively minor ailments. Moreover, even those collections of miracle tales that are filled with examples of dreams serving as the medium through which either a cure was effected or a message was imparted never state that the dream had been solicited, and in numerous cases even state that the sleep—and thus, implicitly, the dream—had been unintentional. But, even when the subjects of these tales intended to sleep, the reader is typically told just that they were awaiting a cure, not how they expected it would be obtained. Therefore, as discussed in the previous section, it is necessary for scholars working in this area to be more aware of the problems associated with the concept of “Christian incubation,” and to recognize that using this term without properly qualifying it has the unfortunate effect of obscuring just how many questions remain regarding the phenomenon that

171 Graf 2015, 263 (quoted p. 753).

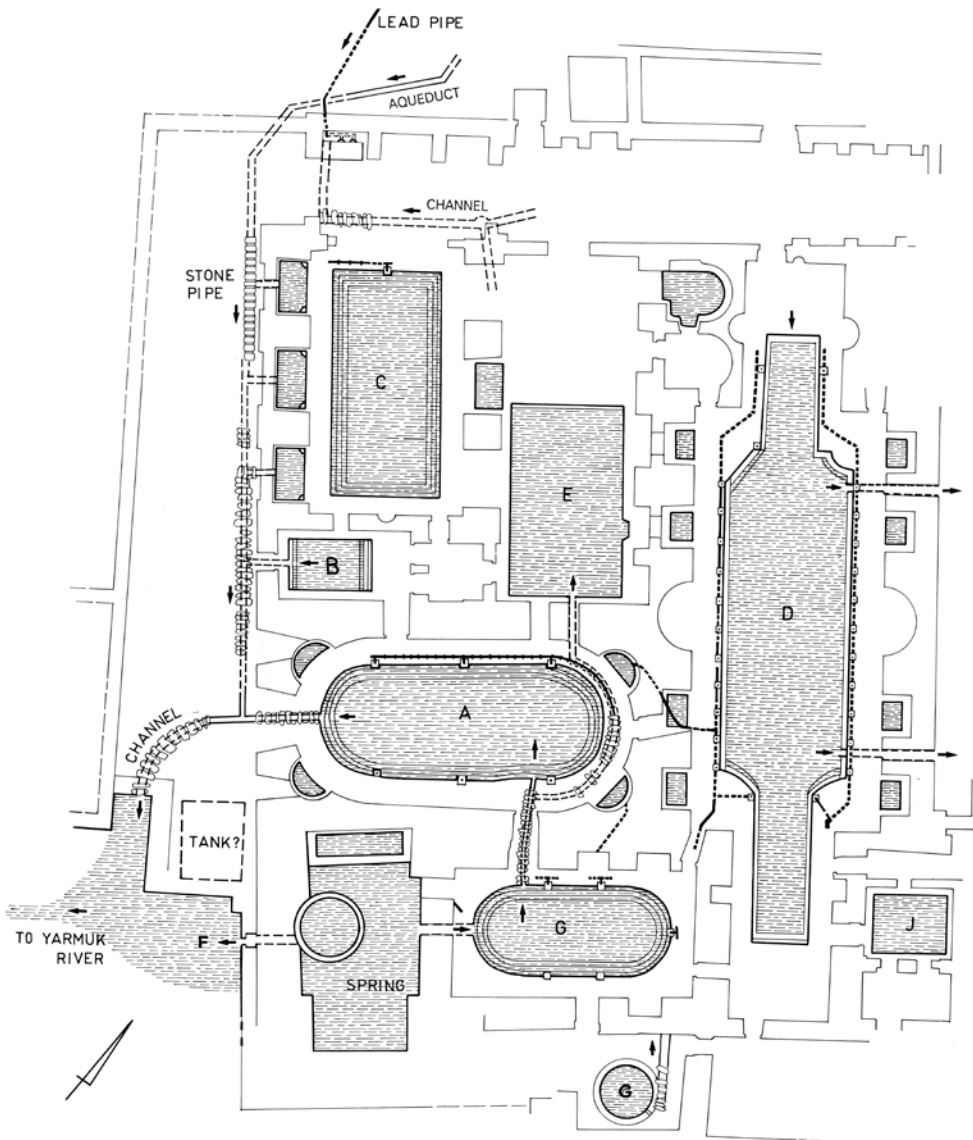
has gone by that name for more than a century and the sources that have been associated with it. In turn, it is also necessary to recognize that even if there are shared elements to be seen in both incubation at a Greek or Greco-Egyptian sanctuary and suppliant sleep at a *martyrion* or other church—and the basic concept of using an overnight stay at a place of worship in order to have a greater chance at securing divine aid or favor surely was not reinvented by Christians ignorant of earlier traditions—due to the problems recently raised by Graf and Wiśniewski and explored in the preceding discussion such commonalities should no longer be treated as evidence for a “continuation” pattern from pagan temple to Christian shrine, whether at a particular site or in general.

[*Addendum*: The following study appeared after the present work was completed and could not be incorporated, but is worth noting due to its broad treatment of the subject: Hedvig von Ehrenheim, “Pilgrimage for Dreams in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium: Continuity of the Pagan Ritual or Development within Christian Miracle Tradition?”, *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016), 53–95.]

Lepers' Visions at Hammat Gader (Emmatha): A Form of Incubation in Late Antique Syria?

A Late Antique Christian source, the *Itinerarium Placentinum*, reflects evidence of a divinatory practice involving dreams that had either survived into Christian times or began in them—and a practice different enough from ordinary incubation to raise a number of questions. Providing an account of his experiences and explorations while visiting the Holy Land as part of a group of Italian pilgrims led by Antoninus of Placentia around 560–570 CE, the anonymous writer described a ritual observed at a curative bath in the Galilee region that involved lepers seeming to be cured by overnight stays.¹ This practice at the thermal springs of Hammat Gader (ancient Emmatha, near Gadara) may have had pre-Byzantine origins, especially since the treatment of skin ailments there can perhaps be detected as far back as Hadrian's reign, and nothing about the procedures described is overtly Christian; however, it would not predate that period, since a new epigraphical discovery has shown that the baths were established as a Roman army spa in either the mid- or late-second century CE (Plan 21).² Moreover, if it did indeed predate the area's Christianization it is a matter for speculation whether its origins lay in Judaism or Hellenic cults. Regardless of the question of origins, the practice recorded by this unknown pilgrim has no close parallel, but rather appears to have been an unusual, if not unique, form of incubation—one not set at a conventional sanctuary or Christian holy site, one not employing a stoa or similar structure, evidently one not involving the solicitation of a curative dream but rather a dream featuring some sort of sign, and one that was something of a communal activity among the afflicted (who, unlike at *Asklepieia* or other such sites, were all suffering from the same ailment). The precise nature of the lepers' rituals and ensuing experiences, already obscured by the author's general description, is made even more so by problems in the surviving manuscripts, which are not fully reliable.

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- 1 See Milani 1977, 34–36 on the work's anonymous authorship and incorrect attribution to Antoninus himself, and pp. 36–38, establishing the date as between 551 and 594 CE (or 637 CE), but most likely after 560 CE.
 - 2 See Eck 2014, 212–214 for the Latin inscription, dated to 189–192 CE, and its importance for the site's early history, *i.e.* that it reflects either an expansion of the baths if they were discovered by the Roman army in previous decades or an establishment under Commodus.



PLAN 21 *Hammat Gader baths complex, showing water system.*

SOURCE: HIRSCHFELD 1997, FIG. 39 (REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY)

According to this author, the bath complex at these springs, which also clearly served as a holy site, was the setting of a nocturnal ritual whereby lepers would see visions promising a cure, though apparently not providing instructions:

... *Transivimus Iordanem in ipso loco. [5] Venimus in civitatem, quae vocatur Gaddera, quae ipsa est Gabaon. [6] Ista parte civitate ad milia tria sunt aquae calidae, quae appellantur termes Heliae, ubi leprosi mundantur, qui e xenodochio habent de publicum delicias. [7] Hora vespertina mundantur terme; ante ipsum clibanum aquae est solius grandis, qui dum impletus fuerit, clauduntur omnia ostia, et per posticum mittuntur intus cum luminaria et incensum et sedent in illo solio tota nocte. Et dum soporati fuerint, videt ille, qui curandus est, aliqua visione, et dum eam recitarit, abstinentur ipsae termae septem diebus et intra septem dies mundantur.*³

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- 3 Anon., *Itinerarium* 7.4–7, ed. Milani. This work has been preserved in two recensions, of which the *recensio altera* was long thought superior to the *recensio prior* and thus employed in earlier editions, but it has been concluded by Celestina Milani that the opposite was the case, and the two codices comprising the *recensio prior* preserve the genuine narrative (see Milani 1977, 31–32). These two codices, however, differ in minor respects (mostly orthographical), and neither seems clearly superior in terms of the Latin, with both containing problems that can affect the passage's meaning: the text quoted here, therefore, represents a composite of the two, with minor corrections, and largely follows that of Graf, who has recently challenged the conventional thinking regarding this passage's interpretation (Graf 2015, 241–244 (pp. 117–120 of 2013 version)). The important differences from Graf's text are: Graf follows an earlier editor's suggestion that instead of the manuscript's *Ista parte civitate* the beginning of this section should be emended to *In ista parte <Iordanis a> civitate*, which is an improvement but an unnecessary one given the nature of the poor early-Medieval Latin; instead of *hora vespertina inundantur termae*, which follows another suggestion by the earlier editor, the manuscripts' *mundantur* is retained, as there seems no pressing reason to see a redundant reference to baths being filled rather than cleansed; at the end, Graf has the singular *mundatur*, which is reasonable but also unnecessary. Graf is undoubtedly correct to prefer *posticum* over *porticum*, which likewise appears in the *recensio prior*, and *ostium*, which is found in the *recensio altera*, since plans of the site show no portico in the area, but do show an entrance that would have qualified as being at the back. Likewise, his retaining *videt ille* ("the one sees") from the inferior recension over the superior one's *vident de illo* ("they see concerning the one") makes greater sense, as it then states that each afflicted individual whose prayers were being answered was to see a vision, rather than that some companions—perhaps family members accompanying him, as at *Asklepieia*?—or fellow lepers would receive one concerning him.

We crossed the Jordan River at that spot and came to a settlement which is called Gaddera, which is said to be Gabaon [*i.e.*, biblical Gibeon]. In that area of the settlement at the third milestone are hot springs, which are called the Baths of Elijah, where lepers are cleansed, who at an inn indulge themselves at public expense. In the evening the baths are cleansed. Before the *clibanus* [*i.e.*, source of the hottest and most therapeutic spring, known as “Paeon”] itself is a large basin for water, and when it has been filled all the gates are closed, and through a back entrance they are sent inside with lamps and incense and they sit in that basin the whole night. And when they have fallen asleep, the one who is to be cured sees some sort of vision, and when he has shared it these baths are avoided for seven days, and within seven days they [*i.e.*, the lepers who received a dream] are cleansed.

The lack of information regarding the nature of the dreams received, which are merely referred to as “some sort of vision,” makes it ill-advised to conclude that the phenomenon alluded to was similar in nature to therapeutic incubation at an *Asklepieion* or comparable site in terms of prescriptions or immediate cures being sought, and it is possible that the dream was nothing more than a confirmation of successful recovery to be expected following the seven-day period—in other words, the thermal waters would have provided the cure, not the dream itself.⁴

By the time of this pilgrim's visit Hammat Gader's extensive bath complex, among the most famous of the Roman world, had drawn countless visitors for centuries, most notably those seeking hydrotherapy—and the area's springs

4 See in particular the comments of Graf, who concludes that since leprosy was viewed as an impurity the afflicted individuals mentioned in the text were not waiting to be healed, but rather to be “purified by divine grace,” with the dream serving as a sign that this would occur (Graf 2015, 242–244 (pp. 119–120 of 2013 version)). In support of this, Graf notes that *Leviticus* 14:8–9 dictates a seven-day period for purification before a leper could be considered cleansed. However, the site has been associated with incubation by some scholars who provide neither distinction nor qualification (*e.g.*, Wacht 1997, 248, Talbot 2002, 153–154, and Dvorjetski 2007, 149, 156–157, 230, 246–247, 309, 333, 399, 432; cf. Maraval 1996, 210n.2), with only Graf questioning this. (A solicited dream that provided confirmation of a cure but not the cure itself is not without parallel: see the Hittite Paškuwatti ritual, which partly involved seeking a dream intended to determine whether a man's infertility had been cured (*CTH* 406; see Appendix III.4).)

would continue to do so to the present day⁵—but no other source alludes to incubation, and even though it served as a healing sanctuary no divinity is clearly associated with the site, other than the god of the spring itself and the Graces.⁶ Thus, even though the baths were clearly used for various therapies well before Byzantine times, as inscriptions from the site attest, there is no compelling evidence that dreams were ever solicited at the site for any reasons other than to confirm that one's recovery from leprosy had begun. Nor is there a particular reason to conclude that if this nocturnal ritual was already being practiced at Hammat Gader centuries earlier it would have started due to Jewish influences rather than Hellenic,⁷ especially since there is only one other

5 This author's maternal grandmother, living near the coast of British Palestine, used to make an annual visit to these springs with one of her sisters in order to seek relief for rheumatism—not leprosy—up to the time of the formation of Israel and 1948 Arab-Israeli War.

6 On the baths, which were constructed at the hottest of the area's five springs, see Hirschfeld's final archaeological report (Hirschfeld 1997) and the detailed discussion of Estée Dvorjetski (Dvorjetski 2007, 143–162, 229–230 *et pass.*, with references to her previous studies on the site, to which should be added Dvorjetski 2006–2007); see also Belayche 2001, 268–273, as well as Belayche 2014, a foretaste of new work on this “therapeutic sanctuary” devoted to topographical analysis of its inscriptions. (The work was published too close to the completion of this book to be incorporated here: Nicole Belayche, “Épigraphie et expériences religieuses: le cas des ‘bains’ de Gadara (*Palaestina Ila*),” in L.G. Soares Santoprete & A. Van den Kerchove (eds.), *Hommages à Jean-Daniel Dubois* (Turnhout, 2016), 655–668.) A poem by the Empress Eudocia that was found at the site and dates to her visit in the mid-fifth century CE addresses the thermal spring's source as “Paeon,” a name normally reserved for the Greek healing gods Apollo and Asklepios, while also naming other minor classical divinities and mythological figures, including Hygieia, along with some figures from Judaism and Christianity, associating them with pools or other elements of the water system (*SEG* 32, 1502 (= Di Segni 1997, 228–233, No. 49)). Though not included by Eudocia in her poem, the Graces, goddesses occasionally accompanied with healing, were prominent at Gadara, most notably on the city's coinage (see Dvorjetski 2007, 355–359).

7 The baths were known as the Baths of Elijah (*Thermae Heliae*) in an apparent reference to Elijah's disciple Elisha instructing an Aramaean commander with leprosy to bathe in the Jordan River (2 *Kings* 5:1–15), which implies the potency of Hammat Gader's waters for aiding lepers (who, according to the anonymous pilgrim, were drawn to these baths because of a belief in their power). Such a tradition alone, however, is not evidence that the Jews had instituted the practice of sleeping at the site—and, if they did so, it may well have been due to foreign influence, just as incubation practices in Egypt appear to reflect these.

It has been suggested by Yizhar Hirschfeld and in turn Belayche that there was originally a temple on the site less than two hundred meters away where the Byzantine church was built in the sixth century (see Hirschfeld 1987, 113 and Belayche 2001, 271; *contra*, see Graf 2015, 244 (p. 120 of 2013 version)). While there are some archaeological traces that may support this, there is no particular reason to link the baths to what may well have been an unrelated cult site, especially since the baths were themselves one (see previous note).

known example of a site at which Jews may have engaged in the practice, and as noted above it was the Roman army that built the bath complex.⁸

The evidence provided by the anonymous pilgrim's description of the lepers using one of the baths and engaging in rituals there before receiving visions is especially significant, since it shows that at this spa site an incubation-like ritual was practiced without the presence of a separate incubation dormitory, with the site's Area G being the likely setting.⁹ This, in turn, means that theoretically any site associated with a sacred spring and hydrotherapy could have also served those seeking dream-oracles, who would be able to stay there

8 Late Antique sources may point to Jewish incubation at the tomb of the Seven Maccabee Brothers in the "Matrona" cave near Antioch, though the evidence is problematic (see p. 778n.66).

9 On the topographical aspects of this passage see Hirschfeld 1997, 5–6, Belayche 2001, 271–272, and Dvorjetski 2007, 149–150, 156–157, 230, 332–333 *et pass.* The location of the lepers' bath is somewhat unclear, though it can be narrowed down to the large, oval-shaped pool in either Area A or Area G, as these were the only two pools fed by the hot spring still operating at the time (see Hirschfeld, *ibid.*, 46–53 for the hot- and coldwater systems, with fig. 39, reproduced above as Plan 21, showing the paths of the hot and cold waters). Although Dvorjetski opted for Area A (Dvorjetski 2007, 156–157), as does Belayche (Belayche 2014, 615 and Belayche 2001, 271), Area G is preferable because it was the first of the two pools, and if the source of the hot spring immediately to the west was indeed the anonymous pilgrim's *clybanus* then it is the only one that could be said to be positioned "*ante ipsum . . . clybanum*" (see Hirschfeld, *ibid.*, 83–102, 134–135 *et pass.* on Areas A and G, though without specifically addressing this issue). Moreover, it was possible for both Areas A and G to be emptied and refilled, which matches the written evidence (see Hirschfeld, *ibid.*, 48, 98). (Hirschfeld and a colleague, Gioca Solar, had previously identified the small pool in Area B as the part of the complex corresponding to the writer's description (Hirschfeld/Solar 1981, 202, 208–211), but later Hirschfeld concluded that an earthquake in the mid-fifth century led to the filling in and paving over of Areas B, C and E (Hirschfeld, *ibid.*, 123–124, 498), meaning that by the time of the *Itinerarium Placentinum* these chambers could not have been used for the lepers' ritual. As Dvorjetski appears to imply, however, it is possible that the practice began in Area B but later shifted to another pool—either Area A, as she proposes, or Area G (see Dvorjetski 2007, 156–157)—though the relative smallness of Area B and the fact that it was part of the system channeling water from an offsite spring argues against this.)

It has been thought that the discovery of numerous oil lamps possibly left as votive deposits can be used to identify the area in which the lepers would await their dreams (*e.g.*, Dvorjetski 2006–07, 16 and Dvorjetski 2007, 156–157), but this is questionable: after all, just because they used oil lamps in one part of the complex (presumably Area G) does not mean that they would have dedicated them there—after all, the dedicatory inscriptions are primarily displayed in Area E even if the baths' benefits were received elsewhere in the complex. And indeed, most of the hundreds of lamps were found in Areas B and D (see Uzzielli 1997). Moreover, it has been noted that many of the lamps lack signs of soot and

at night after other visitors had departed, and thus that therapeutic incubation could have been far more common than the surviving sources indicate, and did not require a structure akin to the stoas at Epidauros and Oropos.¹⁰ But, on the other hand, precisely because there are no earlier parallels known it is possible that if not an innovation of Hellenized Jews (or possibly local Syrian cults) the practice described in the late sixth century was originally a Christian one. Regardless of whether the Christians began the practice at Hammat Gader, it was different from other practices considered “Christian incubation” for at least one essential reason: it was not set at a church or martyr shrine, where those in need of aid would sleep in the presence of a saint’s remains or relics.¹¹ Thus the lepers’ activities there do not closely match Christian practices elsewhere, nor do they correspond to known practices among the Jews or Greeks. Pending the discovery of further evidence there is no way to know when this unusual ritual was first practiced at Hammat Gader and as an aspect of which religious phenomenon, and also whether such a practice was to be seen at other sacred springs associated with spas.

thus were unused, suggesting that they were given as dedications and subsequently placed in deposits, rather than having been used by lepers in the ritual described by the anonymous Christian visitor (Uzzielli, *ibid.*, 319). Thus the presence of oil lamps might support his account, but have little if any value for deciphering it and identifying the precise setting of the lepers’ ritual.

10 For hydrotherapy in the cult of Asklepios, see Chapter 3.4.4.1.

11 See Appendix xvi.

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1859	Anon., <i>Vit. Tychonis</i>
1860	<i>Epit. Vit. Tychonis</i>

Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina (BHL)

150	(See p. 782n86)
156	Ps.-Ambrose, <i>Passio S. Agnetis</i>
1836	<i>Passio SS. Quattuor Coronatorum</i>
2474	Anon., <i>Vit. Eligii</i>
3468	Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci</i>
4541	Gregory, <i>Virt. Iulian.</i>
4893	Anon., <i>Vit. S. Letardi</i>
5133	Anon., <i>Vit. S. Magdalvei episcopi</i>
5618	Gregory, <i>Virt. Martin.</i>
5822–5823	Anon., <i>Vit. Maximini</i>
5948	(See p. 789nn8)
7048	Venantius Fortunatus, <i>De vita S. Radegundis</i>
7860–7861	Ps.-August., <i>Mir. Steph.</i>

Bibliotheca hagiographica Orientalis (BHO)

263	Bedjan, <i>Acta Martyrum</i> VI:536–556
746	(See p. 769n)
1060	Zach. Schol., <i>Vit. Severi</i>
Appendix, p. 278	Anon., <i>Mir. Ptolem</i>

Clavis Patrum Graecorum (CPG)

2527	Anon., <i>Mir. Menae</i>
2815	Asterius of Amaseia, <i>Homiliae</i>
2868	Basil of Caesarea, <i>Homiliae</i>
3189	Greg. Nyss., <i>Sermo in XL Martyres II</i>
6675	Anon., <i>Mir. Theclae</i>
6722	Mark the Deacon, <i>Vit. Porphyrii</i>
6999	Zach. Schol., <i>Vit. Severi</i>
7363	Daniel of Sketis, <i>Andronikos</i> . . .
7369	Anon., <i>Vit. Symeonis iun.</i>

7520	Eustratios, <i>Vit. Eutychni</i>	3426	UPZ I 35
7535	Cyril Scyth., <i>Vit. Euthymi</i>	3427	UPZ I 36
		3436	UPZ I 45
7536	Cyril Scyth., <i>Vit. Sabae</i>	3443	UPZ I 52
7645	Sophr., <i>Pan.</i>	3444	UPZ I 53
7646	Sophr., <i>Thaum.</i>	3445	UPZ I 54
7920	John of Thessalonika, <i>Mir. Demetr.</i>	3448	UPZ I 57
		3453	UPZ I 62
7973	Georgios Syk., <i>Vit. Theod. Syk.</i>	3459	UPZ I 68
		3460	UPZ I 69
7977	Anon., <i>Vit. Tychonis</i>	3461	UPZ I 70
8196	Anon., <i>Enc. Therap.</i>	3462	UPZ I 71
		3468	UPZ I 77
		3469	UPZ I 78
Clavis Patrum Latinorum (CPL)		3470	UPZ I 79
391	Ps.-August., <i>Mir. Steph.</i>	3471	UPZ I 80
1039	Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci</i>	3475	UPZ I 84
		3498	UPZ I 106
1042	Venantius Fortunatus, <i>De vita S. Radegundis</i>	3499	UPZ I 107
		3500	UPZ I 108
2094	Anon., <i>Vit. Eligii</i>	3511	UPZ I 119
2159	Ps.-Ambrose, <i>Passio S. Agnetis</i>	3535	P.Louvre N 2423
		3680	P.Tebt I 44
		4517	P.LilleDem II 96 & SB XVI.1 12414
Trismegistos Texts (TM)			
148	P.Münch III 117	6206	P.Yale I 42
554	P.Cairo CG 10313 + 10328 + 30961	6243	P.Mil II 28
		6304	Vanderlip, <i>Hymns of Isidorus</i>
694	P.CairZen I 59034		
1066	P.CairZen III 59426	6312	I.Deir el-Bahari A1
1873	P.ZenPestm 42	6330	I.Philae 8
1931	P.Mich I 31	6353	I.Philae 59
2723	P.BritMusReich 10226	6464	SB I 169
2851	P.DemMemphis 9	6574	I.MetrEg 112
2985 + 6082	Raphia Decree, Demotic Text	6586	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 97
		6587	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 93
3395	UPZ I 4		Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 92
3396	UPZ I 5	7051	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 94
3397	UPZ I 6		Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 8
3399	UPZ I 8		Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 368
3406	UPZ I 15	7053	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 439
3407	UPZ I 16		
3409	UPZ I 18	7071	
3410	UPZ I 19		
3411	UPZ I 20	7080	
3423	UPZ I 32		
3424	UPZ I 33	7088	
3425	UPZ I 34		

Trismegistos Texts (TM) (cont.)			
7670	<i>P.Petr</i> I 30(1)	44761	<i>O.Hor</i> Text D
8375	<i>I.Syringes</i> 467	44762	<i>O.Hor</i> Text E
8464	Perdrizet/Lefebvre,	45094	<i>P.TorBotti</i> 21
	<i>Memnonion</i> 426	45097	<i>P.TorBotti</i> 24
8532	<i>P.BerlDem</i> II 3111	45994	<i>P.Schreibertrad</i> 94
8533	<i>P.BerlDem</i> II 3141	46035	Florence, M.A. 11918
8562	Perdrizet/Lefebvre,	46114	<i>P.Choix</i> I 15
	<i>Memnonion</i> 53	46246	<i>P.Zauzich</i> 12
8570	Perdrizet/Lefebvre,	46468	P.Berlin ÄM P. 13538
	<i>Memnonion</i> 136	46851	<i>P.QasrIbrim</i> 1
8621	<i>P.Amh</i> II 35	46913	P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 200
9472	<i>P.Gnomon</i>	46922	P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 458
10688	<i>P.David</i> 1	47209	<i>P.Recueil</i> 11
17104	<i>P.Sarap</i> 83a	47262	<i>P.Turner</i> 15
17126	<i>P.Lond</i> III 854	47512	<i>O.LeidDem</i> 365
17511	<i>P.Oxy</i> XVII 2131	47824	<i>O.Hor</i> 3
20027	<i>PSI</i> III 199	48438	<i>O.Hor</i> 31B
21854	<i>P.Oxy</i> XII 1453	48488	Naples, M.A.N. 1035
22820	<i>P.Lond</i> III 1164(i)	48724	<i>P.Cair</i> III 50141
23607	<i>P.Paris</i> 19	48745	P.Brit.Mus. 10238
25660	<i>P.Aberdeen</i> 62	48781	<i>P.Götterbriefe</i> 11
25926	<i>P.Oxy</i> VIII 1148	48782	<i>P.Götterbriefe</i> 12
26805	<i>SB</i> XII 11226	48854	P.DemBrit.Mus. 10822
26814	<i>P.Oxy</i> XLII 3078	48875	<i>P.Chronik</i>
26859	<i>P.Oxy</i> XLI 2976	48888	<i>P.RainCent</i> 3
26939	<i>P.Oxy</i> XXXI 2613	48969	<i>O.Hor</i> 1
28337	<i>P.Oxy</i> VI 923	48970	<i>O.Hor</i> 2
28933	<i>P.Oxy</i> IX 1213	48971	<i>O.Hor</i> 4
28983	<i>P.Oxy</i> VIII 1149	48974	<i>O.Hor</i> 7
29263	<i>SB</i> XXVI 16506	48975	<i>O.Hor</i> 8
30413	<i>SB</i> X 10299	48976	<i>O.Hor</i> 9
31375	<i>P.Tebt</i> II 592	48977	<i>O.Hor</i> 10
31663	<i>P.Oxy</i> LXI 4126	48978	<i>O.Hor</i> 11
40603	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> A3	48979	<i>O.Hor</i> 12
42996	<i>I.Fayoum</i> II 123	48980	<i>O.Hor</i> 13
43339	<i>P.BritMusReich</i> 10230	48981	<i>O.Hor</i> 14
43648	<i>Papyrus Dodgson</i>	48982	<i>O.Hor</i> 15
44406	<i>P.Count</i> 53	48983	<i>O.Hor</i> 16
44488	P.Cairo CG 50114	48984	<i>O.Hor</i> 17
44687	P.DemBologna 3173	48985	<i>O.Hor</i> 18
44688	P.DemBologna 3171	48986	<i>O.Hor</i> 19
44689	<i>P.Recueil</i> 8	48987	<i>O.Hor</i> 20
44690	<i>P.Recueil</i> 9	48988	<i>O.Hor</i> 21
44758	<i>O.Hor</i> Text C & <i>O.Hor</i>	48989	<i>O.Hor</i> 22
	Dem. A	48990	<i>O.Hor</i> 23
44759	<i>O.Hor</i> Text B	48991	<i>O.Hor</i> 24B
44760	<i>O.Hor</i> Text A	48992	<i>O.Hor</i> 25
		48993	<i>O.Hor</i> 26

48995	<i>O.Hor</i> 28		+ 6633–6636 + 6644 +
48996	<i>O.Hor</i> 29		6668
48997	<i>O.Hor</i> 30	55959	P.Berlin ÄM P. 15683
48998	<i>O.Hor</i> 32	55962	P.Jena 1209
48999	<i>O.Hor</i> 33	55963 + 55964	P.Carlsberg x111–x14
49006	<i>O.Hor</i> 40		<i>verso</i>
49011	<i>O.Hor</i> 45	55965	<i>P.TebtTait</i> 16
49013	<i>O.Hor</i> 47	55966	<i>P.TebtTait</i> 17
49023	<i>O.Hor</i> 57	55973	P.Vienna D 6257
49025	<i>O.Hor</i> 59	56055	Jasnow/Zauzich, <i>Thoth</i> ,
49026	<i>O.Hor</i> 60		frag. Bo6
50945	Vleeming, <i>Short Texts</i> 1	56074	P.Berlin ÄM P. 23071
	205, D–E & <i>I.MetrEg</i> 108	56098	P.Petese Tebt. A
51038	O.Brit.Mus. 50601	56119 + 56181	Ryholt, <i>Narrative</i>
51405	Ray, <i>Texts</i> G1		<i>Literature</i> 9
51411	<i>O.Hor</i> Additional Text	56139	O.Brit.Mus. 5671
	66	56145	<i>P.DemSaq</i> 1 4
51583	Smith/Andrews/Davies,	56175	P.Berlin ÄM P. 12345
	<i>Mother of Apis</i>	56463 + 96835	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 68
	<i>Inscriptions</i> 38	56498	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2315
51785	O.Brit.Mus. 50497	56693	P.Louvre N 3176(S)
51856	O.Brit.Mus. 41258	58339	Brit.Mus. EA 147 (1027)
51866	Brit.Mus. EA 1030 (188)	58463	Brit.Mus. EA 1026 (886)
51867	O.Dem.Hermitage 1129	59313	<i>P.Oxy</i> III 416
52152	U.L.C., Ostrakon Sup.	59324	<i>PGM</i> VIII
	no. 188	59770	Blass, <i>Eudoxi ars</i>
52211	Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. D		<i>astronomica</i>
	1994	59936	P.Louvre 7172(2)
52582	<i>O.Hor</i> 65	60204	<i>PGM</i> VII
52924	Vleeming, <i>Short Texts</i> 1	63688	<i>P.Oxy</i> XI 1380
	250	63689	<i>P.Oxy</i> XI 1381
53081	Griffith, <i>Dodeca-</i>	63699	<i>P.Oxy</i> XI 1382, <i>verso</i>
	<i>schoenus</i> Kal. 1	63879	<i>P.Oxy</i> XXXI 2553
53082	Griffith, <i>Dodeca-</i>	63967	<i>SelPap</i> III 96
	<i>schoenus</i> Kal. 2	64029	<i>PSI</i> VII 844
53083	Griffith, <i>Dodeca-</i>	64161	<i>P.Oxy</i> XXXI 2607
	<i>schoenus</i> Kal. 3	64188	<i>P.Oxy</i> LXIII 4352
53084	Griffith, <i>Dodeca-</i>	64218	<i>PDM Suppl.</i>
	<i>schoenus</i> Kal. 4	64335	<i>P.Oxy</i> L 3537, <i>verso</i>
53689	O.Brook. 37.1821E	64343	<i>PGM</i> IV
55857	P.Cairo CG 30646	64368	<i>PGM</i> V
55918	P.Insinger	64487	<i>SupplMag</i> II 90
55948	<i>P.DemMichaelidis</i> 3	65081	<i>P.Oxy</i> xv 1803
55954	<i>PDM</i> xii	65612	<i>UPZ</i> I 81
55955	<i>PDM</i> xiv	65797	<i>UPZ</i> I 1
55958	P.Berlin ÄM P. 8769 +	68650	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> A2
	15796 & P.Vienna D 6104	69309	<i>P.Qasrlbrim</i> 2

Trismegistos Texts (TM) (cont.)		96868	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 118
69396	Jasnow/Zauzich, <i>Thoth</i> , frag. B07	96877	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 129
69407	Jasnow/Zauzich, <i>Thoth</i> , frag. C02	96913	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 194
69631	<i>MDAI(K)</i> 39 (1983), 103–105 (E. Bresciani)	96915	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 197
69633	<i>O.Hor</i> Dem. B	96918	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 199
69685	P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 43	96919	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 201
69686	P.Saq. inv. 71/2-DP 20	96921	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 208
69687	P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 372	96922	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 209
69692	P.Saq. inv. 71/2-DP 92	96979	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 322
76512	<i>O.Theb</i> 142	99190	<i>SB</i> V 8542
80211	P.Vienna D 12006	101310	P.Berlin ÄM P. 29009
80230	P.Carlsberg 422 + PSI Inv. D 11	101311	P.Berlin ÄM P. 23058
80854	<i>I.Philae</i> 127	102645	<i>I.Delta</i> 1, 241–242, No. 13
80909	<i>P.Zauzich</i> 7	102697	<i>I.MetrEg</i> 176
80910	<i>P.Zauzich</i> 8	102703	<i>SB</i> V 8808
88314	<i>I.Portes</i> 2	102743	<i>I.MetrEg</i> 168
88315	<i>I.Portes</i> 3	102884	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 424
88397	<i>PGM</i> 11	102886	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 489
88467	<i>I.ThSy</i> 12	102887	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 492
88879	O.Nicholson R. 98	102888	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 524
88980	O.Brit.Mus. 50627	102889	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 528
89384	P.Berlin ÄM P. 14472 & P.Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. hier. 38a	102891	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 641
89466	P.Leiden T 32	103420	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 390
91549	P.Carlsberg 85	103425	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 545
91551	P.Petese C & D	103426	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 377
91593	O.Dem.Hermitage 1126	103429	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 580
91594	O.Dem.Hermitage 1127	103430	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 505
91595	O.Dem.Hermitage 1128	103433	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 500
91596	O.Dem.Hermitage 1131	103479	<i>I.GrÉgLouvre</i> 11
91788	P.Carlsberg 400	103560	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 156
92866	<i>SupplMag</i> 1 47	103561	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 157
94769	<i>I.Syringes</i> 54	103567	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 114
95043	<i>I.Syringes</i> 330		
95358	<i>I.Syringes</i> 655		
96314	<i>I.Syringes</i> 1636		
96807	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 25		
96823	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 50		
96830	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 60		
96850	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 93		
96852	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 94		
96864	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 112		
96867	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 117		

103576	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 354	115545	O.Garstang 1
103600	<i>I.MetrEg</i> 166	118309	<i>O.Claud</i> IV 657
103667	<i>SB</i> I 4597	118310	<i>O.Claud</i> IV 658
103677	<i>SB</i> I 4607	118735	<i>I.ColMemnon</i> 23
103777	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 630	118766	<i>I.ColMemnon</i> 73
103778	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 631	118774	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 106
103918	<i>I.GrÉgLouvre</i> 92	118775	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 107
103956	<i>I.MetrEg</i> 167	118810	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 185
103985	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> B2	118848	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 238
104552	<i>I.MetrEg</i> 169	118944	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 414
105440	<i>I.GrÉgLouvre</i> 23	118947	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 419
106907	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2301	118977	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 467
106908	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2261	118996	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 488
106909	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2260	118999	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 493
106910	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2313	119004	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 499
106911	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2314	119006	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 503
106912	<i>SEG</i> 49, 2292	119029	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 535
107218	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 274	119037	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 546
107223	<i>I.MetrEg</i> 170	119055	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 567
107227	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 498	119056	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 568
107268	<i>I.GrÉgLouvre</i> 130	119078	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 595
107468	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 96	119093	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 611
107470	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 100	128533	P.Lips. inv. 590
107496	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 161	128534	P.Carlsberg 448 + PSI
107499	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 165	129743	Inv. D 54
107522	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 219	129748	<i>O.Hor</i> 12A
107561	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> 293	130502	P.Saq. inv. H5-DP 265
109540	<i>P.Kell</i> I 82	136436	P.Carlsberg 459 + PSI
109708	Berlin, ÄM 2268		Inv. D 51
112683	Paris, Musée Rodin 16		O.Cairo 25234
113144	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 591		
113146	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 24		
113147	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 256		
113148	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 278		
113149	Perdrizet/Lefebvre, <i>Memnonion</i> 473		
113491	Cairo CG 42231		
113752	<i>P.Kell</i> I 83		
113760	Metternich Stele		

Trismegistos Texts (TM) (cont.)

144216	PSI Inv. 3056, verso + Inv. D 103a, verso	391658	O.Brit.Mus. 41257
145081	Ray, <i>Texts</i> C6	391660 + 392892	O.Brit.Mus. 41260 + 50599
145087	Ray, <i>Texts</i> C12	392884	O.Brit.Mus. 50492
145093	Ray, <i>Texts</i> C18	392980	O.Brit.Mus. 50597
145100	Ray, <i>Texts</i> C25	397723	<i>I.Deir el-Bahari</i> B1
145250	Ray, <i>Texts</i> E1	444486	P.Berlin ÄM P. 23544
145284	Ray, <i>Demotic Ostraca</i> DO 265A	702272	Gauthier, <i>Kalabchah</i> 1:184, No. 8
175239	P.Berlin ÄM P. 29065	702273	Gauthier, <i>Kalabchah</i> 1:265, No. 39
244117	P.Brook. 47.218.138	702715	<i>MDAI(K)</i> 41 (1985), 2 (U. Kaplony-Heckel <i>et al.</i>)
244130	Gauthier, <i>Kalabchah</i> 1:282, No. 32	703300	<i>P.Cair</i> 111 50138 + 50139
381160	P.Brit.Mus. 10237	703301	<i>P.Cair</i> 111 50140
381253	P.Brit.Mus. 10335	703859	<i>O.Hor</i> 17A
391065	O.Brit.Mus. 33374		
391656	O.Brit.Mus. 41255		