

Asklepios' Arrival at Athens

*A Perspective on the Athenian Introduction of the Epidaurian Asklepios Cult
(420/419 B.C.E.) in the Context of the Peace of Nikias and the Interstate
Relations in Classical Greece*

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July 2013

Preface

The idea for this thesis came about during a trip to the Athenian Akropolis in April 2011, where I was advised by Dr. Floris van den Eijnde to look into the Asklepios-cult in Athens. The reader might notice that on differing occasions, the Greek version of names are offered, whereas in others the Latinised version is provided. I prefer to use Thucydides, for instance, instead of Thukydidēs, since it is more commonly employed in English texts. On occasion, instead of Pericles, I favour Perikles. In those latter cases, it is most likely to have been a matter of taste than common usage. Moreover, I have decided against quoting Greek text in full in my footnotes, or any Greek at all for that matter, unless I have actually utilised the written words in the language itself for my interpretation or assessment. For the translations of the Greek text, I have opted to make use of the Loeb editions, as I find their translations of the highest quality, especially since I am no classicist and my translations would not do justice to the beauty of the original Greek.

Additionally, due to the limits of this work I have been unable to implement some events dating after 420 B.C.E., such as the rise of Alkibiades and the Kerykes' dispute over the borders of the Pelargikon at Athens. Although it pained me to not make use of these occurrences and further broaden the scope of this thesis, I wished to solely focus on the events pre-dating the introduction of Asklepios instead, to provide a more concise and focused analysis.

My thanks go out to my commentators and readers. First of all, I wish to thank my first and second reader, Prof. Blok and Prof. Funke, for their efforts in reading my thesis. Prof. Blok has continued to offer her enthusiastic support for my ideas and has remained patient with my writing throughout my master programme, allowing me to fulfil my potential. I am also grateful towards Prof. Funke, who steered me in the direction I have taken towards peace and treaties between *poleis*, during my stay at the Wilhelmsuniversität Münster. I would like to reserve a special thank you for Dr. van den Eijnde, who has always helped me in many great ways towards excellence with his enthusiasm and continued support for my ideas, as well as being a voluntary reader of my thesis. Others, however, should receive mention for their help in commenting on my thesis as well. Mounir Lahcen and Amber Brüsewitz have been vital for the structure and historical accurateness of my thesis. Another very warm word of gratitude goes to Laura Millar, who has been essential in not only reading my thesis, but just as much for helping me make sure the English in my thesis was correct, amongst other things.

Contents

Preface	3
Abbreviations	6
Introduction	7
1. The Factual Evidence	11
1.1 The Geography	11
1.2 Archaeological Evidence: The location and size of the sanctuary	13
1.3 Further information concerning Asklepios' cult in Athens	16
1.4 The Telemachos Monument	18
2. The difficulties of 'cult' definitions	22
2.1 Individual accomplishment or state involvement: An interpretation of the Telemachos monument	22
2.2 'Private' versus 'Public' cult	25
2.3 Athenian <i>Polis</i> -cult: An analysis	26
3. Asklepios in Athenian cults.....	29
3.1 Asklepios and the cult of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore	29
3.2 Asklepios and the cult of Dionysos Eleutherios	32
4. Explanations for Asklepios' introduction	34
4.1 Asklepios and the Great Athenian Plague	34
4.2 Athenian imperialism and Asklepios: The Akropolis	37
4.2.2 The Greater Panathenaia and Athenian imperialism	40
4.2.3 The City Dionysia and Athenian Imperialism	41
4.2.4 Eleusinian Demeter and Athenian Imperialism	42
4.3 Asklepios' <i>pompe</i> and Athenian imperialism.....	43
5. The Archidamian War and the Peace of Nikias	46
5.1 Events affecting Athens during the Archidamian War.....	47
5.2 The Athenian mindset between 431 and 421 B.C.E.....	50
5.3 The Peace of Nikias	59
5.4 Interstate relations in Classical Greece.....	63
5.5 Interstate relations between Athens and Epidauros.....	67
6. Asklepios' arrival: Reciprocity and Religion.....	71
7. Athens, Asklepios and Peace	77
7.1 Peace and the Greater Mysteries	77

7.2 Peace and the City Dionysia	80
7.3 Asklepios' <i>pompe</i>	83
Conclusion.....	86
Bibliography.....	88
Index of literary sources	100
Index of epigraphical sources.....	104
Chronological Table.....	105
Appendix I.....	106
Appendix II	110

Abbreviations

- AAA = Αρχαιολογικά Αναλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
- AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
- AM = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
- AncSoc = Ancient Society
- ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente
- BCH = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
- BEFAR = Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
- BICS = Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
- BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens
- C&M = Classica et Mediavalia
- CQ = Classical Quarterly
- DK = Diel, H. And W. Kranz (eds.)(1961) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* I. Berlin.
- FrGH = Jacoby, F. (1954-64) *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden.
- GRBS = Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
- HThR = Harvard Theological Review
- IG = Inscriptiones Graecae
- JDAI = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
- JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies
- HSCP = Harvard Studies of Classical Philology
- LIMC = Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (Zurich 1974 -)
- LSJ = Liddell, H.G. and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1940, 9th ed.)
- ML = R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969, 2nd ed.1989)
- PCPS = Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
- P. Oxy* = Oxyrhynchus papyri
- RPhil = Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
- RO = P.J. Rhodes and R.G. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 403-323 BC* (Oxford 2003)
- SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (Leiden, 1928 -)
- Syll.³ = *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. W.F.K. Dittenberger (Leipzig: 1915-1924; Reprinted Hildesheim: 3rd ed. 1982)
- TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association
- YCS = Yale Classical Studies
- ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Introduction

The Archidamian War (431-421 B.C.E.), the first ten years of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.E.) was a decade of upheaval and many changes in Athenian society. Although this period was dominated by the struggle between Athens and Sparta, “internal” issues occupied Athenian politics as well, since Athens had to cope with complacent allies and their revolts. Moreover, the Spartans invaded Attic soil annually, focusing in particular on the holy fields of Eleusis.¹ The harshest intrusion into the Athenian *polis*, though, was the Plague that struck in 430 B.C.E., 429 B.C.E. and 426 B.C.E.²

The horror that accompanied this plague, as well as its effect on the Athenian population, is thoroughly illustrated by Thucydides. The Athenians felt abandoned by the gods and saw no use in worshipping them.³ Therefore, it is hardly surprising that most scholars attribute Epidaurian Asklepios’ arrival at Athens, in 420/419 B.C.E.,⁴ to this devastating disease.⁵ No wonder that a city in despair, such as Athens, introduced a healing god such as Asklepios, whose healing powers were known to the Athenians.⁶ This prior acquaintance with the cult seems a probable explanation for Asklepios’ introduction. Hence, it is commonly viewed that Asklepios arrived into a disheartened city. The Athenians learned about Asklepios’ powers and wished for his introduction to deliver them from suffering: a ‘crisis cult’, as one might term it.

However, as plausible as this ‘bottom-up approach’ might seem, other interpretations of the introduction of Epidaurian Asklepios are possible as well. For example, a more political deduction, a ‘top-down approach’ as it may be termed, is applicable to explain Asklepios’ introduction.⁷ To clarify my use of ‘political’, I refer to political actions approved by *boule* and *ekklêsia* on an interstate level. One example could be an assault on enemy territory during the Peloponnesian War. Another would be the arrangement of peace between two or more *poleis*. The latter is applicable to the introduction of Asklepios, in my opinion. Asklepios’ establishment at Athens was then advocated by Athenian political leaders. As such, the cult should not be interpreted as ‘a crisis cult’, but as an adoption to necessitate certain political goals. The ‘crisis cult’ paradigm has governed the debate thus far, but it was not until 2003

¹ Furley (1996) 39.

² Thuc. 2.47.3.

³ Thuc. 2.49.5-2.53.

⁴ As Clinton (1994a) has argued, I will follow his dating.

⁵ Mikalson (1984) Parker (1996) 175; Avalos (1999) 50-51; Flower (2009) 5, amongst others.

⁶ See e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 123 and IG IV² 121-124.

⁷ Wickkiser (2003).

that it was first challenged by Bronwen Wickkiser. This observation becomes more striking, considering the numerous other examples of politically motivated cults introduced by the *polis* of Athens in the fifth century.⁸ This fact is illustrated by Robert Garland: ‘The history of fifth century Athenian religion is inseparable from the history of Athenian political and social aspirations, and the centrality of religion ... requires us to evaluate the two side by side.’⁹

Thus far, most scholars assumed the introduction of Asklepios to be an accomplishment by an individual named Telemachos.¹⁰ However, Wickkiser has recently convincingly argued for the *polis* to be the protagonist behind the new god’s coming to Athens.¹¹ This thesis will agree with this assessment, albeit it will offer a different interpretation to hers, since she favours imperialism to be the driving force behind the *polis*’ introduction, whereas this thesis will argue for a more peaceful inclination for Asklepios’ arrival. I believe that imperialism was criticised at the time of the introduction and not favoured by the leading politicians.

Furthermore, the political interpretation kills two birds with one stone. Since this thesis will mostly occupy itself with the ‘top-down approach’, it might seem the ‘bottom-up approach’ is brushed aside. Instead of viewing the introduction as the result of the *demos*’ request in order for it to take place, the ‘top-down approach’ supposes a different course of action. In the latter, the cult’s introduction is the result of interaction between policy-makers in both Athens and Epidauros. Consequently, Asklepios’ arrival serves political interests. There were definitively religious advantages to be had from Asklepios’ introduction, although less attention is paid to these gains, especially since both approaches are not necessarily contradictory. When we look at the workings of the Athenian democracy, and know that the *demos* had to approve this new god’s installation, it becomes clear both approaches overlap, rather than diametrically oppose each other.¹² The Greeks considered religious and political acts to be inextricably linked, not as opposite poles in a dichotomy. The Athenian population would thus have to be receptive towards accepting this new god, for him to find his way into the *polis*. If the citizens of Athens were acquainted with the god and felt the need to introduce

⁸ Examples are Pan and Bendis, for more instances, see Garland (1992).

⁹ Garland (1992), 117.

¹⁰ Aleshire (1989) 4; Garland (1992) 131; Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 106; Flower (2009) 5; Parker (2011) 275, amongst others.

¹¹ Wickkiser (2003) 119-121 and Wickkiser (2008) 71.

¹² In fact, religious affairs came first on the agenda in two of the four monthly assemblies of Athens, Aesch. 1.23.

Asklepios into Athens, they would surely vote for his introduction in the *ekklêsia* and *boulê*.¹³ Therefore, the political interpretation encompasses both approaches, as well as other explanations for the Epidaurian god's arrival.¹⁴

Although Wickkiser challenges the paradigm of Asklepios' introduction, by portraying his arrival in a more politically motivated way, she herself is equally entrapped in another paradigm. The imperialist connotation she assigns to Asklepios' introduction fails to assess all aspects of the new god's arrival. Athens' actions amount to more than mere imperialist ambitions. Unfortunately, this is what has always troubled scholarship on Athenian cults in the fifth century: most scholars interpret the new cults of the Athenian *polis* as serving an imperialist purpose.¹⁵ However, I think these elaborations sometimes fail in their assessments, and therefore scholarship has remained too focused on the perspective that these cults were used to enhance Athenian power. Other explanations are possible as well, as the case of Bendis has shown.¹⁶ Therefore, this thesis argues that Asklepios' introduction was indeed a political action undertaken by Athens, simultaneously fulfilling an arisen need amongst its citizens, but not in order to obtain an alliance with Epidauros, or to incorporate it into the Athenian Empire. On the contrary, it was Athens' goal to conclude a separate peace treaty with Epidauros, as a part of the existing Peace of Nikias (421 B.C.E.) with Sparta, that initiated Asklepios' arrival at Athens.

The possible reasons for this hypothesis will be elaborated in the following manner. In the first chapter, all evidence regarding Asklepios' arrival will be assembled. This includes the archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence related to Asklepios' introduction. What ensues in the second chapter is an interpretation of our most significant epigraphical source, the Telemachos monument and its inscription. This will determine the influence the *demos* exercised in the new healing god's retrieval from Epidauros that will serve as a prelude to the discussion concerning state and private cults.

The third chapter occupies itself with the entwinement of Asklepios in several major Athenian cults essential to the Athenian civic identity, namely the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and that of Dionysos Eleutherios. The god's inclusion in these important cults will strengthen

¹³ For the *demos*' involvement with decision making, see Roberts (1998²) 50-84. The *demos* had to be consulted for the installation of every new cult in Athens, see Garland (1984) 78, (1992) 19; Clinton (1994a) 24-25, 28; Parker (1996) 180, 214-217; Price (1999)76-78.

¹⁴ F.I., a rise of irrationality, see Dodds (1951); Spartan invasions and the consequent growing tensions amongst the Population, Hölscher (1991); or the plague, see n.10; or a combination of imperialism and a rise in medical proficiency, see Wickkier (2008).

¹⁵ For example, Nillson (1951); Meiggs (1972) and Garland (1992).

¹⁶ Nillson (1951) and Garland (1992) assumed an imperialist interpretation of this cult's introduction, whereas recent scholarship has viewed it in another light, see Wijma (2010).

the argument that it was indeed the *demos*' involvement that helped pave the way for the Epidaurian god to enter the Athenian *polis*.

The fourth section will examine what other scholars, with the evidence available to us, have proposed as an explanation for Asklepios' arrival. Differing explanations, such as the plague or Athenian imperialism, are not completely dismissed. Merely, these theses form a part of the explanation, yet cannot truly account for Asklepios' introduction in its entirety.

Chapter five concerns itself with the reconstruction of the mindset of the Athenians at the time of Asklepios' introduction. Of importance are the events of the Archidamian War, that affected the Athenian population and had a pronounced effect on the way they handled their politics with regards to other *poleis*. I believe the Athenian population was tired of imperialism. As George Orwell termed it: 'In order to hate imperialism, you have to be a part of it.'¹⁷ Moreover, a closer inspection of the Peace of Nikias, as well as an investigation into the relations between both Athens and Epidauros are included. The blueprint for these interstate relations is the model for Classical Greece, put forward by Low.¹⁸ The following chapter will assess the 'end result' of the interstate relations between Athens and Epidauros, based on reciprocity in diplomacy between both *poleis*. This reciprocal interaction shows the willingness from the Athenian side to convince Epidauros to sign a peace treaty, with Asklepios' introduction into Athens being the primary condition to achieve that goal. Finally, I will assess the correlations between peace and the two major civic cults Asklepios was incorporated into. By showing these alignments, the underlying peace connotations attached to these cults become comprehensible and consequently, Asklepios' role in them as a symbol of the peace between Athens and Epidauros. Particularly considering Asklepios' cult was visited by all Athenian classes, with no specific gender or social background distinguishably taking a majority in the votive records, we can conclude he reached all layers of the Athenian social strata.¹⁹ As a result, this thesis will not only prove Asklepios' role in the Peace of Nikias, but simultaneously, this role will account for at least part of his rapid ascendance in popularity after his arrival at Athens.

¹⁷ From George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier*, chapter 9.

¹⁸ Low (2007).

¹⁹ Hausmann (1948); Aleshire (1989) 56, 113-369; Aleshire (1991) 75. Not only the lower layers, also social élite were devoted to Asklepios, like Aristarchus of Tegea and the comic poet Theopompus, contemporaries of Euripides and Aristophanes, see Parker (1996) 179.

1. The Factual Evidence

In order to gain a clear indication of what we know for certain about Asklepios and his Athenian cult, it is useful to give an overview of the evidence concerning Athens, Asklepios and Epidauros. This information will be provided in this chapter, for which a map of the Saronic Gulf for geographical considerations of the position of both Athens and Epidauros to one another is vital.²⁰ Subsequently, the topographical positioning of the Asklepios cult in Athens and its remains from the fifth century will be considered. Closing off the chapter will be the interpretation and description of the Telemachos monument, the most valued epigraphical evidence concerning the Asklepios cult and its introduction into Athens.

1.1 The Geography

The political ties between Athens and Epidauros are more fully understood with a clarification of their geographical relation to one another. Both of these cities are situated around the Saronic Gulf. Concentrating on this area can help create a ‘mental map’, a theatre of war, in which the events leading up to the introduction of Asklepios took place. Although the main focus of action for this thesis, this area was also still part of a larger picture of conflict: the Peloponnesian War. It is important to be able to picture the Saronic Gulf and all of the islands and coastal areas it contains, as this ‘mental map’ clarifies the proximity of Athens to Epidauros, which simplifies the possibility of swift diplomatic contact between the two *poleis*, for instance in times of trouble.

Athens’ interest in the Akte Peninsula – which contains cities like Epidauros, Troizen and Hermione – has been attested since the First Peloponnesian War, especially since Aktean cities were easily drawn into larger conflicts between larger Greek powers, due to their central geographical position.²¹ Later attestation of the Athenian interest in this area becomes noticeable during the Persian Wars, as Athens evacuated its non-combatant citizens to Troizen, to safeguard them from the incoming Persian armies.²² It should come as no surprise for Athens to have a perceived interest in this area in later times.²³ As the map shows the physical distance between Athens and the Akte Peninsula was negligible, especially considering

²⁰ The map is found in Appendix I, fig.1.

²¹ For Athenian activity in the Akte Peninsula during the First Peloponnesian War, see Jameson (1994) 73 and 76.

²² Hdt. 8. 40. The non-combatant citizens were sent to Troizen, with several citizens remaining in Athens, by their own free will, to defend the city.

²³ As demonstrated by treaties with other Aktean cities, like Halieis and Troizen. Formerly dated in the 450s, the treaty with Hermione is now dated in the 425 B.C.E. range, which fits the context of the Athenian interest in maintaining peaceful relations with the Akte peninsula. For the dating, see Mattingly (2000) 139; the inscription mentioned is IG I³ 31. Halieis accepted an Athenian garrison, IG I³ 75.

the Athenian naval supremacy and its control of the islands of Aigina and Salamis during the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. Due to these factors, maintaining contact between Athens and the Aktean cities was not a challenge.

The Akte also interested Athens because of the strategic potential it offered to the Athenian military goals, particularly when taking into consideration the political position of Perikles' city at the start of the Peloponnesian War. The old proverb „keep your friends close and your enemies even closer” certainly applied to Athens. On the northern borders of Attica, the Boeotians and Megarians were lurking, hoping for a chance to settle their scores; to the west of those enemies, the Corinthians and their strong navy posed another potential threat. Further westwards, the Peloponnese and the Spartans with their allies waited. Therefore an ally across the Saronic Gulf would be highly desirable for Athens. Its geographical proximity, as well as its accessibility to the sea, would play to the strengths of the Athenian military.²⁴

Within this area, Epidauros was the most alluring to Athens, as only the Saronic Gulf divided these two cities. Their harbour was the port closest to Athens and provided safe and convenient anchorage on the Peloponnese for the Athenian navy. As a result, this would enable the quick shipping of troops to this hotbed of animosity, owing to Athens' naval superiority. Another military benefit, to be gained from Epidauros, was its geographical relation to the Isthmus of Corinth. Forming the only land route into and out of the Peloponnese, controlling this vital point would enable Athens to safeguard its own troops' entry into the Peloponnese whilst also preventing Peloponnesian troops from invading Attica, an annual calamity for Athens during the war.²⁵

Both geographically and strategically, Epidauros offered advantages to Athens. This *polis*, however, was one of the most loyal Spartan allies, and a switch of loyalties by Epidauros would not only strengthen Athens' position, but simultaneously cause a severe blow to Spartan morale. Action had to be taken, either by force or diplomacy, in order for Epidauros to switch sides. The first option had been explored, in the early stages of the war: Perikles had aimed to take the city by storm, but to no avail. Later attempts, to capture Epidauros by force, proved fruitless.²⁶ A more diplomatic and peaceful solution, thereby saving Athenian lives, was thus a serious option for Athens.

²⁴ The importance of logistics and topography, as well as the revolution in naval warfare in the Classical Era, opened up new possibilities to exercise control over widely dispersed populations, see Raaflaub (1999) 142-143.

²⁵ Wickkiser (2008) 92-93.

²⁶ Thuc. 2.56. The first attempt was made under Perikles in 430 B.C.E. The Akte Peninsula was hit the hardest by the Athenians raids of the Peloponnese according to Diodorus, see Diod. 12.43.1; for Pericles' strategy and his special interest in Epidauros; Holladay (1978) 401.

In order for Athens to achieve a diplomatic solution, political contacts between Epidaurus and Athens had to be maintained. The map of the Saronic Gulf shows the proximity of Athens to Epidaurus. The layout of this theatre of war also forces us to consider the possibilities for diplomatic contact between these two *poleis*. It can therefore create another picture of the Peloponnesian War. Instead of concentrating on the major battle sites, such as Amphipolis or Sphacteria, it shifts focus towards other areas, such as the Saronic Gulf.

Through this scope, all of the geographical segments which lie between Athens and Epidaurus played their part during the Archidamian War. This ‘mental map’ clarifies the chain of events leading up to the introduction of Asklepios into Athens in 420/19 B.C.E. If political goals instigated the Athenians’ will to obtain the new healing cult, the possibility for interaction with *poleis* around the Saronic Gulf – even during wartime - ensured its attainability.

1.2 Archaeological Evidence: The location and size of the sanctuary

The following chapter examines the archaeological evidence concerning Asklepios’ accommodation in Athens. The sanctuary’s size and the building it consists are vital to our understanding of Asklepios’ cult and the information we can deduce from it. A larger sanctuary attaches more importance to Asklepios’ arrival, since more time and effort is used for constructing larger sanctuaries than for smaller ones.²⁷

First, it is important to *exclude* from the examination all visible parts of the sanctuary that date from later times. The so-called Doric Stoa on the north side, along with the temple and the altar situated on the marble pavement stem from the fourth and early third centuries. The smaller south stoa and propylon date to the Roman Imperial Period.²⁸ Therefore, they are excluded from all considerations in the following section.

Located on the South Slope of the Acropolis, the Asklepieion had a prime location within the Athenian landscape. It was built next to the theatre of Dionysos and near a sanctuary of Pan and Aphrodite and other minor deities.²⁹ Little of the fifth-century Asklepieion is left, since the original structures were made of wood.³⁰ Yet, the sanctuary’s placement on the South Slope can be roughly traced. The exact positioning of the Athenian Asklepieion, however, has been a matter of debate since the initial excavations. The

²⁷ Burford (1965) 21-34, 22 and Burkert (1996) 28.

²⁸ Hurwit (1999) 219.

²⁹ Walker (1979) 246.

³⁰ Hurwit (1999) 220.

discussion is mainly concerned with the sanctuary's placing on either the middle, or the eastern terrace and whether the sanctuary expanded towards other areas of this plateau in later times.

According to the commonly accepted reconstruction, the sanctuary was located on the eastern terrace from its earliest phase, with excursions to the middle and western terrace.³¹ Most scholars accept this restoration, though an alternative interpretation has been proposed. Travlos and Köhler argued for a placement of the initial sanctuary on the eastern terrace. While seemingly 'limited' in size, the sanctuary would still cover 55 meters in this reconstruction, but omits the Ionic banqueting hall. Thus, the sanctuary was less equipped in its appliances, because of the lack of additional building outside the altar and temple.

Travlos and Köhler found a supporter for their proposition in Riethmüller.³² He excludes the middle terrace based on the 'boundary stones' found.³³ The middle and western terrace are thereby omitted from the equation. He bases his opinions mainly on Köhler's assessment, who sees the *peribolos* of the sanctuary marked by these alleged 'boundary stones', with the help of Pausanias' description. Köhler adds an inscription that adds to Pausanias' account.³⁴

Riethmüller subsequently finds more at fault with the inclusion of the western terrace. Because of the attestation of cultic areas belonging to other deities in the middle of the terrace, he concludes that there must have been a strong divide between the eastern and western terrace.³⁵ Consequently, this would exclude the western terrace from the initial sanctuary altogether.

So the exclusion of the western terrace implies that the original Asklepieion included a small sanctuary for the cult statue, as well as a sacrificial altar.³⁶ Also encompassed in the sanctuary were the northern spring and a *bothros*.³⁷

³¹ Hurwit (1999) 219-221; Melfi (2007) 313-333.

³² Köhler (1878) 178; Travlos (1971) 'Asklepieion'; Aleshire (1989) 21-36; Riethmüller (1999) 128; Riethmüller (2005) vol. 1, 241-273. Others have thought that the initial, small sanctuary was located on the eastern terrace, thereafter expanding towards the western terrace. See Girard (1881) 5ff; Judeich (1931²) 320ff; Boersma (1970) 175, n.43.

³³ 'Boundary' Stone is a term proposed by Riethmüller himself: Riethmüller (2005) 252.

³⁴ Köhler (1878) 173-175. Although Köhler admits Pausanias' description is somewhat unclear: Paus. 1. 21. 4-22.2; IG II² 1046.

³⁵ Walker (1979) 247; Riethmüller (1999) 128.

³⁶ Hurwit (1999) 219. The *bothros* could have been a reservoir, a sacrificial pit, or a home for snakes. For the *bothros* as an essential to a hero cult dedicated to Asklepios, see Riethmüller (1999) 129-134. For more on Asklepios' hero-cult, see Farnell (1921) 234-279. The place currently marked as an altar is doubted by Jensen/Lefantzis and Papaefthymion, see Lefantzis and Jensen (2009) 91-124 and Papaefthymion (2009) 67-91. For epigraphical evidence on the altar(s), see IG II² 4355 and 4358.

³⁷ Travlos (1971) 139; Riethmüller (2005) 255. On the spring, see Camp (1977) 106-115.

This interpretation does not include the Ionic Stoa on the western terrace as part of the earliest sanctuary. The exclusion of this building seems peculiar. It is more commonly accepted that the Stoa itself belonged to the original sanctuary, whereas the colonnade of the Stoa is to be dated later.³⁸ Several reasons are to be found to *include* the Ionic Stoa and the western terrace as part of the first Asklepieion.

Firstly, the foundations of the Stoa are firmly dated to c.420 B.C.E. by Martin and Metzger.³⁹ This concurs with the founding of the Asklepieion in Athens. Adding to this coincidence is the overlapping of the Stoa with an old precinct wall. That occurrence, in turn, could have been the primary reason for the dispute between the Asklepios administrators and the Kerykes, as documented in the Telemachos monument.⁴⁰ Probably the construction of the Stoa led to the clearer definition of the boundaries of yet another sacred zone a little farther to the west – the South Slope Spring, originally sacred to Nymphs and then to Pan. A boundary stone inscribed with the words *horos krenes* was then set up along the Peripatos.⁴¹ So, the strong divide between cults in different terraces should not be seen as an argument to exclude the western terrace, especially since the Ionic Stoa is dated in the same period as the founding of the Asklepieion and fits in with what we frequently see in Asklepieia.⁴²

A challenge to Riethmüller's interpretation of the 'boundary stones' came from Jensen and Lefantzis in 2009. They agree with Riethmüller and Beschi that the preserved *peribolos* is the one mentioned in the Telemachos monument.⁴³ Disagreement arises at the point of assigning this *peribolos* to the archaeological remains and the boundary of the sanctuary. The Telemachos inscription is distinctive in its description of a *peribolos*, therefore, Jensen and Lefantzis argue that the western boundary of the sanctuary could not be marked by the boundary stones Riethmüller mentions, but by the preserved *peribolos* wall, thereby discrediting Riethmüller's interpretation of the sanctuary's boundaries.⁴⁴

Furthermore, the divide between the older and newer cults should not necessarily exclude the Ionic Stoa from the Asklepieion. I believe the clearer boundary is only confirmed, in order to ensure that the Asklepieion did not envelop all of the middle terrace. The other,

³⁸ Hurwit (1999) 220.

³⁹ Martin and Metzger (1949) 317-320. Their opinion is based upon the material used and the style of the order. For a conflicting view, see Tomlinson (1969) 106-117, who, however, overlooks some important archaeological remains concerning the Stoa itself. He only includes the surroundings and the *peribolos* wall in his examination.

⁴⁰ For the Telemachos monument, see chapter 1.4.

⁴¹ Travlos (1971) 138; Hurwit (1999) 220.

⁴² Tomlinson (1969) 111-116.

⁴³ Beschi (1967/68b) 512-515; Riethmüller (2005) 250-255; Lefantzis and Jensen (2009) 108. The Telemachos monument: IG II² 4960 and 4961.

⁴⁴ Lefantzis and Jensen (2009) 111.

older sanctuaries were still accessible, since the Asklepieion did not block the entrance entirely. The presence of the older sanctuaries on the western terrace does not imply that the Ionic Stoa could not have been included with the Asklepieion. Particularly since the boundary marker and the Ionic Stoa coincide in dating, it should be seen as a confirmation of the founding of the Asklepieion in this area.⁴⁵

As to conclude, based on architectural findings and archaeological dating, the Ionic Stoa is to be included in the initial phase of the Athenian Asklepieion. Moreover, it is possible to counterbalance arguments made for the exclusion of the western terrace. Recently, excavations of the Asklepieion that support the inclusion of the western terrace have been concluded.⁴⁶ The reassessment of the archaeological remains of the site of the Athenian Asklepieion, shows that the initial Asklepieion did not only include a small temple for the cult statue, a sacrificial altar, a shrine and a *bothros*, but the Ionic Stoa as well.

With the inclusion of the Ionic Stoa and the western terrace, the earliest Asklepieion amounts to quite an undertaking and a sanctuary of considerable size. This is remarkable, especially considering the limited amount of space on the South Slope of the Acropolis.⁴⁷ Asklepios' new accommodation in Athens therefore was one of a worthy and important newcomer to the Athenian pantheon.

1.3 Further information concerning Asklepios' cult in Athens

Aside from his sanctuary, what other facts are available to us concerning Asklepios' introduction into Athens? The healing god arrived at Athens in 420/419 B.C.E., amidst the celebration for the Greater Eleusinian Mysteries.⁴⁸ Disembarking from his sanctuary in Epidauros on the Peloponnese, he set sail for the Zea Harbour in the Piraeus.⁴⁹ Personnel of the Eleusinian Demeter went up to meet and welcome him. The god received a ritual procession, or *πομπη*, in which the priestess of Demeter escorted Asklepios into the city of Athens, to receive temporary accommodation in the City Eleusinion. This sanctuary was consecrated to Demeter at the northwest foot of the Acropolis near the Agora.⁵⁰ In all probability, Asklepios subsequently journeyed by chariot around the west bastion beneath the Nike temple, to the south slope of the Acropolis where he settled in amongst notable

⁴⁵ For the dating, see Walker (1979) 147.

⁴⁶ See Papaefthymion (2009) 67-91 amongst others. These reports were not available to Riethmüller at the time of his publication.

⁴⁷ Zimmer (1993) 94-102.

⁴⁸ See Parke (1977) 63-5; Clinton (1994a) 27. Phil. *Vita Apollonii* 4.17-18 and Paus. 2.26.8 describe Asklepios' initiation into the Mysteries.

⁴⁹ For the importance of this harbour and the establishment of an Asklepios sanctuary in the Piraeus, see Garland (1987) 100-115.

⁵⁰ For more on the City Eleusinion and the warm welcome of Asklepios, see Miles (1998) 59-67.

neighbours: Dionysus immediately next door to the east, and Athena Polias just above on the summit of the newly-refurbished Acropolis.⁵¹

Asklepios thus received a prominent place amongst the Athenian cultic topography. Aside from Pan, no other newly introduced god received such a great real estate location as Asklepios did.⁵² Additionally, the healing god was the only deity in this period to have been properly received into Athens by the warm embrace of Athens' own panhellenic cult of Eleusinian Demeter.⁵³

Several sources verify Asklepios' arrival. Our most important source on the event is the Telemachos monument, which will be discussed below. Supplementary information can also be extracted from the accounts of Sophocles' life. The difficulty with these sources is that they are late and problematic, which does not bode well for retrieving reliable evidence concerning Asklepios' entry into Athens.⁵⁴

Sophocles is linked to Asklepios' arrival by two accounts. Firstly, by Plutarch's account in his *Moralia*, in which he states that Sophocles received Asklepios as guest.⁵⁵ Secondly, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, a lexicon of the twelfth century C.E., that recalls Sophocles' reception of Asklepios into his *oikia* (house) and him setting up an altar to the god. Because of this treatment, the playwright was called *Dexion* (Receiver) and was honoured as a hero. On these grounds, scholars have argued that the tragic playwright played a part in Asklepios' arrival at Athens. Andrew Connolly has proven, however, that both sources are vague as to the nature and occasion for Sophocles' reception and probably are later reconstructions to adduce more value to Sophocles' partaking in the god's introduction.⁵⁶

Even in the case of an actual encounter between the poet and Asklepios' cult, the sources are based upon poets' biographies from Hellenistic times. These carry a large fictional element. The only thing actually deductible from Sophocles' vita was his priesthood of Ἀλῶν

⁵¹ For a map of the Akropolis, see Appendix I, fig.3. Wickkiser (2003) 112-113. More important is the use of the chariot for its associations with Athena and individuals she favoured, see Connor (1987) 42-47 and Wickkiser (2009) 199-201.

⁵² Pan's sanctuary was located in a cave on the northwest shoulder of the Acropolis. See Hurwit (1999) 130; Camp (2001) 50. Other cults introduced to Athens in the 5th c. include Bendis, Pheme, Artemis Aristoboule, Adrasteia, Meter, Adonis, Sabazius amongst others. On cults introduced to Athens in the 5th c., see Garland (1992); Parker (1996) 152-198.

⁵³ For the panhellenic aspects of this cult, see Clinton (1994b) 161-172.

⁵⁴ The sources are problematic, since they are drawn upon material collected in the Hellenistic period when poet's biographies became a matter of erudite scholarship.

⁵⁵ Wickkiser (2008) 66. Plut. *Mor.* 14.22 [1103b], the verb used is ξενιζειν.

⁵⁶ Connolly (1998). Telemachos is not mentioned in both accounts, although scholars try to reconcile the traditions by suggesting that Asklepios stopped at Sophocles' *oikia* on his way to the Eleusinion. For instance Clinton (1994a) 25-26. Connolly (1998) 10-20 documents how the Sophocles tradition was met with early scepticism in the 1880's to gradual acceptance due to doubtful restorations of key inscriptions in the 1890s. As Wickkiser (2008) 136 puts it: 'It is a remarkable story of seeing what we wish to see in the evidence'.

(Halon) one of Cheiron's students alongside Asklepios. This hero is otherwise unknown. Alfred Körte therefore reads the name in the vita as Amynos.⁵⁷ In inscriptions from the Amynos sanctuary in fourth century B.C.E., the names of Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion are grouped; Sophocles, however, is not associated with them.⁵⁸ Nowhere is Sophocles mentioned as Dexion. There is an inscription found with a paean to Asklepios, which names Sophocles as its creator. Too little of the text remains, however, to make much sense of the content, let alone to link it to the arrival of Asklepios.⁵⁹ Doubt surrounds the textual tradition linking Sophocles to Asklepios.

Another individual, Telemachos, has more solid evidence associated to him concerning Asklepios' arrival. Inscribed on the monument that carries his name, the role played by this Athenian is described. This inscription is traditionally dated to the late fifth century B.C.E. The establishment of most ancient Greek cults are clouded in darkness, which leaves much room for assumptions about their early history as a matter of conjure, even in antiquity. Asklepios' establishment in Athens, on the other hand, is less unclear, since we are provided with detailed information from a contemporary source.⁶⁰

1.4 The Telemachos Monument

On the Telemachos monument's main relief a standing Asklepios accompanied by a seated woman on his right is shown.⁶¹ A crouching dog is to be seen beneath the god, whereas a smaller scale figure is depicted on the left. With his hand raised in a gesture of prayer, it resembles a human form, which could quite possibly be Telemachos himself.⁶² As we are not aware of the party who commissioned the Telemachos monument, it is quite plausible that the name giver and his family would have at least one of its members be represented.⁶³

A large double doorway with a stork sitting in a tree next to it is depicted on the other larger relief. In this part of the relief, we are dealing with a portrayal of the sanctuary of Asklepios on the South Slope of the Acropolis. According to Beschi, these images represent the topography of the Asklepieion. The doorway is that of the sanctuary, whereas the stork,

⁵⁷ Wickkiser (2008) 66. Amynos was heroised in Athens and was therefore known, whereas Halon was not. Körte thus interpreted the name to be a different name to suit the then known heroes of Athens.

⁵⁸ IG II² 1252 and 999; IG II² 1253.

⁵⁹ Wickkiser (2008) 67. The inscription dates from the third century C.E., *SEG* 28.225 = IG II² 4510. See also Aleshire (1991) 49-59. Another source attributing a paean to Asklepios to Sophocles is Philostratos, *VA* 3.17.

⁶⁰ Wickkiser (2003) 113, as she asserts: The Telemachos monument may have been erected by Telemachos or his family, and if so is inherently biased. Nevertheless, it would have been difficult for Telemachos to fabricate and publish such detail about highly public events in a place as prominent as the Asklepieion without recrimination, or removal of the monument, by the *demos*. The inscription is also found in *SEG* 25.226.

⁶¹ For a reconstruction of the Monument, see Appendix I, fig.4.

⁶² Stafford (2005) 125.

⁶³ Wickkiser (2008) 67.

called a *πελαργός* in Greek, symbolises the Pelargikon, the wall that surrounded the Acropolis.⁶⁴

Another interesting observation made by Beschi is the reconstruction of a boat and the crest of two waves in one of the sculpture fragments. In his opinion, this resembles Asklepios' arrival by sea at Piraeus.⁶⁵ Furthermore, three horse heads appear in various fragments of the monument, and while two of them may best be understood as signifying hero-cult, as Beschi has argued, the third one might not. Wickkiser offers a different interpretation for the equine head which appears in the same fragment depicting the boat and waves. In Beschi's reconstruction, this head faces towards the god's new sanctuary. From this viewpoint, Wickkiser argues for the possibility of the third head being the horse that drew Asklepios' chariot on his way to his new accommodation. The monument would consequently be a true testimony to Asklepios' travel, all the way from Epidauros to the Athenian Acropolis.⁶⁶

The relief depicts the travels completed by the healing god and portrays his sanctuary in Athens. In addition, an inscription on the Telemachos monument tells us even more about the introduction of Asklepios into Athens.

The text and translation of the inscription are as follows.⁶⁷

[Τ]ηλέμαχος ἰδ[ρύσατο τὸ ἰ]-
[ε]ρὸν καὶ τὸν βω[μὸν τῶι Ἀσ]-
[σκλ]ηπιῶι πρῶτ[ος καὶ Ὑγι]-
[εῖαι], τοῖς Ἀσσ[κλητιάδαι]-
5 [ς καὶ τ]αῖς Ἀσσ[κληπιῶ θυγ]-
[ατρᾶσιν] κα[ὶ — — — — —]
— — — — — — — — — — — — —
[.] | Σ[. . .] Μ[. . .]
10 [. ἄ]νελθὼν Ζεόθ[ε]-
[ν Μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγά-
[λοῖς κατ]ήγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐ[λ]-
[ευσίνιο]ν καὶ οἴκοθεν
[μεταπεμ]ψάμενος διά[κ]-
[ονος ἥγ]αγεν δεῦρε ἐφ' [ἄ]-
15 [ρματος] Τηλέμαχο[ς κ]α[τ]-
[ἄ χρησμός]· ἅμα ἦλθεν Ὑγ-
[εῖα καὶ] οὕτως ἰδρύθη

⁶⁴ Beschi (1967/68a) 386-397. The Pelargikon is mentioned in Thuc. 2.17.1.

⁶⁵ For a closer view of the fragments concerned here, see Appendix I, fig. 5. Beschi (2002) 21 and fig. 5-7.

⁶⁶ Beschi (2002) 21 versus Wickkiser (2009) 200-201. For more on horses correlated to heroes on votive reliefs, see van Straten (1992) 259-260.

⁶⁷ Lines 1-26: Clinton (1994a) (*SEG* 47.232); lines 30-44: Beschi (1967/68a) (*SEG* 25.226). Clinton (1994a) is a new edition of lines 1-26 only of *SEG* 25.226.

20 [τὸ ἱερόν]ν τόδε ἅπαν ἐπὶ
 [Ἀστυφί]λο ἄρχοντος Κυ-
 [δαντίδ]ο. Ἀρχέας· ἐπὶ το-
 [ύτο οἱ Κ]ήρυκες ἠμφεσβ-
 [ήτον τὸ] χωρίο καὶ ἔνια
 [ἐπεκώλ]υσαν ποῆσαι. Ἀν-
 25 [τιφῶν ἐπὶ το]ύτο εὐ-
 [. Εὐφημος]· ἐπὶ τ-
 [ούτο]
 lacuna
 30 .]ε[.]
 ν ἔκτ[ισε καὶ κα]-
 τεσκ[εύασε. Χαρίας· ἐπὶ]
 τούτο τὸν [περίβολον ἀ]-
 πὸ τὸ ξυλοπυ[λίο. Τείσα]-
 35 νδρος· ἐπὶ το[ύτο ἐπεσκ]-
 ευάσθη τὰ ξ[υλοπύλια κ]-
 αὶ τὰ λοιπὰ [τῶν ἱερῶν π]-
 ροσιδρύσατ[ο. Κλεόκρι]-
 τος· ἐπὶ τού[το ἐφυτεύθ]-
 40 η καὶ κατέστ[ησε κοσμή]-
 σας τὸ τέμεν[ος ἅπαν τέ]-
 λει τῶι ἑαυ[τῷ. Καλλίας]
 [Σκαμβωνίδης· ἐπὶ τούτ-
 ο. ρα . . .]

Telemachos first set up the sanctuary and altar to Asklepios, and to Hygieia, and the Asklepiadae and the daughters of Asklepios...

Coming up from Zea at the time of the Greater Mysteries, he arrived at the Eleusinion; and Telemachos, having sent for temple attendants from the god's home,⁶⁸ brought him here⁶⁹ on a chariot⁷⁰ in accordance with the oracle. Hygieia came along with

⁶⁸ There is debate on the word οἴχοθεν. Clinton's view (1994a) is contradicted by Wickkiser (2003) 117, who sees it as referring to Asklepios' new home on the Acropolis. I support Wickkiser's suggestion. Other propositions made by Wickkiser are equally convincing. Clinton (1994a) translates διακόνος as "servants" and οἴχοθεν as "at his own expense." According to *LSJ*, διακόνος can mean servant, messenger, or temple attendant. Clinton (23-24) argues that understanding διακόνος as temple attendant is not in keeping with the main purpose of the monument, "which is to give due credit to Telemachos." However, the inscription refers to parties other than Telemachos who participated in the importation of the cult. As to οἴχοθεν meaning "at his own expense," it is odd that this term should be chosen here, while another phrase, τέλει τῶι ἑαυτῷ, is used later in the inscription to mean the same thing. It makes much more sense, given the context, that Telemachos sent for attendants from Asklepios' home (hence οἴχοθεν —either his sanctuary at Epidauros or his new home on the Acropolis) to escort Asklepios from the Eleusinion.

⁶⁹ δεῦρε refers to the Acropolis sanctuary, where the Telemachos monument stood.

⁷⁰ In the translation for chariot, I follow Wickkiser (2008) 70 and *LSJ*, contrary to Clinton (1994a) who translates it as 'wagon'.

him. And thus this whole sanctuary was established when Astyphilos of Kudantidai was archon. When Archeas was archon, the Kerykes disputed the land and hindered some actions. When Antiphon was archon...[??] prospered. When Euphemos was archon...

When Karias was archon, a *peribolos* was built apart from the wooden gateway. When Teisandras was archon, the wooden gateway was rebuilt and the rest of the sanctuary set up in addition. When Kleokritos was archon, the sanctuary was planted, and he arranged and adorned the whole sanctuary at his own expense. When Kallias of Skambonidai was archon...⁷¹

(Trans. By Bronwen Wickkiser (2003) 118-119)

Asklepios' introduction is thus lucidly described, and his route into Athens clarified. Telemachos played an important part in Asklepios' arrival, apparently without any effort by the Athenian *demos*. A closer inspection of the inscription, however, will prove otherwise.

⁷¹Archonship dates: Astyphilos (420/19 B.C.E.), Archeas (419/18), Antiphon (418/17), Euphemos (417/16), Arimnestos (416/15), Charias (415/14), Teisandros (414/13), Kleokritos (413/12), Kallias (412/11).

2. The difficulties of ‘cult’ definitions

This chapter commences with the interpretation of the inscription on the Telemachos monument and Telemachos’ precise role in Asklepios’ arrival.⁷² The following paragraph concerns the difficulties regarding the definition of ‘cult’ in ancient Athens. The interpretation of Telemachos’ narrative will show the interest of the *polis* in the healing deity’s arrival. Moreover, as the Telemachos monument shows, the Asklepieion was situated in or near the Pelargikon.⁷³ However, no private altar was to be established within this area without consent of the *Boule* and *demos*.⁷⁴ Hence, the *demos* was involved in the placing of the altar and sanctuary. A definition of ‘state’ cult and the *polis*’ involvement in matters concerning religion in the Athenian cultic life clarifies the probability of the *polis*’ contribution to Asklepios’ introduction into Athens in 420/419 B.C.E. Simultaneously, it demonstrates that the *demos* did indeed form part of the deciding body that helped to bring Asklepios to the city of Athena.

2.1 Individual accomplishment or state involvement: An interpretation of the Telemachos monument

The Telemachos monument emphasises its name givers’ role in Asklepios’ introduction. He brought Asklepios to the south slope of the Acropolis by chariot and founded the Acropolis sanctuary. The set up of the monument has led some scholars to believe that the introduction of Asklepios into Athens has mainly been an individual accomplishment.⁷⁵ At a first glance, this interpretation seems to be correct. Telemachos is after all the only one mentioned in the inscription to have occupied himself with the bringing in of Asklepios into the Athenian polis.

Yet, a second, more thorough look at the inscription and its language, yields some notable remarks. One is the mentioning of Telemachos’ name twice, more than any other person named. More remarkably so, since it twice forms the very first word of the inscriptions. This repeated naming implies a prominent role by Telemachos. However, the language of the inscription is deceptive, as Kevin Clinton first noticed. The mix of transitive

⁷² Some scholars believe it might be possible that Telemachos was an Epidaurian resident in Athens based on the frequency of the name in one dominant Epidaurian family; IG IV² 1, see Parker (1996) 178-179.

⁷³ Beschi (1967/68b) 512-525 for more on the Pelargikon.

⁷⁴ IG I³ 78 (lines 47-61), especially lines 54-59. For more on ‘private cult foundations’, see Purvis (2003) 1-15.

⁷⁵ The involvement of the state differs with each scholar, although none assign a greater role to it in Asklepios’ introduction. Körte, (1896) 276-332 argues that the state even refused to authorise the cult’s importation. Aleshire (1989) 8 sees the cult as a ‘private’ foundation. Schlaifer (1940) 240; n.2 and Cavanaugh (1996) 47, remark that the state in the very least must have ratified the importation and allotted the land for the sanctuary. Clinton (1994a) was the first to hint at more state involvement when he discusses the participation of the cult of Eleusinian Demeter in Asklepios’ arrival. It was Wickkiser (2003) 119 who has argued for a strong involvement by the Athenian state.

and intransitive, active and passive verbs is confusing, as well as misleading.⁷⁶ It therefore appears as if something – Telemachos’ role in Asklepios’ arrival - should remain hidden, not named and mentioned. The way to achieve this would be the illogical infusion of weird forms. Subsequently, the text is indistinctive in language and style, the opposite to what we would expect from a person influential enough to undertake the introduction of a new deity solely by himself. It seems as if Telemachos’ role in the introduction is embellished, whilst simultaneously being denied a more defined role. This elusive construction coincides with a prominence in individuality in late fifth century Athens, as will be elaborated in the following paragraph.

Another aspect that hardly receives attention in scholarship is the nature of the monument: It was probably a (very large) offering to Asklepios. Votives are of an individual nature,⁷⁷ the prominence of Telemachos would then be explained as his way of acclaiming responsibility for so fine a gift. Individuality was one of the focal aspects of the Asklepios cult, therefore increasing the need for Telemachos to assert himself. His assertion becomes more apparent and understandable, considering the time his monument was created and set up. On the basis of letter forms and sculptural style, the monument can be dated around 400 B.C.E.⁷⁸ Around this period, funerary grave reliefs returned in the Athenian funerary landscape, a sign of an increasing focus on the smallest fundamental part of the *polis*, the *oikos*.⁷⁹

Moreover, the context of the dedication is connected with Asklepios’ reception in Athens as well: the cult became instantly popular after its introduction.⁸⁰ Telemachos, by dedicating such a grand votive relief, whilst simultaneously providing an account of his role in the god’s introduction, might have tried to receive acclaim for himself amongst the Athenian population. His exact role is not the essential point; the fact that Telemachos even played part in the introduction could yield him fame in the *polis*. The importance of one’s renown in the Greek world requires no explanation, I believe. It would help to explain the vagueness of the inscription’s language: Telemachos boasts of his exploits, without actually claiming himself to be solely responsible for Asklepios’ introduction into Athens.

⁷⁶ As Clinton (1994a) 24 remarks regarding the text of the Telemachos monument: ‘The style lacks art, but it serves Telemachos well; it conveniently leaves unsaid what others have contributed in bringing the cult of Asclepius to Athens’.

⁷⁷ Van Straten (1981) 88-102.

⁷⁸ Beschi (1967/68a) 428-436. Moreover, the name of the archon Kallias provides a *terminus post quem* of 412/11 B.C.E.

⁷⁹ Mikalson (1984) 223-5; Lawton (2009) 66.

⁸⁰ Lawton (2009) 74-78.

Since no other evidence points towards Telemachos' involvement all the way from Epidauros, his participation seems to have started at the Athenian Eleusinion. Telemachos' acclaim in the inscription only concerns the relocation of Asklepios from the Eleusinion to the South Slope of the Acropolis (lines 12-16), and for setting up the god's sanctuary and altar at that location (lines 1-6).⁸¹ From another inscription, although it is not explicitly stated, the participation of Epidaurian officials in the transfer of Asklepios from Epidauros to Piraeus, where he first landed, is mentioned.⁸² Also, it was Eleusinian cult personnel that were responsible for housing the healing god in the Eleusinion.⁸³ Telemachos' role, according to his monument and inscription, is thus only a limited one. He moved Asklepios from the Eleusinion to the South Slope of the Acropolis and set up the healing god's new sanctuary there.

Regardless of the inscription's reference to Telemachos' involvement, scholars have been inclined to exaggerate his role in Asklepios' introduction.⁸⁴ It would be remarkable if his expanded role would have been described in one of the lost fragments. Aside from this exception, Telemachos' responsibilities in Asklepios' introduction are clear: he took care of Asklepios' transition from the Eleusinion to his new accommodation on the South Slope of the Acropolis.

Moreover, it was not unusual for a god to make his wishes known through the help of one individual. Such a *topos* occurred several times in antiquity and was therefore not unknown to the Athenians either. One example is Athena's instruction for Orestes to establish a cult in honour of Iphigeneia.⁸⁵ Another case is Pan. At the Battle of Marathon he appears to Pheidippides on his run between Sparta and Marathon to request that the Athenians establish a cult of Pan.⁸⁶ Gods frequently communicated to human individuals through dreams or oracles. Coincidentally, there are instances in which the establishment of Asklepios' cult is attributed to

⁸¹ Burkert (1977) 84-95 for the establishment and typical components of Greek sanctuaries.

⁸² Clinton (1994a) 18-21. Agora, Inv. No. I 7471, a law about one of Asklepios' annual festivals in Athens, has been convincingly restored to include the word $\varphi\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho$, for sacred officials. For a text and discussion of the law, see Clinton (1994) 18-21. According to Clinton, $\varphi\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho$, otherwise unattested in Attica, were prominent in the cult of Asklepios at Epidauros. Their presence in this Athenian inscription suggests that Athenians deliberately adopted the title, and/or that Epidaurian officials participated in the Athenian festival. Since the Epidauria commemorated Asklepios' arrival in Athens, Clinton argues that it is likely these officials participated in the god's arrival in 420 BC. On the role of $\varphi\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho$ at Epidauros, see Clinton (1994a).

⁸³ Wickkiser (2003) 120.

⁸⁴ E.g. Aleshire (1989) 1-22; Garland (1992) 131; Mitchell-Boyaks (2008) 106 Flower (2009) 5; Parker (2011), 275. Wickkiser (2003) 120 is of the opinion that Telemachos might have been a fictional figure. Although I do support her other ideas regarding his involvement, I do not wish to follow her that far in her assessment.

⁸⁵ Eur. *IT*. 1446-1474.

⁸⁶ Hdt. 6.105-106. For more examples and discussion of the *topos*, see Garland (1992) 14-22.

individuals: for example, those at Sicyon, Argos, and Pergamon.⁸⁷ As Robert Garland comments: ‘It was the responsibility of the god to signal his readiness to be incorporated into the community by commissioning a private individual to speak on his behalf.’⁸⁸

This evidence argues against attributing to Telemachos all responsibility for instituting a new cult in Athens. The role played by the *polis* in the importation of new gods in the 5th century B.C.E. remains a matter of debate. Even so, it is widely accepted that in order for these introductions to happen, the *demos* would have to approve of it.⁸⁹

2.2 ‘Private’ versus ‘Public’ cult

The recognition of the *polis*’ role in Asklepios’ introduction has been hampered by an attempt in scholarship to distinguish between ‘public’ and ‘private’ cults.⁹⁰ Undefined as these terms may be, they are still a cause for debate regarding Asklepios’ cult in Athens. By labelling a cult ‘private’, it is often meant that the cult was established and/or controlled not by the state, but by an individual or group. Hence the fact that most scholars label the Asklepios-cult ‘private’, since in their opinion it was founded by Telemachos.⁹¹

Most frequently cited as proof that the Asklepios-cult was private until at least the mid-4th century B.C.E., is Sarah Aleshire’s insightful research on the Athenian Asklepieion. Some difficulties arise, however, when we look at Aleshire’s arguments. The only evidence she adduces is the change from a lifetime priesthood to an annually-rotating one beginning ca. 350 B.C.E.⁹² The lack of any inventory inscriptions before ca. 350 B.C.E. must be her main basis of proof since she defines a ‘state cult’ as ‘one where the Athenian *demos* and *boule*, either directly or through their agents, exercise some supervision over the presence and distribution of the votives dedicated in a sanctuary.’⁹³

⁸⁷ Wickkiser (2003) 121. Sicyon, Paus. 2.10.3; Argos, Paus. 2.23.4; and Pergamon, Paus. 2.26.8.

⁸⁸ Garland (1992) 14.

⁸⁹ Garland (1992) 100, ‘the *demos* had become the chief arbitrator to all religious matters since 487 B.C.E.’; Garland (1984) 78; Clinton (1994a) 24-25 and 28; Parker (1996) 180 and 214-217; Price (1999) 76-78. Interesting is also Garland (1990) 85 n.22, in which he elaborates on the discussion in the *ekklêsia* for the introduction of new gods.

⁹⁰ Wickkiser (2003) 121.

⁹¹ Martin and Metzger (1976) 81-84; Aleshire (1989) 7; Garland (1992) 128-130; Stafford (2000) 155.

⁹² Aleshire (1989) 14-15. Although all cult acts, even ‘private’ ones, are religiously dependent on the *polis*, for more on this subject, see Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 63. Aleshire also connects this transformation with the popularity of the cult. In her opinion, the cult did not become ‘popular’ enough for a state cult until 350 B.C.E.; however, Lawton (2009) 74-76 has shown that this was indeed not the case.

⁹³ Aleshire (1989) 14 n.5. For more of Aleshire’s considerations on ‘state’/‘public’ cults, see Aleshire (1994) 9-16. She here states it is impossible to properly speak of a ‘public/state’ cult, in which the *polis* takes control over a cult. Considering scholars’ tendencies to speak of a state cult when only smaller aspects are being controlled by the state and it is a more gradual process, see Aleshire (1994) 11-15.

As Wickkiser has pointed out, this is an argument *ex silentio* since earlier inventory lists may have existed, but have not been discovered.⁹⁴ Moreover, an annual priesthood does not necessarily imply state involvement in the cult before or after 350 B.C.E.⁹⁵ A priesthood of which we are sure that the *polis* engaged in, that of Athena Nike, was not annual either.⁹⁶ Finally, the nature of the Asklepios cult had a profound effect on the evidentiary record. Individuals met the god one-on-one in order to obtain a cure to their diseases. Therefore, it is no wonder dedications by individuals dominate the evidentiary record; but this does not mean that the *polis* had no involvement in, or control over the cult.

The struggle between ‘private’ and ‘public’ cults is further enhanced by the deliberation regarding ‘state’ cult and its definitions. Therefore, an enlightening of our understanding of this debate and the troubles associated with it, are important. Asklepios’ entwinement in two major Athenian *polis* cults displays a profound interest in the cult by the Athenian population as well. In turn, the *polis*’ involvement in Asklepios’ introduction becomes more understandable when his cult was regarded as a *polis* cult.

2.3 Athenian *Polis*-cult: An analysis

Many differing opinions on the subject of ‘*polis*-cult’ have been offered by scholars, showing the difficulty of its description. As Susan Guettel Cole describes: ‘The concept of “civic cult” in the ancient Greek *polis* turns out to be just as slippery as the definition of “*polis*” itself’.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, some remarks concerning *polis*-cult can be made.

According to Walter Burkert, there are three levels or aspects of the phenomenon *polis* religion:

- (a) A Greek *polis* makes use of existing religion in various forms of self representation, for ideological as well as for practical purposes. This is a very common phenomenon, it is not even absent from the contemporary world, including the United States, let alone from Europe.
- (b) A Greek *polis* makes decisions about religion; this presupposes what is inherent in the concept of any Greek *polis*, that there is some body for autonomous collective decision making. Through such decisions a Greek *polis* regulates and administrates religion. Similar decisions can be made by the *polis*’ subdivisions, *demoi* or their like. This has been scandalous for the Western view ever since the high Middle Ages, when religion started to claim autonomy from the state. It may appear less scandalous to different cultural traditions. At any rate, it is a fact.

⁹⁴ Wickkiser (2003) 122.

⁹⁵ See Feaver (1957) 138. Feaver has no doubt that the Asklepios priesthood was democratic from the start.

⁹⁶ *ML* 44; *IG* I³ 35. For more on the Asklepios priesthood, see Ferguson (1907²). Moreover, the priesthood of Athena Nike was strongly democratic and part of *polis*-cult. Asklepios’ priesthood was a similar kind of priesthood, see Blok (2009) 166.

⁹⁷ Cole (1995) 292. Other scholars who have worked on the issue of *polis* religion; Burkert (1977) 216-75; Garland (1984) 78-79.

(c) There is the even stronger thesis that the *polis* actually makes religion. We may again turn to Varro, who wrote: “As a painter precedes his painting, and a carpenter precedes the house to be built by him, thus cities precede the institutions made by the cities.” This sequence is to introduce his work on *Antiquitates divinae*, and to justify why he had published his books *de rebus humanis* first. (Aug. *De Civ.* 6.4 = Fr. 5 Cardauns) In this context Varro bluntly states that the city is prior to religion, that ancient religion is a product of the *polis*. This goes beyond the evident statement that the *polis* was prone to institute political cults, be it of *Demos* and *Demokratia* or of foreign rulers. I find that Christiane Sourvinou Inwood comes close to Varro, as she writes: “The *polis* provided the fundamental, basic framework in which Greek religion operated.”⁹⁸

Burkert’s lucid and concise overview determines the outlines of what *polis*-religion is. He prefers the third level (c) of *polis* cult that he defined.⁹⁹ Yet, he does make one remark concerning this subject: ‘We may safely state that Greek religion antedates the polis, and that there always was Greek religion besides and beyond the Polis. Polis religion is a characteristic and representative part of Greek religion, but only part of it. There is religion without the polis, even if there is no polis without religion.’¹⁰⁰ Certainly, religion existed before the *polis* as an institutionalised form of government came into existence. Though that did not exclude the *polis*’ involvement with all religious matters within the *polis*.¹⁰¹ As Parker describes it: ‘The people decides what gods are to be worshipped by what rituals at what times and places and at what expense...’.¹⁰² So, religious affairs were not handled without the *polis*’ knowledge of them. This becomes abundantly clear in the epigraphical record, which showcases a plethora of regulations for the conduct of cultic proceedings.¹⁰³

According to this insight, the *polis* had to be involved in Asklepios’ introduction. Yet it remains labelled a ‘private’ cult mostly, because of the lack of inventory inscriptions, the switch to a rotating priesthood only after 350 B.C.E. and the individual nature of the votives offered in the sanctuary.¹⁰⁴

As previously mentioned, the hereditary priesthood necessitated a ‘private’ label – according to scholars - for the Asklepios cult. In the same way it is impossible to narrowly

⁹⁸ Burkert (1995) 202. It was his response to Cole’s paper.

⁹⁹ Burkert (1995) 203; this is heavily indebted to prior work done by Sourvinou-Inwood. For more on Sourvinou-Inwood’s views on *polis* religion, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 295-323 and Sourvinou-Inwood (2000) 38-55.

¹⁰⁰ Burkert (1995) 203. He points out to the common sanctuaries, of which some would later obtain a panhellenic character. According to Sourvinou-Inwood, it was the *polis* that regulated access to these sanctuaries, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2000) 41-44.

¹⁰¹ See also Connor (1988) 161-188.

¹⁰² Parker (2005) 89.

¹⁰³ Like the regulations of Athena Nike’s cult, see *ML* 71. Or regulation for sacrifices at Eleusis, *IG* I³ 5. Another good example is *IG* II² 1496.

¹⁰⁴ The lack of inscriptions will be explained below, for the original argument, see Aleshire (1989) 14-15.

define and pinpoint a ‘state/public’ cult, it is equally unattainable to name a certain cult ‘private’.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, the individual nature of the votives is not evidence of a ‘private’ cultic experience. As Sourvinou-Inwood described it: ‘The modalities of individual acts of worship are the same as those of group worship, be that the group, the polis as a whole or any of the polis subdivisions. This suggests a religious mentality in which the individuals act of worship is not different in nature from that of the group’s, and thus a religious system in which the basic cult units are individual’.¹⁰⁶ She continues by stating that individual cult acts were not abnormal in *polis* religion, or different in nature from cult activities performed in groups; individual worship was one of the main modalities of Greek cult.¹⁰⁷ It would refute the existence of true ‘private’ and ‘*polis*’ cults, since such a strong divide did not exist. The Asklepios-cult should therefore not be labelled as ‘private’.

Furthermore, the healing god did not lack popularity after his emergence in the Athenian cultic life.¹⁰⁸ A large number of reliefs are attested and securely dated to the last quarter of the fifth century. The fact that Asklepios stands out amongst the reliefs dedicated to the gods, together with Athena, Artemis and the Eleusinian deities, emphasises this point.¹⁰⁹ The rapid development of the cult’s popularity cannot be solely attributed to the individual nature of the cult; Asklepios was flawlessly admitted into the Athenian pantheon as a god protecting the *polis* from harm.¹¹⁰ The god consequently forms part of the *polis* cults and religion.

¹⁰⁵ Aleshire (1994) 12-15.

¹⁰⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (2000) 44.

¹⁰⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood (2000) 41-46. Individual sacrifices were not uncommon and occurred frequently and without a specific reason and certainly not only in times of crisis, see also Van Straten, (1981) 65-151, 88-102; Mikalson (1983) 89.

¹⁰⁸ Though this is not necessarily an argument against the “private” label. Wickkiser (2008) 44-62. Other healing deities grew in popularity after Asklepios’ arrival, like Amaryn and Amphiaros, see Vikela (2006) 41-62.

¹⁰⁹ Asklepios was the third most dedicated deity, votive reliefs wise. He came after the Eleusinian goddesses and Athena, see Lawton (2009) 66-93. For an earlier assessment of the votive reliefs, see Hausmann (1948). See Lawton (1995) for dating of the reliefs. For more on the popularity of Asklepios on the Athenian Agora as well, see Lawton (1999) 232-234, 233.

¹¹⁰ As Burkert (1995) 207 points out, it is all the gods together who guarantee security; in case of conflicts you cannot rely on any of them individually. It is not the case that a *polis* is seen as the sacred property of one god.

3. Asklepios in Athenian cults

Asklepios' partaking in Athenian cultic life and pantheon is attested by his entwinement in two of Athens' major *polis* cults, that of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore and that of Dionysus Eleutheros. This merger supports the idea of *polis* involvement, since Asklepios' connection with these cults cannot have taken place without the *demos*' consent. Therefore, Asklepios' entwinement in these cults requires elaboration, in order to prove the *polis*' involvement in Asklepios' introduction in all its facets.

3.1 Asklepios and the cult of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore

The involvement of Eleusinian cult personnel in Asklepios' introduction, as recounted in the Telemachos inscription, suggests a profound interest taken in the cult by the *polis*. The healing deity arrived during the Great Mysteries and was momentarily housed in the Eleusinion (lines 10-12). Another encounter between Asklepios and the Eleusinian officials is found in the dispute over Asklepios' sanctuary on the Acropolis that arose in 419/18 BC at the instigation of the Kerykes (lines 20-23). The Kerykes were an important family that supplied priests of Eleusinian Demeter who played a prominent role in the state as generals, ambassadors, and envoys.¹¹¹ It is remarkable to observe the involvement of the Eleusis cult in Asklepios' arrival, especially considering it is only a fragmentary inscription of 25 short lines.

The Eleusinian cult was a major panhellenic Athenian cult. The cult was an Athenian *polis*-cult of great importance.¹¹² Its major festival, the Great Mysteries, attracted visitors from all over the Greek world. By the sixth century at the latest, the Eleusinian cult was incorporated into the Athenian *polis*, as demonstrated by the reorientation of the Eleusis sanctuary towards Athens and the issue of Athenian decrees regulating the worship of Demeter and Kore.¹¹³ Athens' most visible involvement shows itself in the introduction of Triptolemos to the Demeter-myth in the sixth century B.C.E.¹¹⁴ Triptolemos was an Eleusinian, who after being taught by Demeter, was said to have brought mankind the gift of

¹¹¹ For more on the Kerykes clan, see Clinton (1974) 47-68; Garland (1984) 99-100; also Furley (1996) for their role during and after the Peloponnesian War. Kallias is perhaps the most famous example, who is reputed to have engineered the peace between Sparta and Artaxerxes, and to have negotiated the Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta.

¹¹² For an overview of the cult and the sanctuary, see Mylonas (1961). For Eleusis' role as a prominent *polis* cult, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 25-49, 26.

¹¹³ On changes to the sanctuary, see Mylonas (1961) 103-105. On the decrees, see Garland (1984) 98. The decrees include: *SEG* 21.3-4; 22.2-3.

¹¹⁴ On the significance of Triptolemos to Athens, Miles (1998) 35-57, esp. 53-56, which includes a good review of Athenian archaeological evidence for Triptolemos. For Triptolemos' use for imperial gains and the spread of the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Kerényi (1967) 23; Raubitschek, and Raubitschek (1982) 112.

agriculture. The first earth he ploughed was near Athens, thus providing the city with the claim to be the home of agriculture.¹¹⁵

The fifth century B.C.E. was a time of expansion for the Eleusinian sanctuary, as it underwent several reconstructions in the wake of Persian destruction. Despite the influence this event had on the Attic countryside, the continuing development of the sanctuary equally suggests the growing popularity of the Eleusinian cult. Moreover, the size of the Telesterion, the large building used for initiation rituals, provides further evidence of the cult's rise in stature.¹¹⁶ Due to its unusual form, the Telesterion resembled the Odeion built by Perikles in the sanctuary of Dionysus on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis, and thus visually linked the Athenian and Eleusinian building projects.¹¹⁷

In the course of the fifth century B.C.E., *polis* interest in the cult materialised in other areas as well. Around the middle of the century, a sacred law authorised the Athenians to use proceeds from the cult 'as they wish'.¹¹⁸ Maureen Cavanaugh comments: 'The close interaction of the Athenian state with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in this early period is striking'.¹¹⁹ Aristophanes, in his *Frogs*, characterises his chorus of the *Frogs*, who essentially represent the Athenian *demos*, as initiates in the Greater Mysteries. Such equation points to the centrality of the cult to Athens, and its absorption into Athenian *polis*-identity.¹²⁰

The strong ties between Athens and Eleusis were emphasised in the Greater Mysteries. The initiates first gathered in Athens. On the fourth day of celebrations a procession leading from Athens to Eleusis started. With this *pompe*, the Athenians annually re-created their bond with Eleusis that articulated Athenian control over Eleusis.¹²¹ In the fifth century B.C.E. a smaller festival was added to the festivities, called the Lesser Mysteries. Celebrated seven

¹¹⁵ The Athenians used this to their advantage too, since Isokrates in his *Panegyricus* claims that the offering of First Fruits seems like a small gift compared to the gift of agriculture the Athenians offered to the rest of the Greeks. See Isok. 4.28-29. For more on this, see also Smarczyk (1990) 266-298.

¹¹⁶ For the re-buildings see Mylonas (1961) 106-129. Expansions to the sanctuary included the *peribolos* wall and the area of the east court. The Telesterion grew to three times the size of its sixth century predecessor within one century, Mylonas (1961) 117-124.

¹¹⁷ Wickkiser (2003) 124-125.

¹¹⁸ IG I³ 6. See also IG I³ 78 line 33: ὄ[τι] ἄν βόλο[νται].

¹¹⁹ Cavanaugh (1996) 74. The decree is dated to ca. 460 BC based on letter forms; see Clinton (1974) 10-13; Cavanaugh (1996) 73-74.

¹²⁰ Wickkiser (2003) 125. The play dates from 405 B.C.E.

¹²¹ De Polignac (1995). On processions as defining and articulating space in ancient Greece, see Graf (1996) 55-65, with notes for bibliography. Graf (63-64) makes an attractive suggestion about the length of this procession (an all-day journey with many stopping points): Its relatively long duration and distance removed initiates from the organisation of the *polis*, and thereby prepared them for individual encounters with the god. On the impact of processions and their importance in relation to democracy and the relation with the gods, see Kavoulaki (1999) 293-320, especially p. 297-302.

months before the Greater Mysteries, it was a preparation for all who wished to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹²²

Considering the trouble the *polis* endeavoured to appease Asklepios, his arrival during the celebration of the Greater Mysteries signifies his importance to the *polis*.¹²³ Moreover, the healing deity temporarily resided in the Eleusinion, where objects from Eleusis were deposited immediately before the start of the Mysteries and where sacrifices were probably held during this festival.¹²⁴

The festivals appear to have been integrated shortly after Asklepios' arrival, if not instantly. Pausanias' narrative seems to imply that this was indeed the case. Further evidence is found in a law, dated between 410–404 B.C.E., which names the festival as being part of the Mysteries festivities.¹²⁵

Asklepios' festival, the Epidauria, took place on the fourth or fifth day of celebration during the Greater Mysteries.¹²⁶ It accords well with the account that has been handed to us by the Telemachos monument, in which Asklepios arrives at Athens during the festivities of the Eleusinian Mysteries. So, it is highly probable, as Kevin Clinton argues, that a Eleusinian Demeter priestess accompanied Asklepios on his way from Piraeus to the Acropolis.¹²⁷ In all probability she will have participated in the Epidauria's annual procession, which re-enacted Asklepios' original route into Athens, because of her role in welcoming the god.¹²⁸

Finally, Asklepios even received his own sanctuary in Eleusis in 420/19 B.C.E. This placement in the origin of the Eleusinian cult further enhanced the bond between the healing god and the goddesses of Eleusis.¹²⁹

¹²² For more on the Lesser Mysteries, see Deubner (1932) 70; Mylonas (1961) 239-243 and Parke (1977) 122-124. According to Athenian tradition, this festival was introduced to initiate Herakles, a foreigner, into the Mysteries (Schol. ad Ar. *Pl.* 1013; Diod.Sic. 4.14; Plut. *Thes.* 30). For more on the importance of Herakles' initiation, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 132-164, 143-145. Furthermore, Parke (1977) 58, views the establishment of the Lesser Mysteries as one of a series of steps taken by Athens to promote its own interests.

¹²³ According to Pausanias and Philostratos in the second century C.E., Asklepios came to Athens to be initiated into the Mysteries; he arrived too late to take part in the preliminary rites of the first day of the festival, but a fourth day was added to accommodate his late arrival: Paus. 2.26.8 and Philostr. *VA.* 4.18.

¹²⁴ For the storing of the objects, see *Syll.*³ 885. For the possibility of the sacrifices being held at the Eleusinion, see Mylonas (1961) 250-251.

¹²⁵ Paus. 2.26.8. The law is Agora Inv. No. I 7471, previously mentioned. On the establishment of the Epidauria in or shortly after 420 B.C.E., see also Clinton (1994) 27.

¹²⁶ Mikalson (1975) 56.

¹²⁷ Agora, Inv. No. I 7471 mentions a Priestess of Demeter in reference to the Epidauria. On the priestess of Demeter, see Clinton (1974) 68-76; Garland (1984) 100-101. On Asklepios in Piraeus, see Garland (1987).

¹²⁸ On the procession and other probable events of the Epidauria, see Deubner (1932) 73; Parke (1977) 63-65; Clinton (1994) 29. Little is known about the festival other than a sacrifice, banquet, and an all-night festival (*παννυχία*) mentioned in IG II² 974 (second century B.C.E.).

¹²⁹ For the Asklepieion in Eleusis, see Edelstein and Edelstein (1945) vol. II, 246 and Schouten (1963) 18.

3.2 Asklepios and the cult of Dionysos Eleutherios

Another reason to believe the Athenian *demos* engaged in Asklepios' arrival, is the god's relation to the cult of Dionysos Eleutherios. Both cults had their sanctuaries in close proximity to one another.¹³⁰ Besides a geographical relation, they were equally correlated in a ritual manner as well.

One of Asklepios' Athenian festivals, the Asklepieia, was held during the City Dionysia. There is a possibility that the festival was established upon Asklepios' arrival in 420/419 B.C.E.¹³¹ The events of the Asklepieia are poorly documented. Yet, some aspects of the festival are known: There was a large sacrifice and an all-night revelry, a *pannuchia*.¹³² The Asklepieia took place on the same day as the *proagon* to the City Dionysia, on Elaphobolion 8.¹³³ Poets, actors and choruses of tragedies competing in the Dionysia announced the subjects of their plays whilst standing in the Odeion during the *proagon*.¹³⁴

Comparable to the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Kore, the Dionysos cult was one of great importance to the Athenian *polis*. Similar to the Eleusinian cult, Dionysos was introduced to Athens in the sixth century B.C.E. from the border town of Eleutherai. The bonds between this town and Athens were reaffirmed by a procession. The Athenians brought the *xoanon* of Dionysos from Eleutherai to the South Slope of the Acropolis where it was placed in the Dionysos sanctuary.¹³⁵

Moreover, the cult was firmly controlled by the *polis* and contained elements that confirmed its character as an important *polis* cult. Firstly, the sacrifices were controlled by the Athenian *polis*. Secondly, the plays that were performed during the festival were of great importance to civic ideology and simultaneously possessed a strong democratic undertone.¹³⁶ Finally, another component of the festival showed a "*polis*" composure. This element was the parade of orphans, whose fathers died in the war. Although only institutionalised during the Peloponnesian War, it demonstrated patriotism to the Athenian public and the care the *polis*

¹³⁰ As described above and is to be seen on the map of the Acropolis in Appendix I, fig.3.

¹³¹ Mikalson (1998) 37 and Wickkiser (2003) 145.

¹³² Deubner (1932) 142; Parke (1977) 135. *IG II²* 1496 records the revenue received by the state for the sale of animal skins used at various sacrifices and festivals from 334-330 B.C.E. The Asklepieia is included among these festivals, and the amount of revenue is high enough to suggest large numbers of animals, probably for sacrifice. *IG II²* 974 (second century B.C.E.) records the sacrifice also of a bull, and an all-night celebration (*pannuchia*), for both this festival and the Epidauria. For more on the festivals and their activities, see Hubbe (1959) 197-199.

¹³³ Aeschin. 3.66-67.

¹³⁴ The description of one to the Lenaia is found in Pl. *Symp.* 194b.

¹³⁵ Deubner (1932) 138-142; Parke (1977) 125-135; Parker (2005) 312-326; for an archaeological overview of the festival, Simon (1983) 100-104.

¹³⁶ Eur. *The Suppliants* 406-408; Arist. *Athenaion Politeia* 7.4; Goldhill (1987) 58-76; Connor (1989) 7-32; Goldhill (2000) 34-56; Parker (2005) 263; Spineto (2011). For a counter argument, see Rhodes (2003) 104-119.

took of its less fortunate citizens. Equally important was the message conveyed to the spectators: though citizens died, new ones would arise as a testimony to Athenian power.¹³⁷ The City Dionysia formed an equally important part of the Athenian cultic life as did the Eleusinian Mysteries. Thus, for Asklepios to be connected to both these cults, implies an importance attached to the new god by his new hosts, the Athenians.

Another point that indicates a profound *polis* interest is Asklepios' incorporation into the City Dionysia. The location of the Asklepieion, so close to the Dionysos theatre, could not have been coincidental and was directed by the *polis*.¹³⁸ The *polis* had a hand in allotting the given location to Asklepios, which could not have only been determined because of the available water source on the eastern terrace. Other sources were equally available in Athens. Additionally, Asklepieia were normally situated near hot springs, whereas the Athenian Asklepieion did not contain a hot spring, but a cold one.¹³⁹ Moreover, the *polis* controlled the festival calendar, disregarding the coordination of the Asklepios and Dionysos festival as a mere coincidence.¹⁴⁰ The ties between the two cults were enhanced by the appearance of Asklepios and his sons in plays such as Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.¹⁴¹

The entwining of Asklepios in the major Athenian cults, that of Eleusinian Demeter and that of Dionysos Eleutherios, shows the interest of the *polis* in Asklepios' introduction into Athens. The importance of the cults, as well as the *demos*' control over them, signifies this interest; the adjustment of the cultic calendar to facilitate Asklepios' assimilation demonstrates this. This alteration cannot be a coincidence, so if we are assuming that the *polis* indeed instigated Asklepios' introduction, what could have been their motives for doing so?

¹³⁷ Goldhill (1987) 64.

¹³⁸ Wickkiser (2003) 145.

¹³⁹ Camp (1977). Creating other water sources was already applied by the Myceneans in the Acropolis Rock, Hurwit (1999) 78-79. For hot springs and Asklepieia, see Croon (1967) 225-246.

¹⁴⁰ Deubner (1932); Parke (1977); Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (1992) 102-107; Price (1999) 28-30;

¹⁴¹ Wickkiser (2003) 146.

4. Explanations for Asklepios' introduction

The *polis* was possibly involved in the introduction of Epidaurian Asklepios in Athens in 420/419 B.C.E. Scholars have given several arguments to explain the *polis*' inclination towards Asklepios' assimilation in the Athenian pantheon. Their conclusions vary profoundly, ranging from a rising irrationality amongst the Athenian population, to increasing tension amidst the populace because of the annual Spartan invasions of Attic soil.¹⁴² Others tend to see the desire for more personal attention from a gentle god, due to the horrors of the Peloponnesian War.¹⁴³ However, most scholars prefer the plague that struck Athens for the first time in 430 B.C.E. and returned in the following years, as the Athenian motivation to introduce Asklepios.¹⁴⁴

4.1 Asklepios and the Great Athenian Plague

In his *Histories*, Thucydides tells us of the Plague that struck Athens several times between 430 B.C.E. and 426 B.C.E.¹⁴⁵ He thoroughly recounts the horrors of the disease and its effect on the Athenian population. Citizens threw themselves in cisterns to soothe their pains and lawlessness introduced itself in the city.¹⁴⁶ An impactful event, one might say.

Therefore, it is no wonder that many scholars view the plague as the main reason for Asklepios' introduction. Diseases need a cure; therefore it seems logical to look for a healing god to cure Athens' plague. Notwithstanding the persuasiveness of the theory, this explanation is not insusceptible to criticism.

The first point of critique is the time elapsed between the outbreak of the plague and the actual introduction of Asklepios: the disease struck Athens between 430 B.C.E. and 426 B.C.E. Yet, it took another six years before the Epidaurian healing god was welcomed at Athens and received a sanctuary. According to Mikalson, there was no prior opportunity to

¹⁴² For the rise of irrationality, see Dodds (1951) 193; for the tensions due to the Spartan invasions, see Hölscher (1991) 355-380.

¹⁴³ Edelstein and Edelstein (1945) vol. II 111-118; Burford (1969) 20; Mitropoulou (1975) 11; Martin and Metzger (1976) 66-67; Mikalson (1984); Garland (1992) 130-132; Parker (1996) 175-185. Wickkiser (2003) 115 argues against this 'individual attention' point, by claiming that the popular Eleusinian Demeter cult provided individual attention for the Athenians. As Burkert (1987) shows; however, the cult's popularity was declining (Clinton 2009) and the individual attention was only for those initiated, not all inhabitants of Athens at the time. Therefore, I believe that it cannot be as easily dismissed for factoring in the introduction.

¹⁴⁴ Ferguson. and Nock (1944) 89; Burford (1969) 20; Martin and Metzger (1976) 66-67; Mikalson (1984); Simms (1985) 217-226; Horstmanshoff (1989) 236-237; Parker (1996) 175-185; Avalos (1999) 50-51; Flower (2009) 5. See Edelstein and Edelstein (1945) 120ff dismiss the fact of the plague influencing the decision to introduce Asklepios, they see Apollo Alexikakos as the main curer of plague. See also Paus. 1.3.4. However, this thesis has been refuted on the basis of the dating of the sculptor's work, see Parker (1996) 186. For an attestation of Apollo Epikourios receiving a temple as a thanksgiving after curing plague in Bassai, see Paus. 8.47.7-8.

¹⁴⁵ Thuc. 2.47.3

¹⁴⁶ Thuc. 2.49.5 and 2.53.1.

introduce Asklepios than the Peace of Nikias in 421 B.C.E.¹⁴⁷ However, this argument fails to explain why it was the Epidaurian Asklepios in particular that was brought to Athens. The cult could have been introduced from different *poleis* like Triikka in Thessaly and Aigina.¹⁴⁸ This course would have been possible, since Thessaly was an ally of Athens during some periods in the Peloponnesian War and its people were well disposed towards Athens.¹⁴⁹ Aigina was under Athenian control, so the healing god could have been fetched from this island without the difficulties accompanying the introduction of a god from enemy territory.¹⁵⁰

Besides, war did not necessarily prevent Asklepios' introduction from Epidauros into Athens. In the classical period, even among warring states efforts were made at maintaining cult and festival traditions. One means as to accomplish this were sacred truces (*spondai* or *ekecheiria*) declared between enemy states to allow for participation in panhellenic festivals.¹⁵¹ These truces were observed with very few exceptions.¹⁵² Of course, these peaceful operations did not preclude warlike activities and the dangers accompanying them. A clause in the Peace of Nikias further indicates the dangers for pilgrims, since it guarantees safe passage to those wishing to consult oracles or visit common sanctuaries.¹⁵³ So, the Peloponnesian War did pose dangers, but did not completely discard the possibility for religious intercourse between *poleis* and individuals.

The second reason holds even more importance: Asklepios was not generally known to have been a curer of individuals (or entire *poleis*) suffering from plague. He essentially was a curer of chronic diseases or other ailments.¹⁵⁴ None of the *iamata* for Asklepios, nor any

¹⁴⁷ Mikalson (1984) 220. His argumentation is, however, a circular reasoning, since he claims that the introduction couldn't have taken place before the Peace of Nikias, therefore, it happened during the Peace of Nikias.

¹⁴⁸ Strabo 9.5.17 assigns the original cult to Triikka. This is supported by other Greek historiographers and was even supported in Epidauros itself. For Thessalian roots of the Epidaurian cult, see Riethmüller (2005) 45. For the Thessalian roots itself, see Akesilaos FGrH 2 F18; Pherekydes FGrH 3 F 35; Panyassis fr.19, Andron FGrH 01 F17, P.Oxy. 2490-2495. Homer assigns Asklepios to Thessaly through his sons Machaon and Polidarius, who lead a contingent from Thessaly; Hom. *Il.* 2.729–33. Another source is Pind. *Pyth.* 3.8. More on the subject can be found in: Walton (1894); Kerenyi (1956) ; Aston (2004) 18-32; Bremmer (2008) 258. For the Asklepios cult on Aigina before it was introduced into Athens, Ar. *Wasps* 121-123.

¹⁴⁹ Thuc. 4.78.3

¹⁵⁰ Wickkiser (2008) .

¹⁵¹ Dillon (1997) 1-26. These truces guaranteed safe passage through warring territories for those attending particular festivals. Hostilities were not affected by these truces, as Dillon (1997) 2, asserts: 'Pilgrims could even make their way freely through states which were openly at war, and combatants were bound to respect the status and privileges of pilgrims'.

¹⁵² Dillon (1997) 4.

¹⁵³ Thuc. 5.18.2.

¹⁵⁴ Wickkiser (2006) 25-40. See also Auffarth (1995) 343, he refers to the Thargelia for (Delian) Apollo's involvement with plague as well. Moreover, he mentions the Apollo temple at Bassai, which was consecrated for the god's role in exerting the plague from the area.

literary account mentions plague as the disease Asklepios cured, with two exceptions. One is Rome's importation of Asklepios in 291 B.C.E. although Livy's account is troubled in terms of reliability.¹⁵⁵ The other testimony is in the *Sacred Tales*, where Aelius Aristides claims to have been cured from the plague by both Asklepios and Athena in 165 C.E.¹⁵⁶ Athena, however, receives more credit than Asklepios, which becomes even more remarkable considering Athena's absence in most of Aelius Aristides' work.¹⁵⁷ Other gods are more attributed with curing plague, mainly Apollo. He is a bringer of plague in Homer's *Iliad* and is also the only god capable of lifting a miasma from an entire community or curing it from plague.¹⁵⁸

A further remark can be made. The Athenians went to great lengths to ensure the benevolence of Apollo and other gods and heroes who could avert plague. All these measures were taken during the plague stricken years, after which the disease did not show its face again in Athens until 419-416 B.C.E., although on a much lesser scale.¹⁵⁹ The most conspicuous action taken was the purification of the island Delos, in 426 B.C.E.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, during this period other heroes received more sacrifices and attention from the Athenian population, like Leokorion and Herakles Alexikakos.¹⁶¹ Although one can never have enough gods to support oneself, it seems the Athenian population had several gods and heroes to revert to in times of plague, a disease Asklepios in particular did not cure.

A third point, albeit more controversial, is the actual impact of the plague on the Athenian population. There have been doubts whether or not Thucydides might have

¹⁵⁵ For more on the problems concerning Livy's account, see Wickkiser (2003) 192-252. It is mostly late and inaccurate on other accounts and considering the years Livy was removed from the actual introduction, errors in his account cannot be debarred.

¹⁵⁶ Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 48.37-45.

¹⁵⁷ Wickkiser (2008) 65.

¹⁵⁸ On miasma, see Parker (1983) 257-280. *Hom. Il.* 1.45-67.

¹⁵⁹ Wickkiser (2003) 135, based on *Hipp. Ep.* 27.7.

¹⁶⁰ *Thuc.* 3.104. Horstmanshoff (1989) 221-22. For more on the purification, see Brock (1996) 321-327, who claims Kleon was the main proponent of the Purification policy. There have been varying opinions on the purification, for an overview, see Flower (2009) 6. However, the Delians were restored again in 421 B.C.E., see *Thuc.* 5.32.1; for a more 'rational' explanation, see *Diod.* 12.73.1. Parker (1996) 186 argues for Asklepios' introduction to be seen as a fulfilment of a vow, after the Athenians had received the benefit of being cured from the plague. However, the actions taken to appease Apollo would then suggest the same model, which would make more sense, since Apollo is the curer of plagues. Even more so, since Apollo was appeased by the Athenians before Asklepios' introduction and with success: the plague did not return after the purification of Delos.

¹⁶¹ For the sacrifices to Leokorion, see Thompson (1981) 348. According to Athenian tradition, which illustrates a common *topos* in Greek mythology, the three unmarried daughters of Leokorion were sacrificed on the recommendation of the oracle of Apollo to save the city from a famine or plague. When the scourge abated, the grateful citizens established a shrine and worshipped the girls as divinities. On Herakles Alexikakos, see the Scholiast on *Frogs* 501 and Travlos (1971) 274ff. Horstmanshoff (1989) 237 also mentions Toxaris, who received a *heroon* in Athens after his work during a Great Plague that struck Athens, see also *Luc. Scyth.* 1-2. Apparently, the Scythian Toxaris had arrived at Athens even before Anacharsis. This would date him in the Solonian Era.

exaggerated the consequences of the plague, since it has left no trace in the epigraphic record.¹⁶² Wickkiser does not disclaim there was indeed a plague that struck Athens, however, she adheres to the possibility of Thucydides overstating it. It is hard to argue against the devastating effects of a disease striking the agglomerated Athenian population within the city.¹⁶³ However, as Michael Flower states, we should not imagine bodies being piled up in the Parthenon or the temple of Athena Polias.¹⁶⁴

Recently, archaeological corroboration has come to complement Thucydides' narrative, as a consequence of Athens' new metro system. A mass burial has been excavated on the Kerameikos cemetery. Perhaps as many as 150 male and female bodies were found, which had been hastily thrown into a pit. Grave offerings were found alongside them, some 30 small vases dated to the late fifth-century B.C.E. In the upper layer, the bodies of eight infants were found that were treated with special care. Another mass burial, containing 27 adult bodies that are laid out, were also found, though without grave goods.¹⁶⁵ This finding confirms Thucydides' description of the slackening of traditional practices, albeit they were not entirely abandoned.

Although the plague certainly had its effects on the Athenian population, it cannot wholly account for the introduction of Asklepios, though it certainly influenced their decision-making. Therefore, it cannot be entirely dismissed as a factor for Asklepios' arrival. However, the arguments against the plague as primary reason for the healing god's introduction into Athens are convincing. The *polis* must have had the plague in the back of its mind when they assented to Asklepios' introduction, but other reasons affected their choice to obtain Asklepios' cult for the Athenian population.

4.2 Athenian imperialism and Asklepios: The Akropolis

A political motivation behind Asklepios' introduction has recently been proposed by Bronwen Wickkiser. As is shown by the interpretation of the Telemachos monument and the interest of the *polis* in all matters religious, the *polis* had apparently something to gain by introducing Asklepios to the Athenian population. Garland enumerates the developments in fifth-century Athenian cults thus: 'The conclusion seems irresistible that the Demos utilized religious

¹⁶² Wickkiser (2008) 65. Lawton (2009) 74-79 convincingly argues against the position that no epigraphic material has remained. She points towards the votive reliefs being offered to Asklepios and other deities connected to healing.

¹⁶³ Based on Thuc. 5.87, it is commonly asserted that as much as a third of Athens' adult male citizen population died because of the plague. Hornblower (1991) 494 rightfully cautions about such estimates.

¹⁶⁴ Flower (2009) 16.

¹⁶⁵ Baziotopoulou-Valavani (2002) 187-202, 190.

worship for the furthering of foreign policy. In domestic as well as in foreign policy, a state's gods were deeply implicated in the advancement of its aims'.¹⁶⁶

According to Wickkiser, Athens wished to pursue a better relationship with Epidauros. Through Asklepios' introduction, they attempted to obtain an alliance with them and incorporate the *polis* into the Athenian Empire. Success would offer a strategic advantage in the Peloponnesian War for Athens.¹⁶⁷ She adduces several arguments for this hypothesis.

First, there is the location of the Asklepios sanctuary. The Epidaurian god obtained a very prominent piece of real estate in the heart of the Athenian *polis*.¹⁶⁸ The Akropolis was the focus of the Athenian religious and ritual world. Athenian festivals form proof of its importance. These festivities were mostly held at the Akropolis where the sanctuaries were to be found that formed the Athenian identity.¹⁶⁹ This venue was also the place where Poseidon vied with Athena over the name-giving to the city.¹⁷⁰ Thucydides explains that the Athenians of his day still referred to the Akropolis as 'the *polis*' since it was where the early inhabitants of Athens had lived; Athens, he relates, consisted originally of the Akropolis itself and the area immediately south of it.¹⁷¹ For Demosthenes, the Bronze Athena (Promachos) exemplifies the eternal symbol of Athenian greatness. In his view, the Parthenon is a legacy of undying glory from an earlier age.¹⁷² For Asklepios to receive such an appealing location in the Athenian *polis* was thus remarkable.

The Akropolis, however, had other connotations as well. Besides being the heart of the Athenian identity, it simultaneously formed the centre of the Athenian Empire and its imperialist intentions. Several factors contributed to this imperialistic notion. The building programme, initiated by Perikles, focused mainly on the Akropolis.¹⁷³ This programme included a new Erechtheion, the Propylaia and Parthenon, as well as the grand Odeion on the Akropolis' Southern Slope. The entire Akropolis became a tribute to Athenian victory over

¹⁶⁶ Garland (1992) 112. Another proponent of this idea is Nilsson (1951) 33.

¹⁶⁷ Wickkiser (2008) 97.

¹⁶⁸ For an interesting dissection between the Agora, 'the brains', and the Akropolis, 'the heart', of the *polis*, see Hölscher (1999) 33. He sets out the development of these different 'areas' within the city planning from the Archaic period onwards.

¹⁶⁹ Hurwit (1999) 36 and 63; for the important locations, one has to think of the temple of Erechtheos and Athena Polias. The most important festival for civic identity, the Panathenaia, ended on the Akropolis, cf. Shapiro (1996) 215-228; Maurizio (1998) 297 – 318.

¹⁷⁰ The earliest literary account is Hdt. 8.55.

¹⁷¹ Thuc. 2.15.3-6.

¹⁷² The Athena Promachos as a symbol of the victory over the Persians. The Parthenon as a sign of times which should be emulated, see Dem. *Against Androtion* 76-7.

¹⁷³ For more on the building programme see, Boersma (1970); Knell (1979) and Hurwit (1999).

the Persians and the subsequent Athenian Empire.¹⁷⁴ Victory was explicitly articulated in elements of the sculptured friezes of the Parthenon and the Athena Nike temple. These friezes depicted Greek victories over conquering strangers.¹⁷⁵ Additionally, building a temple consecrated to the goddess of Victory was another allusion made to the Athenian Empire, as several Athena Nike sculptures hovered over the Akropolis as a harbinger of victory.¹⁷⁶ The Akropolis was thus a symbol of the Athenian power exerted over their empire.

After the defeat of the Persians in 480 B.C.E., Athens and other Greek states formed an alliance called the Delian League in order to avenge the Persian invasion.¹⁷⁷ Several decades later, when Athens had struck the Persians the final blow at the Eurymedon river, the Peace of Kallias was signed.¹⁷⁸ Yet, the League did not dissolve. In fact, the League transformed from a voluntary alliance into an empire, which was led by Athens and turned its allies into subjects. This alteration materialised itself through the transfer of the League's treasury from Delos to Athens. From 454 B.C.E. onwards, the treasury was to be kept on the Akropolis. Not only did Athens claim the leading position within the league, it also identified Athena as the primary deity and patron of the 'League', instead of Delian Apollo.¹⁷⁹ Tribute was now demanded by Athens, to be paid by the League members, to Athena. This tribute helped finance the ensuing Periklean building programme, which included the Parthenon.¹⁸⁰ In addition to these displays of power, the tribute lists that stated each member's contribution were published on marble *stelai* on the Akropolis.¹⁸¹ The *hellenotamiai* - the administrators of the collection of tribute - also conducted their business on the Acropolis. Offerings from Athens' colonies and allies were kept in Athena's sanctuary. Inventory lists tallied its contents for public record.¹⁸² Furthermore, the decrees concerning Athens' relations with specific colonies and allies (like Erythrai, Chalkis, Samos and Brea) crowded the Akropolis also.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁴ Smarczyk (1990) 590-611; Hölscher (1998) 153-184, 169-176. On the rebuilding of the Parthenon as the ultimate victory over the Persians and the literary sources referring to it, see Meiggs (1972) 504-507.

¹⁷⁵ Hurwit (1999) 129-132.

¹⁷⁶ Images of Nike in various guises could be found all over the Acropolis; see Hurwit (1999) 187 and 230-232. Hurwit (232) argues convincingly that the Acropolis itself was 'in large part a complex essay on competition and victory- it was a vast field of *Agon* and *Nike*.'

¹⁷⁷ Thuc. 1.96.

¹⁷⁸ The date of the battle at Eurymedon is disputed. The historicity of the so-called Peace of Kallias has been disputed since the fourth century B.C.E.. On the debate and its bibliography, see Badian (1987) 1-39.

¹⁷⁹ For the importance of Apollo for the Delian League and the subsequent take-over of the Delian Apollo cult network for Athenian imperialistic goals, see Constantakopoulou (2007) 76-136.

¹⁸⁰ For more on the financing of the Parthenon, see Kallet (1998) 43-58. For the finances of the Athenian Empire in general, see Kallet (1993) and Kallet (1994), 227-252.

¹⁸¹ *IG I³* 259-272. The tribute lists record not the full tribute but the first-fruits, or one-sixtieth of the total tribute paid by Athens' subject-allies. For the regulations regarding the collection, *IG I³* 68.

¹⁸² *IG I³* 296-299, for the years 430-426 BC

¹⁸³ *IG I³* 14, 40, 46, 48. For a more nuanced approach towards the language contained in these decrees, see Low (2005) 93-111.

The Akropolis thus became, among its many other meanings and associations, a monument celebrating the Athenian empire during the course of the second half of the 5th century B.C.E. Therefore, Asklepios' placement on the South Slope of the Akropolis would indicate a strong *polis* interest and alignment with the symbol of Athenian imperialism.¹⁸⁴

4.2.2 The Greater Panathenaia and Athenian imperialism

Not only the Akropolis' monuments breathed Athenian imperialism; the cults located there had the same connotation, alongside their civic importance.¹⁸⁵ Paramount among these cults was the Greater Panathenaia, which was celebrated every five years.¹⁸⁶

This festival had grown into a display of not merely civic virtues, but one of imperialist control as well, by the later fifth century. Panhellenic contest in poetry and athletics were held and attracted people from around the Greek world.¹⁸⁷ Metics could freely participate in the festival's great procession.¹⁸⁸ However, participation was not completely voluntary in some cases. In 425/4 B.C.E. Athens issued a decree that required all cities of the empire to send a cow and suit of armour to the Greater Panathenaia.¹⁸⁹ In a corresponding manner, other decrees were addressed to specific cities, like Erythrai and Brea.¹⁹⁰

The festival's rituals were another testimony, albeit partly, to the Athenian Empire. The procession paraded the allies' offerings through the city, simultaneously carrying a wheeled boat fitted out with Athena's *peplos* as a symbol of the Athenian naval empire.¹⁹¹ Finally, the procession ended at the Akropolis, where the cows were slaughtered and the armours stored in Athena's sanctuary. All this took place amidst those monuments referring to the empire.

Furthermore, Athena increasingly developed into a symbol for imperialism during the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. By 420 B.C.E., league cults of Athena had spread to

¹⁸⁴ Wickkiser (2008) 62.

¹⁸⁵ These cults were not per se Athenian imperialism, but did show the expansion of the Athenian *polis* in earlier days. An example of that is Artemis Brauronia. For more on this, see Nilsson (1951) 33 ;de Polignac (1995).

¹⁸⁶ For more on the Panathenaia, see Deubner (1932) 23-35; Parke (1977) 33-50; Parker (2005) 253-269. For more on the democratic and imperialist evolution of the festival during the Periklean period, see Shapiro (1996) 215-228.

¹⁸⁷ Pind. *Nem.* 10 celebrates the victory of an Argive wrestler at the Panathenaia. See also Parke (1977) 37.

¹⁸⁸ Wijma (2010) 27-84.

¹⁸⁹ *IG I³* 71.

¹⁹⁰ Erythrai, for example, was required to bring an offering, probably of grain, to the festival (*IG I³* 14). The date of this decree is disputed, but falls somewhere between 470 and 450 B.C.E. based on letter forms; see *ML* 40. For Brea, an Athenian colony see *IG I³* 46. The date of this decree is also disputed; see *ML* 49. Another decree, possibly of the 440s B.C.E., required certain cities of the empire to send a cow and panoply (*IG I³* 34); see *ML* 46.

¹⁹¹ For the ancient sources attesting the route of the procession, see Wickkiser (2003) 141-142. On the wheeled ship as symbol of naval empire, see Shapiro (1996) 217.

places such as Kos and Samos, where cults of ‘Athena, ruler of Athens’ are attested.¹⁹² Athena, the Greater Panathenaia and the Akropolis were thus established symbols of imperialism at the time of Asklepios’ arrival.

4.2.3 The City Dionysia and Athenian Imperialism

Aside from the Greater Panathenaia, another important Athenian civic cult displayed imperialistic notions. The City Dionysia, with its roots in Athenian expansion, contained certain aspects that showed Athenian power to allies who attended the festival.¹⁹³

Numerous elements of the festival’s dramatic competitions reflected and celebrated the Athenian *polis*, such as the seating of the audience by *demes*.¹⁹⁴ Athens was equally celebrated in the rituals preceding the dramatic competitions. Significantly contributing citizens were honoured with gold crowns, whereas the children of men killed in war were brought onto the stage; these were announced to the audience as being raised and trained by the city to fight for its glory.¹⁹⁵

Although not as explicitly imperialistic as some other aspects, these elements became a stronger display of power when taking into consideration the abundance of non-Athenians in attendance at the City Dionysia. Aristophanes alludes to the foreign presence in his *Acharnians* of 425 B.C.E. Dikaiopolis tells us to be aware of what an Athenian is allowed to say, since more foreigners than usual are present in the city.¹⁹⁶ The presence of many foreigners during the City Dionysia is no coincidence: the schedule for the tribute placement took place at the festival.¹⁹⁷ The City Dionysia had in it that same imperialist connotation as the Greater Panathenaia had.

The rituals incorporated the imperialist message as well. Tribute was paraded into the theatre of Dionysos, as Isokrates tells us, before being laid out talent by talent across the orchestra in front of the spectators, allies and Athenians alike.¹⁹⁸ Thus the Athenian imperialist message was sent to residents and visitors alike.

Moreover, as was the case at the Greater Panathenaia, allies were required to send a phallus to Athens in honour of Dionysos Eleutherios.¹⁹⁹ Its processions displayed the same

¹⁹² Parker (1996) 144; also Hölscher (1998) 172-173.

¹⁹³ For the festivities during this festival, see Deubner (1932) 138-142; Parke (1977) 125-135; Simon (1983) 100-104; Goldhill (1990) and Parker (2005) 312-326.

¹⁹⁴ Winkler (1990) 20-62.

¹⁹⁵ Goldhill (1990) 63-64.

¹⁹⁶ *Ar. Ach.* 496-509. Since the *Acharnians* was performed at the Lenaia, the other major Athenian Dionysos festival, Dikaiopolis can speak to the audience freely as opposed to the City Dionysia.

¹⁹⁷ *Schol. Ar. Ach.* 504; *Ar. Ach.* 504-506.

¹⁹⁸ *Isok.* 8.82

¹⁹⁹ At least one case is epigraphically attested: Brea; IG I³ 46.

characteristics as that of the Panathenaia, by moving from the periphery into the city centre, in this case the South Slope of the Akropolis.²⁰⁰ Both festivals thus expressed the power of the Athenian *polis* to itself as well as its visitors, in addition to celebrating Athenian imperialism.²⁰¹

4.2.4 Eleusinian Demeter and Athenian Imperialism

Similar to the Greater Panathenaia and City Dionysia, the Eleusinian Mystery cult, besides being an important Athenian civic cult, possessed an imperialistic undertone. The most distinctive association of the Mysteries and Athenian Imperialism, is IG I³ 78, the First Fruits Decree.²⁰² The date of the decree is debated, but the contents are clear: It asks all Greeks – but demands it from the allies – to donate a part of their first fruits (ἀπαρχαί) to Eleusinian Demeter and Kore.

Local deities were traditionally the recipient of the first-fruits, or at least a portion of an individual's harvest. These portions combined with others would then form the offerings from an entire community. The tribute that was demanded from the cities in the Athenian Empire were first-fruits, which were to be offered to Athena. As a goddess of grain, Demeter was the obvious choice for many cities to receive the first-fruits of the grain harvest.

Dated in the 460's B.C.E., a decree was found providing the first attestation of first-fruits being offered to Demeter in Eleusis.²⁰³ The decree offers us an insight into the close relation between Athens and Eleusis. The first-fruits were to be stored in Athena's sanctuary on the Akropolis and were to be used at the discretion of the Athenians.²⁰⁴ This document presents to us a proof of Eleusis' assimilation into the Athenian authority. The Athenian *polis* thus profited from Eleusinian finances.

Whereas IG I³ 6 only concerned Eleusis, the First-Fruits Decree demanded first-fruits from all of the cities in the Athenian empire.²⁰⁵ Such a 'request' resembles the forced compliance asked from the allies with regards to the Greater Panathenaia and the City Dionysia. Similar to other mandates, the Athenian *polis* expressed its imperial power with this decree.

²⁰⁰ Graf (1996) 57-59. Graf, however, terms the cults of the South Slope 'non-civic' cults. It has adequately been proven (see previous and later chapters) that Asklepios and Dionysos were indeed civic cults.

²⁰¹ Wickkiser (2003) 159.

²⁰² Dating still remains controversial, Cavanaugh (1996) dates the decree in the 430's, whereas Furley (1996) 36-39 even goes as late as 421-415 B.C.E. The First Fruits Decree is found in Appendix II.

²⁰³ IG I³ 6; the dating is based on the letter forms. See Cavanaugh (1996) 73.

²⁰⁴ Wickkiser (2003) 161.

²⁰⁵ IG I³ 6, lines 14-24 for this reflection of Eleusis only.

The other Greek cities were only kindly asked to follow this tradition.²⁰⁶ Athens attempted to sustain this claim by mentioning an Oracle that had ordained it. This appeal shows the confidence the Athenian *polis* had in its own power and influence for them to exert its influence over the entire Greek world. As Robert Parker writes in his book on Athenian religion, ‘It may well have been traditional for a tithe of crops to be sent to Eleusis by the Attic demes...; but it was doubtless only at the height of her political and cultic hegemony that Athens, with the support of the Delphic oracle, could press her claims on the rest of the Greek world.’²⁰⁷

The prestige of the cult was thus utilised to promote Athenian influence. This utilisation was taken further by another claim made by the proponent of the decree, as it contains a scheme for another first-fruits offering: One of olive oil.²⁰⁸ Presumably, this oil was offered to Athena who gave Athens the olive. The proposal evidently never passed legislation, nevertheless, the mere fact it was proposed is revealing.²⁰⁹ The mere suggestion clearly shows that Athens went to great lengths to use the panhellenic character of the Eleusinian Mysteries to promote their own imperialistic interest.²¹⁰

Athens thus had a profound imperialist message to send in regards to the Akropolis, the City Dionysia and the Greater Mysteries. Hence, Asklepios’ incorporation into these cults testifies to the imperialistic nature embedded in his introduction, according to Wickkiser.²¹¹ The location of the sanctuary under Athena’s wings, as well as Asklepios’ entwinement in Athenian imperialist cults, showed Athens’ interest in promoting Athenian imperialism with Asklepios’ arrival.

4.3 Asklepios’ *pompe* and Athenian imperialism

More aspects factor into the equation of Asklepios and imperial ambitions. According to Wickkiser, the rituals that belonged to Asklepios’ Athenian festivals were an affirmation of Athens’ interest in incorporating Epidauros into the empire.

The πομπή of the Epidauria symbolised Athens’ imperialist motives. The procession started at the Piraeus harbour and ended at Asklepios’ sanctuary just below the Parthenon. Epidauros was Asklepios’ home and he first set foot in Attica at Piraeus, therefore reminding

²⁰⁶ IG I³ 6, lines 24-34.

²⁰⁷ Parker (1996) 143. Cavanaugh (1996) xiii, makes a similar statement.

²⁰⁸ IG I³ 6, lines 59-61.

²⁰⁹ Parker (1996) 144

²¹⁰ Wickkiser (2003) 162. For more on Panhellenism and the Mysteries, see Clinton (1994b) 170. The panhellenism of Eleusis was vital to Athenian ambition, due to their lack of it, compared to other major Greek states, it was a thorn in their eye. Other states did possess panhellenistic sanctuaries, whereas Athens did not. On this, see Hornblower (1992) 184

²¹¹ Wickkiser (2003) 167.

the spectators of his ‘foreign’ origin. Moreover, the Piraeus was the symbol of Athenian naval power and subsequently, their empire.

Furthermore, the movement of the procession brought the Epidaurian Asklepios into the heart of the *polis*. The periphery (Epidauros) was brought to a new border of the Athenian Empire, the Piraeus harbour.²¹²

Along the way, the procession stopped at the Eleusinion.²¹³ Eumolpos, after his defeat against Erechtheus, was incorporated into the Athenian *polis* as well. His remains, among those of other members of his family, were buried in the Eleusinion.²¹⁴ A former enemy thus became an ally: the same was intended with Asklepios’ entry into the Athenian *polis*. The Epidauria became a further articulation of Athenian synoicism, reminiscent of the way the Eleusinion was assimilated.²¹⁵

The *pompe* ended with Asklepios’ arrival at the Akropolis, where he was welcomed by Athena, the symbol of Athenian imperial power. Additionally, she was the patron goddess of Athens and thus incorporated Asklepios, Epidauros’ patron, into the Athenian pantheon.²¹⁶ This welcoming was of major importance. As Fustel de Coulanges comments: ‘War or peace between two cities was war or peace between two religions...If [the ancients] could imagine that the protecting deities of two cities had some motive for becoming allies, this was reason enough why the two cities should become so.’ So, Asklepios and Athena were now neighbours and allies; and as a result, so were Epidauros and Athens.²¹⁷

According to Wickkiser there are several grounds to believe there was Athenian imperial interest in bringing the Asklepios cult from Epidauros in 420 B.C.E. Firstly, the incorporation of Asklepios into two major Athenian cults that demonstrated imperial undertones. Secondly, the location of Asklepios’ sanctuary and his welcoming into the Athenian pantheon. Athens’ interest in the Epidauros area is reported through their repeated attacks and their policy in the region, which are mentioned in the first chapter.

²¹² Wickkiser (2003) 186.

²¹³ Clinton (1994) 27 argues that the procession stopped at the Eleusinion in commemoration of Asklepios’ stay there ca. 420 BC. See *SEG* 25.226.

²¹⁴ Clem.Al. *Protr.* 3.45.1.

²¹⁵ Wickkiser (2003) 187-188.

²¹⁶ Edelstein and Edelstein (1945) Vol. II, 97; Burford (1969) 14; Brackertz (1976) 46-48; Tomlinson (1983) 9-17 are all proponents of seeing Asklepios as Epidauros’ patron. For a differing view, see Lambrinudakis (1980) 57 and Cole (1995) 292-300. They claim Apollo Maleatas is the patron god. Asklepios, however, emerged from this cult and took over its place, see de Polignac (1995) 28.

²¹⁷ Fustel de Coulanges, N.D., *The Ancient City: A Study in the Religions, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome* (Baltimore 1980) 201, published originally as *La Cité antique* in 1864. I have taken the quote from Wickkiser (2003) 188. Hence Fustel de Coulanges’ work is not included in my bibliography.

Furthermore, Wickkiser places the introduction of Asklepios in the same context as that of Thracian Bendis.²¹⁸ The Thracian god's entrance into Athens has been dated in 431 B.C.E.²¹⁹ Older scholarship has indeed focused solely on the imperial prospects for this cult.²²⁰ However, recent scholarship has nuanced this point of view.²²¹ Consequently, it would seem that Wickkiser's correlation of Asklepios and Bendis cannot be a decisive argument in viewing Asklepios' introduction as an imperialist move.

Although Wickkiser makes a very compelling argument, especially concerning Athenian *polis* interest in Asklepios' arrival, I find her assessment of the introduction's context doubtful and not entirely correct. Not disregarding the fact that Athens indeed had an imperial policy throughout the Archidamian War, nor completely disagreeing with the advantages an alliance with Epidaurus would offer Athens, I merely favour a more pacifistic interpretation of the situation.

The interstate relations in Classical Greece are vital to my interpretation. Athens was down struck after ten years of intense battle, plague and changing fortunes in the theatre of war. I believe that the Athenians were more favourable towards a peaceful existence, tired of imperialistic policy and therefore wished to obtain Epidaurus' 'signature' for the Peace of Nikias, instead of an alliance.²²²

²¹⁸ Wickkiser (2008) 96.

²¹⁹ Planeaux (2000-2001) 165-192.

²²⁰ Nilsson (1951) 45 and Garland (1992) 112 regard it in terms of political interests, due to the presence of Athenian allies in the area and to ensure the support of the Thracian kings against Sparta.

²²¹ Planeaux (2000-2001) sees it as a response to the plague, but his arguments are not convincing. Parker (1996) 174-5, sees it also partly economically and ideologically motivated, since Thrace had an ample supply of wood and minerals, in addition to ideological links with Athens, partly through the presence of Athenian colonies in the area, like Amphipolis and Brea. More convincing is Sara Wijma's PhD dissertation. In it, she convincingly argues for the Thracian cult to be seen as a way of incorporating the large Thracian *metic* community in Athens. Interestingly enough, the Thracian cult was firstly incorporated into an Athenian deity's sanctuary, before receiving its own, just like Asklepios. See Wijma (2010) 243-303.

²²² Thuc. 5.31 describes the trouble the Spartans had getting their allies to comply in signing the peace treaty. For more on Sparta's role as leader of the Peloponnesian League and their difficulties in efficiently leading the alliance, see Strauss (1997) 127-146, 128. The troubles of Sparta to contain their allies and other members of the Peloponnesian League became abundantly clear in the fourth century, when Sparta was unable to maintain their hegemony. For articles concerned with this issue, see Funke and Luraghi (2009).

5. The Archidamian War and the Peace of Nicias

During the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.E.), Athens was affected by a multiplicity of disastrous events. The city was hit by the plague, which even chased their soldiers all the way to Potidaia.²²³ Because of the disease, doubt even reigned over the Athenians during the discussion regarding the Mytilenean revolt on Lesbos.²²⁴ Moreover, according to Thucydides, the epidemic had a profound effect on the religiosity of the Athenian population. Since the disease struck without regard to a person's piety toward the gods, people felt abandoned by the gods and there seemed to be no benefit in worshipping them. According to the historian, this led to a forsaking of the traditional gods.²²⁵ Dodds argues for a rising 'irrationality' in Athens as a result.²²⁶ The archaeological evidence does not accord with the literary evidence though. After 421 B.C.E., attention was mostly paid to traditional cults. Sanctuaries were rebuilt and new temples constructed for the more traditional gods and cults.²²⁷

All of the operations conducted during the first ten years of the war - named the Archidamian War after the Spartan king Archidamus II - put a severe strain on the Athenian treasury that led to displeasure amongst the Athenian population.²²⁸ In addition to the financial burden and the plague, the Spartans started invading the Attic countryside annually. All of these hardships could be endured so long as the *polis* remained victorious in most battles.²²⁹

The situation changed, however, when the battles were no longer won. Therefore, I will start off by sketching the military activity in the first ten years of the war, before turning to the effect it had on the Athenian population. Finally, I will give my own interpretation of the Peace of Nicias and all of its clauses and what that meant to the negotiations at the time.

²²³ Thuc. 2.58.3.

²²⁴ Thuc. 3.3.1.

²²⁵ Thuc. 2.53.

²²⁶ Dodds (1973) 28-49. Mostly because of the newly imported 'foreign' cults like Asklepios, but also Adonis, Bendis, Cybele and Sabazios.

²²⁷ Boersma (1970) 95. He mentions the start of construction on the Erechtheion and the finishing of the Hephaisteion. The building of the Stoa Basileos, attention being paid to Dionysos at Athens, Artemis at Brauron and Demeter at Eleusis. He does not deny the introduction of 'foreign' cults, but the attention paid to more traditional cults is greater than to the 'newer' cults.

²²⁸ One example are the costs for the siege of Potidaia, 1000 talents per year, see Thuc. 1.56-65. Furthermore, several Chalcidicean cities revolted. See Meiggs (1972) 311ff.

²²⁹ For an elucidation of the impact the Archidamian War had on the Athenian population, see Rubel (2000) 45ff.

5.1 Events affecting Athens during the Archidamian War

As previously described, the Plague struck Athens twice and left its mark on the population. Not only in terms of deaths or religion, but equally so in its dramatic productions.²³⁰ Furthermore, the disease struck Athens at its heart, by claiming the *strategos* Perikles as one of its victims.²³¹ This bereavement had a strong effect on the Athenian policy, as less measured politicians like Kleon came to the forefront. In addition to his preference for radical democracy, Kleon also proposed a more imperialist policy with regards to the allies, as well as to the entire theatre of war.²³² More moderate Athenians, like Nikias, who wished to continue Perikles' defensive strategy, were less and less adhered to.²³³ Despite the initial setbacks at the beginning of the Archidamian War; such as the appearance of the Plague, the death of Perikles and the Spartan annual invasions, the tables were turning. The subsequent Athenian military success kept the Athenians spirited.

The early years of the Peloponnesian War kept Athens and Sparta in balance, with neither claiming a decisive victory or obtaining a better bargaining position for peace. Sparta invaded the Attic countryside annually, whereas Athens took advantage of its naval supremacy and started raiding the Peloponnesian coastline. Epidaurus was one of the first cities attacked during the initial raids, although Athens was unable to capture the city.²³⁴ These raids continued for several years, but eventually, in 425 B.C.E. Athens finally gained a foothold on the Peloponnesian coast with these raids.

Besides gaining a foothold on the Peloponnese, that year brought more victories for Athens. After Nikias defeated the Corinthians, he was able to build a wall across the Isthmus to cut off the Methana peninsula from the mainland. Subsequently, a garrison was established there and used as a base for the Athenians to raid the territory of Epidaurus and other cities as well.²³⁵ In 425 B.C.E. the Athenians moved towards Pylos in an attempt to capture it, as it was seen as a particularly promising site for a forward outpost.²³⁶ The Battle of Pylos ensued and the Athenians came out victorious. Due to their loss, 420 Spartan soldiers were trapped on

²³⁰ Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 28-29 gives an overview of the frequency of 'disease' in Athenian tragedy throughout the years. Between pre-plague tragedies and those written after the disease struck, a clear difference in mindset is shown through the frequency of the word '*nosos*'; disease.

²³¹ Thuc. 2.65; Plut. *Pericles* 38.

²³² A good example of Kleon's imperialist ideas regarding the allies is the Mytilenean debate in Thucydides. See Thuc. 3.36-40.

²³³ Funke (2003²) 88. For a different view on Nikias' moderation, see Geske (2005) 71-85, who sees Nikias as just as aggressive in his foreign politics as Kleon, but tries to win favour from the Athenians in a different way, by using his 'favour of the gods', to his advantage. Kallet (2009) 94-128, argues for a different interaction between Athenian politicians and the Athenian people and therefore a different policy.

²³⁴ Thuc. 2.56.4-5.

²³⁵ Thuc. 4.45.2. For a more detailed map of the Akte peninsula and Methana, see Appendix fig.6.

²³⁶ Kagan (1974) 221.

the island of Sphacteria.²³⁷ The Spartans sent an embassy to Athens to sue for peace, which was rejected.²³⁸ The Athenians, however, began to regret their refusal, as the situation at Pylos became dire.²³⁹

Kleon, one of the main opponents of the peace offer, then promised a brash ending to the situation: He would storm the island of Sphacteria and imprison the Spartans trapped there. The Battle of Sphacteria followed, in which Kleon came out victorious. Following this amazing triumph, Kleon struck the iron while it was hot: the Athenians cautioned the Lakedaimonians that in case of another invasion of Attic soil, the prisoners would surely be killed.²⁴⁰

At this point in time, Athens had the advantage over Sparta and it seemed Kleon's brash politics had success. The Lakedaimonians found themselves between a rock and a hard place and thus ceased to invade Attica. As a result, the Athenians could finally return to their ancestral homes in the countryside and no longer had to witness their homeland being burned by invading Spartans.²⁴¹ This fortunate turn of events brought new-found confidence to the Athenian population.

Athenian success was not to last, however, since 424 B.C.E. brought defeats the Athenian *polis* had not endured before. The Spartans captured an important city in the Thrace region, Amphipolis. Additionally, Brasidas defeated Demosthenes at Megara and the Boeotians defeated the Athenian forces at Delion.²⁴² Large defeats like these were a blow to Athenian war morale, although peace was as of yet not attained.²⁴³ Balance between the two major powers, the Peloponnesian League and the Athenian Empire, returned. Neither party delivered a decisive blow to the other.

²³⁷ More importantly, 120 of the elite Spartiates were included.

²³⁸ Thuc. 4.15-23. The Spartans went to great lengths to ensure this truce to happen, see Bolmarcich (2010) 123: '(ειρηνην και ξυμμαχιαν και αλλην φιλιαν πολλην και οικειοτητα ες αλληλους, Thuc.4.19.1). This is a sort of smorgasbord of the diplomatic relationships available to states in the late fifth century BCE; the Spartans appear to be trying to make any treaty between themselves and the Athenians as strong as possible by emphasizing both legal (peace and alliance) and affective (friendship and close affinity) relationships.'

²³⁹ Thuc. 4.23-26. For the Athenians' regret, see Thuc. 4.27-29.

²⁴⁰ Thuc. 4.41.1-2.

²⁴¹ Aristophanes' *Acharnians* is a prime example of this sentiment. And. 3.8 names it as one the reasons for the Peace of Nikias.

²⁴² For Amphipolis see Thuc.4. 102-104; for Megara see Thuc. 4.66-73; for Delion see Thuc. 4.91-101.

²⁴³ This occurrence bears a remarkable similarity to events in the First Peloponnesian War. Athens had won several important victories and had achieved a key victory to influence the balance. They, however, then suffered severe losses after the Egyptian expedition, after which they sued for a truce and afterwards, a peace treaty with the Spartans. For the Egyptian expedition, see Thuc. 1.104-111; for the truce, see Thuc. 1.112. Moreover, after the Peloponnesian War, Andokides mentions the experience of big, horrible events, like losses and Spartan invasions of Attica as reasons for Athenians to be more willing towards peace. See And. 3.3; 3.6; 3.8. In And. 3.8; Andokides mentions the 'many privations which we suffered led us to make peace' (πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν στέρηθέντες αὖθις τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαμεθα)

As a result, both parties saw the futility of continuing the fight and agreed to an armistice in 423 B.C.E.²⁴⁴ Thucydides describes that the truce had a duration for a year and was only a preliminary meeting. The Athenians would further deliberate on concluding a peace with the Spartans and under which conditions the peace would be consented to.²⁴⁵ Interesting to note is the inclusion of an Epidaurian representing the Peloponnesian League in these negotiations.²⁴⁶ The mere fact that a town like Epidaurus, which until then had little power over events, was included in this treaty and thus influenced international politics, is striking.²⁴⁷ The Spartan allies named to have signed the treaty are: Corinth, Sikyon, Megara and Epidaurus. An end to war had arrived, if only for a short term.

Apparently Epidaurus was too involved in the theatre of war to be left out of the negotiations. This inclusion is remarkable, considering the other allies involved, as they were larger *poleis* than Epidaurus and had more military resources. Epidaurus' involvement becomes more intelligible, considering its proximity to Athens and their sufferings from Athenian raids. Thus, Epidaurus had plenty to benefit from a truce.²⁴⁸

Peace, however, did not last. Struggles between both parties were renewed when Brasidas attempted to take Potidaia in 422 B.C.E.²⁴⁹ Kleon and Brasidas are both characterised as the fiercest 'war-hawks' in both camps and with their deaths at the Battle of Amphipolis in the same year, peace between the belligerent states received another chance, with the conclusion being the Peace of Nikias.²⁵⁰

The events leading up to the Peace of Nikias have been described. In the following chapter I will set out to reconstruct the mood and atmosphere in Athens in the years predating 421 B.C.E., to demonstrate that the time was right for peace and that the Athenians were indeed more inclined towards peace than they were to war or imperialist activity. Peace was also more readily accepted by the Athenian policy makers since the death of Kleon left the more 'moderate' Nikias as the main politician of the Athenian *polis* at the time. This image of a 'popular' Nikias is further enhanced by the comedies of this period.²⁵¹

²⁴⁴ Thuc. 4.118-119.

²⁴⁵ Thuc. 4.118.12-14.

²⁴⁶ Thuc. 4.119.2. The Epidaurian named is Amphias, son of Eupalidas.

²⁴⁷ Burford (1969) 26.

²⁴⁸ For Epidaurus' proximity, see Appendix I, fig.1; for Epidaurian suffering because of Athenian raids, see Diod. 12.43.1.

²⁴⁹ Thuc. 4.135.2.

²⁵⁰ For the deaths of the war hawks Brasidas and Kleon see Thuc. 5.16.1. Not only the Athenians, the Spartans as well were more inclined to peace after the death of Brasidas; Thuc. 5.13. For the Peace of Nikias, see Thuc. 5.13-24. Aristophanes describes Brasidas and Kleon as 'pestles' used by War to keep stirring up the Greeks, see Ar. *Peace* 230-85.

²⁵¹ See also Geske (2005) 1-20.

5.2 The Athenian mindset between 431 and 421 B.C.E.

The Athenian mindset towards peace and war can be reconstructed through the use of the tragedies and comedies written in Athens during the years leading up to the Peace of Nikias.²⁵² These sources are to be preferred, since it was in the theatre of Athens that huge citizen crowds were confronted with plays that openly criticised the brutality of war and emphasised the desirability of peace.²⁵³ Aristophanes' works in particular are of major importance, since comedy gives the best insight into the Athenian minds of the lower and upper classes at the time.²⁵⁴ It is not without reason that, when the tyrant of Syracuse asked how he could discover what Athenians were like, Plato advised him to read the comedies of Aristophanes.

However interesting and useful tragedies and comedies may be for our understanding of Athenian minds, there are certain known pitfalls for scholars of ancient history. Not without reason, Aristophanes is mentioned as the most complex comedy writer of his day. He violently attacks, ridicules and offends Athenians who fulfilled important public duties, such as Kleon the general. The playwright was known for his opinions on the radical democracy Kleon advanced, himself being more of a moderate democrat.²⁵⁵ Moreover, Aristophanes is highly critical of the Peloponnesian War. Readers of his plays may therefore wonder about the playwright's seriousness – after all, he is a comedy writer. Comedy is made for laughter and therefore, Aristophanes wants his audience to be entertained so he will triumph in the competition and win acclaim for himself. Since war was ubiquitous for the Greeks and seen as a natural part of the life cycle, it was a suitable topic for a comedy. Yet, the condemnation of the Peloponnesian War by Aristophanes should not be seen as a simple joke. War left a lasting impression on spectators of its horrors, causing a devastating effect on the lives of many men and women.²⁵⁶ While the Greeks themselves recognised war as an unavoidable part of life, they also detested it and considered it something to be avoided if possible.²⁵⁷ Therefore, in the assessment of Aristophanes' plays, his criticism of war can be interpreted as a serious way of trying to evoke an inclination towards peace amongst the Athenians.

²⁵² I will therefore only use plays that are dated before 421 B.C.E., not excluding Aristophanes' *Peace*, which is a celebration of the treaty. This does not deny the fact that the theme of peace remained on Athenian playwrights' minds. Examples are Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and Euripides' *Trojan Women*.

²⁵³ Zampaglione (1973) 71-90; Trittle (2007) 172-190; Konstan (2007) 191-206. However, in a more recent article Konstan argues for Aristophanes' plays to be seen as still preferring peace, without undermining the actual military valour and fighting spirit of the Athenians, see Konstan (2010) 184-199.

²⁵⁴ Arist. *Poet.* 1448a 27 refers to Aristophanes as the master of comedy, like Homer was for epic. See also de Ste.Croix (1996) 43.

²⁵⁵ See Ste. Croix (1996) who terms Aristophanes a 'Kimonian' democrat.

²⁵⁶ Thuc. 1.105.3-106; 4.26-40; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.10; Plut. *Alc.* 29.1-5.

²⁵⁷ Trittle (2007) 184.

Indeed, the same warning – and solution – applies to tragedies. Although situated in mythical context, they reflect contemporary social reality, albeit indirectly. The most important ‘anti-war’ tragedies pre-dating the Peace of Nikias are Euripides’ *Hecuba* and *Suppliant Women*. Considering the context they were written in, with two major battles lost and the return of many wounded or perished men, the plays become more direct for the attendant citizens in the theatre. The futility of war came to the fore in earlier tragedies that concerned themselves with mythical affairs. However, Euripides showed the gods in an all-too human light as warmongers and war-lovers. Consequently, he built up an opposition to war and showed that human will could avoid or mitigate the catastrophe that is war.²⁵⁸ So, we might have to dig deeper to find his lamentations on war, but these underlying critiques nonetheless vent the same sentiments as the more direct comedies of Aristophanes.

The first attestation of a longing for peace can be found in the *Acharnians* of 425 B.C.E. In the first 42 lines, the playwright makes it perfectly clear through his character Dikaiopolis that Kleon’s policy cares about everything, except peace.²⁵⁹ Moreover, other Athenians pitch in as well. Ampitheos, for instance, brings offers of five-year, ten-year and thirty-year treaties, despite the Prytanes not financing his travels.²⁶⁰ Not all Athenians are favourable towards peace, though. The *Acharnians*, for instance, harass and hinder Ampitheos in his efforts to make peace with Sparta.²⁶¹ The general Lamachos is portrayed as an equal pestle to peace efforts, just like Brasidas and Kleon.²⁶² Similarly, weapon makers are listed as ‘ruined’ by the return of peace.²⁶³ Aristophanes portrays the majority of the Athenians as the ones to gain the most from peace and does so, not only through treaties, but with metaphors for peace, including ‘wine’ and ‘reconciliation’.²⁶⁴ Although in the playwright’s view all Athenians would benefit from peace, this was ostensibly not a common opinion at the time.²⁶⁵

Peace, then, was still far removed at this moment. This situation is not surprising: in the same year the *Acharnians* was performed, Kleon had achieved his most prestigious victory at Sphacteria. No wonder most Athenians acquiesced his preference for the continuance of the war. However, as Thucydides has written, the Athenians were quickly

²⁵⁸ Zampaglione (1973) 82.

²⁵⁹ *Ar. Ach.* 39.

²⁶⁰ *Ar. Ach.* 50-53. For the treaties, *Ar. Ach.* 183-202.

²⁶¹ *Ar. Ach.* 174-185.

²⁶² *Ar. Ach.* 566-70; 620-23; *Ar. Peace* 1175-6.

²⁶³ *Ar. Peace* 1198-1264.

²⁶⁴ For these associations, see Newiger (1996) 148. For wine, see *Ar. Ach.* 978-87. For reconciliation, see *Ar. Ach.* 989-99.

²⁶⁵ Although *Acharnians* still came in at first place at the Lenaia, beating other established comedy writers as Cratinus and Eupolis.

inclined towards peace whenever the situation became more desperate.²⁶⁶ That was certainly the case in the year 424 B.C.E. with two major Athenian losses at Delion and Amphipolis.

Euripides' *Hecuba*, staged in 424 B.C.E., displays a comparable distaste towards war as the *Acharnians*.²⁶⁷ The horrid scenes depicted should only serve as a reminder to the Athenians about what war is and its excruciating effects. As the Chorus proclaims:

*'For here begins trouble's cycle, and, worse than that, relentless fate; and from one man's folly came a universal curse, bringing death to the land of Simois, with trouble from an alien shore. The strife the shepherd decided on Ida, between three daughters of the blessed gods, brought as its result war and bloodshed and the ruin of my home; and many a Spartan maiden too is weeping bitter tears in her halls on the banks of fair Eurotas, and many a mother whose sons are slain, is smiting her grey head and tearing her cheeks, making her nails bloody in the furrowed gash.'*²⁶⁸

Athenian audiences would thus recall the consequences of sending their sons into war. In a year during which two major battles were lost - Delion and Amphipolis - and the resulting casualties, Euripides' play reminded the Athenians of their losses. The *topos* of mourning the war dead does not necessarily imply a pacifist agenda. Perikles' *Funeral Oration*, for example, uses the commemoration of the casualties as to bestow encomium on the Athenian *polis*, without any intention of obtaining peace.²⁶⁹ However, the context of both sources indicate the different agendas: Perikles salutes the citizens buried because of the war, whereas Euripides' plays are partly meant to educate the Athenians. Consequently, the futility of war is seemingly portrayed by the commemoration of the casualties of war of the contemporary battles lost: Perhaps it is possible to interpret the play as a direct reminder to the Athenians of what war had yielded them in the years before and especially in the newly fought – and lost - battles. The Athenians, therefore, were more inclined to peace than they had been before. As a result of these losses, a truce for one year was negotiated which could subsequently lead to a lasting peace.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ As with the affair at Pylos, when the situation quickly became worse and most Athenians regretted not accepting peace, see Thuc. 4.27-29.

²⁶⁷ Doubts remain about the year *Hecuba* was staged, but reasonably assured, it was staged between 428-424 B.C.E. See also Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 30.

²⁶⁸ Eur. *Hec.* 638-657.

²⁶⁹ Thuc. 2.35-46.

²⁷⁰ For this truce, see chapter 5.1.

In the same year, Aristophanes' *Knights* was performed during the Lenaia festival. The play pointed its arrows at Kleon, who is ridiculed throughout the play. The politician himself is not the only one who is mocked: his policy is targeted as well. In the play, Nikias and Demosthenes, two Athenian generals, are portrayed as slaves to the *demos*. Accompanying them as a fellow slave is a Paphlagonian, subtly reminiscent of Kleon in his characteristics. Then, a new favourite of the *demos* appears: The Sausage Seller. This Sausage Seller tells the Demos about Kleon's work to make sure peace does not reach Athenian shores:

Paphlagonian

Never had Demos a defender or a friend more devoted than myself; on my head, on my life, I swear it!

Sausage-Seller

You pretend to love him and for eight years you have seen him housed in casks, in crevices and dovecots, where he is blinded with the smoke, and you lock him in without pity; Archeptolemus brought peace and you tore it to ribbons; the envoys who come to propose a truce you drive from the city with kicks in their arses.²⁷¹

Paphlagonian

The purpose of this is that Demos may rule over all the Greeks; for the oracles predict that, if he is patient, he must one day sit as judge in Arcadia at five obols per day. Meanwhile, I will nourish him, look after him and, above all, I will ensure to him his three obols.

Sausage-Seller

No, little you care for his reigning in Arcadia, it's to pillage and impose on the allies at will that you reckon; you wish the war to conceal your rogueries as in a mist, that Demos may see nothing of them, and harassed by cares, may only depend on yourself for his bread. But if ever peace is restored to him, if ever he returns to his lands to comfort himself once more with good cakes, to greet his cherished olives, he will know the blessings you have kept him out of, even though paying him a salary; and, filled with hatred and rage, he will rise, burning with desire to vote against you. You know this only too well; it is for this you rock him to sleep with your lies.

²⁷¹ This Archeptolemus is also recalled by Lysias, as one of Theramenes' best friends, but in order to please the *demos* was still sent to death. See Lys. 12.67-68. Probably, the truce being referred to is the one dated in 425 B.C.E. and described by Thucydides on the eve of the Battle at Sphacteria, see Thuc. 4.17-20.

Paphlagonian

*Is it not shameful, that you should dare thus to calumniate me before Demos, me, to whom Athens, I swear it by Demeter, already owes more than it ever did to Themistocles?*²⁷²

Interesting to note is the criticism of Kleon's imperialist ambition: He deceived the *demos* so that 'they may rule over all the Greeks'.²⁷³ Even with such a purpose, this guile remains unforgivable. Simultaneously, the aversion towards an imperialist policy is demonstrated: a peaceful cooperation with allies and other countries is to be preferred over rigid imperialism. Aristophanes continues to attack Kleon and his policy:

Demos

Great gods! what! the bucklers retain their rings! Scoundrel! ah! too long have you had me for your dupe, cheated and played with me!

Paphlagonian

But, dear sir, never you believe all he tells you. Oh! never will you find a more devoted friend than me; unaided, I have known how to put down the conspiracies; nothing that is hatching in the city escapes me, and I hasten to proclaim it loudly.

Sausage-Seller

*You are like the fishers for eels; in still waters they catch nothing, but if they thoroughly stir up the slime, their fishing is good; in the same way it's only in troubled times that you line your pockets. But come, tell me, you, who sell so many skins, have you ever made him a present of a pair of soles for his slippers? and you pretend to love him!*²⁷⁴

Aristophanes' character the Sausage Seller articulates the playwright's distaste of Kleon's policy. Disposing of him would be to the people's advantage, since the *demos* are being misled by the populist. The Sausage Seller is not less of a populist than his predecessor, albeit that the people's new favourite is a proponent of peace, unlike Kleon:

²⁷² Ar. *Kn.* 790-812.

²⁷³ Ar. *Kn.* 797: ἵνα γ' Ἑλλήνων ἄρξι πάντων.

²⁷⁴ Ar. *Kn.* 858-870.

'Sausage-Seller

Aye, you will deem yourself happy, when I have handed you the truce of thirty years. Truce! step forward!

Enter Truce, in the form of a beautiful young girl, magnificently attired.

Demos

Great gods! how charming she is! Can I do with her as I wish? where did you discover her, pray?

Sausage-Seller

*That Paphlagonian had kept her locked up in his house, so that you might not enjoy her. As for myself, I give her to you; take her with you into the country.*²⁷⁵

Peace could have been attained before, were it not for Kleon's meddling, which obstructed the negotiating. His interference becomes even more interesting, when looking at the names of the two other 'slaves' of the *demos*, Nikias and Demosthenes. They are the ones who bring forth the Sausage Seller as the *demos*' new favourite.²⁷⁶ Their involvement is striking, since Nikias was the name-giver to the Peace treaty of 421 B.C.E. and a known proponent of peace, while Demosthenes was a representative of the Athenians at the negotiations.²⁷⁷ Because of Kleon's intrusion, the Athenian population were not allowed to 'enjoy' the benefits peace brings.²⁷⁸ The war-hawk had deceived the *demos* all along. The new politician who favours peace enters the stage and is popular amongst the people, if only in the play and mind of Aristophanes.

Apparently, the playwright was not the only Athenian who had his hopes set on peace. The fact that Aristophanes received first place at the Lenaia for this play, suggests that the number of people opposing Kleon's policy were growing. That included his more aggressive approach regarding the war and his continued refusal of peace. Anti-Kleon propaganda seemingly was a popular theme amongst the Athenian population, since Aristophanes' *the*

²⁷⁵ Ar. *Kn.* 1389-1395.

²⁷⁶ The Sausage Seller enters the stage at Ar. *Kn.* 150 and is convinced by Nikias and Demosthenes to battle Kleon for the *demos*' preference.

²⁷⁷ For Nikias' preference for peace, see Plut. *Nic.* 7 and 9. Aristotle named him one of the three best citizens of Athens, see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 2.85. For Demosthenes, see Thuc. 5.19 and 5.24 and for more on his success as a general, see Kagan (1974) 187-217.

²⁷⁸ ἵνα σὺ μὴ λάβῃς; for more on the positives of peace, see Zampaglione (1973); van Wees (2004) ch. 1; Raaflaub (2007a) 1-33. These are mostly based on sources like Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Days and Works* and Homer's *Iliad*. Aristophanes describes the positives of peace quite clearly, not only in his *Acharnians*, but also in his *Peace*. For the negative image of Ares the war-god and his unpopularity, see Burkert (1977) 169-170. Another source, for example, is Euripides' *Medea*, Agamemnon proclaims that even the victorious in war do not achieve victory. Eur. *Med.* 190-196.

Clouds, which concerned itself with entirely different matters, failed miserably just a year before.²⁷⁹

In 423 B.C.E. another play was staged that criticised the follies of war: Euripides' *Suppliant Women*. Notwithstanding the mythological setting, there is an unmistakable aversion to combat in several verses. The first attestation is Theseus' response to Adrastus that the loss of men is the result of that 'unhappy war'.²⁸⁰ Euripides sketches to his audience peace's advantages over war:

*'For whenever the city has to vote on the question of war, no man ever takes his own death into account, but shifts this misfortune on to another; but if death were before their eyes when they were giving their votes, Hellas would never rush to her doom in mad desire for battle. And yet each man among us knows which of the two to prefer, the good or ill, and how much better peace is for mankind than war, peace, the Muses' dearest friend, the foe of Sorrow, whose joy is in glad throngs of children, and its delight in prosperity. These are the blessings we cast away and wickedly embark on war, man enslaving his weaker brother, and cities following suit.'*²⁸¹

Euripides sends a strong message: War before one's eyes should completely obliterate any positive inclinations towards battle, especially when deciding on the course to be taken by the entire *polis*. I believe it is an allusion from Euripides' side, to the recent losses endured by Athens on the battlefield. Therefore, he calls upon the Athenian audience to vote against new warring endeavours, especially after the recent truce that had been negotiated.²⁸² Though often the target of jokes by Aristophanes, both writers were striving towards the same goal: a lasting peace that would bring an end to war.

The following year, during the one-year truce between Athens and several members of the Peloponnesian League, Aristophanes again attacked Kleon in his *Wasps*. The playwright disagrees with Kleon's raising of the tribute of the allies.²⁸³ Most of the wealth that is flowing

²⁷⁹ This greatly rattled Aristophanes, who rewrote and created a new edition of the play. He also alluded to it in his *Wasps* 1015-1050. It might have to do with his indirect reference to the plague by having Strepsiades suffer from bed-bugs, see Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 37.

²⁸⁰ Eur. *Supp.* 113-119.

²⁸¹ Eur. *Supp.* 479-493.

²⁸² Thuc. 4. 118-119, the truce was reached in 423 B.C.E., the same year that the *Suppliant Women* was first performed in Athens. Another example of Euripides' advise to prefer negotiation over war is Eur. *Supp.* 744-749. For a differing view on tragedy's influence on political action, see Mills (2010) 179-182; Plut. *Pel.* 29.4-6 and Isok. 4.168.

²⁸³ Ar. *Wasps* 655-679.

into the Athenian treasury disappears into the pockets of Kleon's circle instead of the Athenian people. Still, he raises the tribute. Again, Kleon's severe imperialist approach is criticised by Aristophanes.²⁸⁴ Although successful at first after his victory at Sphacteria, the policy Kleon pursued became gradually less popular in the years after the losses at Amphipolis and Delion. The losses at Amphipolis and Delion, however, were suffered under the command of other generals rather than Kleon's. Hence, he was re-elected general in 422 B.C.E. and sent to re-capture Amphipolis.²⁸⁵

The playwright's criticism of Kleon does not necessarily imply that Kleon was highly unpopular amongst the Athenian population. He was still chosen to lead armies and had a prominent position of authority. The 'war-party' remained influential in Athens. What it does show, though, is the presence of a 'peace-party', or at least opponents of Kleon and his policy.

The victor of Sphacteria nevertheless found his death on the battlefield of Amphipolis without capturing the city. Brasidas fell as well. Because of Kleon's death and the lack of a true, strong leader for the 'war-party', Nikias came to the fore in Athenian politics once again. He could thus pursue his moderate policy and broker for peace with Sparta. His popularity in Athens at the time was mostly due to his success as a general and his apparent 'favour of the gods'.²⁸⁶

Just before the conclusion of the Peace of Nikias in 421 B.C.E., Aristophanes wrote his *Peace* as a last call for peace. It came in second place at the City Dionysia, which was the location where preliminary measures for the Peace were ratified and were renewed every year.²⁸⁷

Aristophanes thoroughly expresses the joys of peace in his play:

Trygaeus

Listen, good folk! Let the husbandmen take their farming tools and return to their fields as quickly as possible, but without either sword, spear or javelin. All is as quiet as if Peace had been reigning for a century. Come, let everyone go and till the earth, singing the Paeon.

Leader of the Chorus

To Peace.

²⁸⁴ The finest example of Kleon's severe imperialism is shown in the Mytilenean Debate, see Thuc. 3.36.3-50. Aristophanes, however, was not the only one to criticise Kleon's imperialist policy. Eupolis' *Poleis*, dated around c.422 B.C.E. criticises the Athenian treatment of its allies. The play portrays itself as the defendant of the *poleis* suppressed in the Athenian Empire. For fragments and analysis, see Storey (2003) 216-220.

²⁸⁵ Diod. 12.73, according to Thuc. 5.2, Kleon had 'persuaded' the Athenians to let him lead the expedition.

²⁸⁶ Nikias was the most successful, living Athenian general, see Thuc. 5.16.1. For Nikias' 'favour of the gods', see Plut. *Nic.* 9.8. For more on Nikias, see Geske (2005) 81ff.

²⁸⁷ For the City Dionysia as the venue for the peace affirmation, see Thuc. 4.118.12; 5.20; 5.23. The peace was also to be renewed at the Hyakinthia in Sparta.

Oh, thou, whom men of standing desired and who art good to husbandmen, I have gazed upon thee with delight; and now I go to greet my vines, to caress after so long an absence the fig trees I planted in my youth.

Trygaeus

*Friends, let us first adore the goddess, who has delivered us from crests and Gorgons; then let us hurry to our farms, having first bought a nice little piece of salt fish to eat in the fields.*²⁸⁸

Aristophanes expresses that peace alone brings pleasantries with it and a return to the old times. Moreover, he hopes for a lasting peace in which Athens can get rid of the last prominent war-hawk and Kleon's successor, Hyperbolos:

'Chorus

*Then, when we have danced, clinked our cups and thrown Hyperbolus through the doorway we will carry back all our farming tools to the fields and shall pray the gods to give wealth to the Greeks and to cause us all to gather in an abundant barley harvest, enjoy a noble vintage, to grant that we may choke with good figs, that our wives may prove fruitful, that in fact we may recover all our lost blessings, and that the sparkling fire may be restored to the hearth.*²⁸⁹

So, at this moment, 'the peace party' was in control of Athenian politics. Kleon's death removed one major obstacle. His personal fame turned him into a prominent politician, an attribute other 'pro-war' politicians lacked. Moreover, the loss at Amphipolis showed the Athenians the downside of Kleon's politics: the large scale campaign failed miserably, with Kleon paying for it with his life. In addition, military prowess and success helped towards obtaining a prominent political role. After Kleon's death, Nicias – a proponent of peace – was the most successful general in Athens. He utilised this aptitude to his advantage, and his alleged favour of the gods, to obtain the leading role in Athenian politics, a role that culminated in the peace that bears his name.²⁹⁰ Perhaps not every Athenian was happy with the emergence of the peace party's politics. Nonetheless, the majority of the population voted for

²⁸⁸ Ar. *Peace* 551-563.

²⁸⁹ Ar. *Peace* 1320-1325. Eupolis' *Marikas* was also an attack on Kleon's successor, Hyperbolos. For the fragments and analysis, see Storey (2003) 197-214.

²⁹⁰ Geske (2005) 71-76.

the peace and accordingly showed with this voting an inclination towards a different policy than the imperialist one Kleon pursued.²⁹¹

War hung over the Athenian *polis* like an albatross. Peace was welcomed again in Athens in 421 B.C.E. with Nikias and the ‘peace-party’ firmly in the driver’s seat. With the use of the sources available to us, I have made an attempt to reconstruct the atmosphere that was present in Athens during the Archidamian War. Not only was war detested and peace preferred, the imperialist ways of Kleon, and therefore Athens as well, were also criticised. This sentiment contradicts the imperialist interpretation of Asklepios’ introduction, because it was the anti-imperialist and peace party that brokered the peace of which Asklepios was a part. What follows is an examination of the Peace treaty, as Thucydides has left it to us, and from it I have extrapolated what were its terms, peculiarities and the fragility of the agreement.

5.3 The Peace of Nikias

Our main source for the peace terms is Thucydides. We should be aware of any personal preferences in his analysis, though he is appraised for his impartiality in describing events. Though the historian’s account contains some less trustworthy information, his depiction of treaties and decrees proves to be historically secure. Most notably because of the nature of these sources, which were embedded on stone, to be read and seen by anyone.²⁹² Knowing Thucydides’ thorough methodology, we should not be too suspicious towards the decrees he has passed onto us, especially in the case of an impactful event in the Peloponnesian War, such as the Peace of Nikias. Therefore, it is possible to regard his account of the treaty as valuable and true, with less scepticism than we might show towards other historians.

Scholars have found differing interpretations as to why the Peace of Nikias was concluded. Kallet sees it as an opportunity for both belligerent states to regroup and supplement their resources.²⁹³ Boersma depicts it as an occasion to refill the Athenian treasury and to re-start building projects that had come to a halt, such as the Hephaisteion.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ For instance Hyperbolos was perhaps even fiercer in his ‘populist’ approach than Kleon was. Hyperbolos, however, was not influential enough at the moment and was the last ‘victim’ of ostracism in 417 B.C.E. He is first mentioned in Ar. *Kn.* 1303. He is further mentioned in Ar. *Wasps* 1006; Ar. *Peace* 682-3; Thuc. 8.73; Plut. *Alc.* 13; Plut. *Nic.* 4. In [Plut.] *De Unius* 2, Hyperbolos is associated with Kleon as politicians whom should be resented, whereas Perikles and Nikias pursued the right policy.

²⁹² Smarczyk (2006) 495-522. Although Thucydides is not very secure with his inscriptions in his earlier books, his account of the armistice of 423 B.C.E. and the Peace of Nikias are to be accepted as historically correct, Smarczyk (2006) 505-507.

²⁹³ Kallet (2009)120.

²⁹⁴ Boersma (1970) 87.

The terms of the treaty (σπονδᾶς) are described, as well as the parties involved. Named after the Athenian general who heavily pursued a peace treaty with Sparta from the outset, the agreement formed a peace between the two major powers in the Peloponnesian War, Athens and Sparta.²⁹⁵

What were the terms for Athens and Sparta to agree upon, in order for them to subscribe to the peace? The Athenian and Spartan allies had so far accepted the peace, except for the Boeotians, the Corinthians, the Eleians and the Megarians.²⁹⁶ First of all, it provided safe travel and the opportunity to sacrifice at the ‘common sanctuaries (τῶν ἱεπῶν τῶν κοινῶν)’, for whomever wanted to. Secondly, the Apollo temple at Delphi, as well as the Delphians, remained independent. The two following points of the treaty deal with both alliances, who were not to attack one another for the coming fifty years.

All these articles of the treaty are interesting. The following points, however, are of more significance to our understanding of the relations between both powers. Sparta is to restore Amphipolis to the Athenians. The other cities the Lakedaimonians return to the Athenians are to remain somewhat independent from Athenian rule, albeit they continue to pay tribute. Moreover, in the sixth section of the peace, the Athenians and Lakedaimonians exchange cities under their rule to their former owners. For example, the Athenians are to restore Methana to the Lakedaimonians, whereas the latter are to return Panactum to the Athenians.²⁹⁷ Legon calls this peace an Athenian victory.²⁹⁸ Both parties, however, had not been capable of dealing a crushing blow to another and the terms do not favour either one.

Another interesting aspect of the Peace is the following clause:

*‘The Athenian shall bind themselves by oaths with the Lacedaemonians and their allies, city by city; and either party shall swear its customary oath in the form that is most binding, seventeen men representing each city. The oath shall be as follows: ‘I will abide by this agreement and this treaty, justly and without deceit.’ For the Lacedaemonians and their allies there shall be an oath, in the same terms, with the Athenians. And both parties shall renew the oath year by year.*²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Nicias was also one of the signees of the armistice in 423 B.C.E., see Thuc. 4.119.2.

²⁹⁶ Thuc. 5.17.2.

²⁹⁷ Thuc. 5.18.7.

²⁹⁸ Legon (1969) 323-334.

²⁹⁹ Thuc.5.18.9. The underlining is my own.

ἄρκους δὲ ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους **κατὰ πόλεις**

The emphasis clarifies itself through the following reason: Sparta was not hegemonic in the Peloponnesian League and could not force its members to comply, unlike Athens in the Delian League.³⁰⁰ The peace treaty, as a consequence, was on fragile grounds, since Sparta's allies had to be satisfied individually with the treaty in order to stop the peace treaty from falling apart. Both Sparta and Athens thus had to keep the Spartan allies content with the conditions of the treaty. Athens, however, could of course pursue those Spartan allies which offered the most to gain in terms of their interest and strategy.³⁰¹

The fragility of the peace manifests itself in the following events. The Lakedaimonians were obliged to release their prisoners of war, to which they complied, and consequently ordered their commander in Thrace to return Amphipolis to the Athenians. He refused, however, since the Amphipolitans did not wish to return under Athenian rule. Moreover, the Spartans pressed their allies to accept the treaty, something they did not adhere to, because they thought the terms of the treaty were unfavourable to them.³⁰²

The fact that the treaty needed reconfiguring was abundantly clear to the allies. The representatives of the allies were still present in person at Sparta when the first troubles concerning the return of Amphipolis arose. The Spartan allies continued to refuse the peace treaty, unless a fairer treaty was made. In response, Sparta and Athens made an alliance of their own; Sparta because Argos as of yet had not renewed the peace treaty, Athens because it would ensure peace with their main opponent.³⁰³

The terms of the alliance did not obstruct Athens' possibility of convincing other *poleis* to join the peace. So, if Athens wanted to renew their interest in the Akte peninsula, albeit an alliance or at least an attainable peace, they were free to pursue this policy with Epidauros. Not only would they follow their own course, a peace with Epidauros would also please the Spartans, since Athens would not raid Epidaurian territory. Because the Spartans could not have protected Epidauros from these raids, as they were unable to do before, their continued incompetence would have posed a threat to the alliance and peace with Athens.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Strauss (1997) 128.

³⁰¹ As shown in chapter 1.1, Epidauros would be a prime candidate in Athenian perspective.

³⁰² Thuc. 5.21. Aristophanes, in his *Peace*, even mocks the Boeotians and Corinthians for their reluctance to support Peace, see Ar. *Peace* 465-508.

³⁰³ Thuc. 5.22. The allies are not mentioned one by one, but the narrative refers to the end of chapter 5.17. So all of the Spartan allies are included, excluding Corinth, Boeotia, Elis and Megara (Thuc. 5.17.2.). The present *'summachoi* would thus include Epidauros, who had been a Spartan ally in the First and Second Peloponnesian War, see also Jameson (1994) 76. The terms of the alliance are to be found in Thuc. 5. 23.

³⁰⁴ Athens and Sparta worked around the Peace of Nicias and even fought one another at Mantinea, see Alonso (2007) 216. The battle is described in Thuc. 5.66ff. For other occurrences of Athens and Sparta working their way around a direct confrontation, thereby ensuring the Peace of Nicias is not broken, see Rhodes (2008) 6-27.

Furthermore, a treaty between Athens and Epidauros is attested. In 418 B.C.E., after Argos, the Eleans, the Achaians and Athens had allied themselves, Argos invaded Epidauros.³⁰⁵ That same year, the Battle of Mantinea took place, that was lost by the Argive-Athenian alliance. After this defeat the Argives sued for peace with the Lakedaimonians and the Peloponnesian League, and achieved their goal.³⁰⁶ Consequently, the Argives sent embassies to Athens to bid the Athenians to leave their fortress at Epidauros, to finalise the peace treaty between Argos, Epidauros and the Peloponnesian League.³⁰⁷ Another part of Thucydides' narrative at 5.80.3 is more intriguing: 'soon afterwards the Athenians renewed their treaty with the Epidaurians and gave back the fort to them themselves.' According to Simon Hornblower, the treaty cited here refers to the Peace of Nikias.³⁰⁸ Although not mentioned by Thucydides, this occurrence implies that somewhere between the initial Peace of Nikias of 421 B.C.E. and 418 B.C.E., Epidauros had resolved to join Sparta as one of the parties abiding by the peace.

As mentioned above, the Spartan allies refused the Peace of Nikias before the treaty was altered and more favourable terms for the allies were included. Athens' policy at this time would fit the mould to adjust these terms, since they pursued a peace with the Peloponnesian League, not solely Sparta. Now, if we take a look at the interstate relations of Classical Greece, it seems Athens had to evince to Epidauros their willingness to revise the terms in order to obtain peace with Epidauros. The introduction of Asklepios, in my opinion, was one the initial conditions Epidauros proposed to Athens, to ensure that the Epidaurians signed the Peace of Nikias.

Akin to the Peace of Nikias, an exchange between *poleis* was a successful manner of achieving peace. Therefore, in the following chapter I will first give a preliminary explanation of the interstate relations model used, as is elucidated by Polly Low.³⁰⁹ This model is based on

³⁰⁵ Thuc. 5.54-56. For epigraphical evidence for the alliance between Argos and Athens, see IG I³ 86. For the ever present Argolid interest in Epidauros and the Akte peninsula, see Tomlinson (1972) 119ff; Hendriks (1982) 110-120.

³⁰⁶ Thuc. 5.56-79 for the description of the battle, its aftermath and the suing for peace by the Argives. The presence of the Athenians is not a breach on the treaty between Athens and Sparta or any other members that signed the Peace of Nikias. The Athenians were only living up to their alliance with Argos and helped their allies in battle, see Alonso (2007) 216. According to Meiggs (1972) 343-344, the half-hearted attempt at support at Mantinea shows the divide in the Athenian *demos* about renewed warlike activities and imperialism after a period of peace.

³⁰⁷ Thuc. 5.80.3.

³⁰⁸ Hornblower (2008) 206.

‘και υστερον Επιδαυριοις ανανεωσαμενοι τας σπονδας αυτοι οι Αθηναιοι απεδοσαν το τειχισμα.’ His commentary on this quote: ‘The treaty is probably the Peace of Nikias, unless some later and hitherto unrecorded bilateral agreement is meant. The word **αυτοι** is emphatic: the Athenians are ‘avoiding the appearance of compulsion, and excluding their late allies from any credit for the surrender.’

³⁰⁹ Low (2007).

the reciprocal nature of Greek interstate politics. Subsequently, an outline of the relations between Epidauros and Athens will be made. Furthermore, the benefits of Asklepios' introduction for both *poleis* will be reviewed. Finally, this elaboration will help explain Asklepios' alignments with certain Athenian cults.

5.4 Interstate relations in Classical Greece

War was ubiquitous in Greek life. Between *poleis*, war was a natural state if we are to believe Plato in his *Laws*.³¹⁰ In Thucydides' grim depiction of the Melian Dialogue, the right of the strongest, shows the basis whereupon the approach to interstate diplomacy in Classical Greece has been based thus far.³¹¹

The central role played by Thucydides in this debate requires an explanation. He is honourably recognised as setting the standard for historical research, because of his strict standards of gathering evidence alongside his analysis in terms of cause and effect without reference to intervention by the gods, as outlined in the introduction to his work. Moreover, Thucydides has been regarded as the origin of analysis in international politics, as exhibited by the fact that the first professor in international law was a classicist, whose familiarity with Thucydides was one of the reasons for his appointment.³¹² The historian's realistic but pessimistic approach to human action has formed the basis for the 'Realist' approach to international law: One in which war is the continuing presence, with peace being the exception to the rule, instead of the other way around. *Poleis* were constantly struggling to gain more power, pushing ethical behavior to the side in the meantime.³¹³

Thucydides formed the foundation of the Realist approach, which is still favoured nowadays by most scholars on Greek interstate relations, and continuously has been.³¹⁴ Eckstein defines it in the following way: 'The Realist approach in analyzing interstate behavior is founded on three fundamental concepts: the prevalence of anarchy in the world of states (i.e. the lack of international law); the resultant grim self help regime imposed upon all states and its impact upon the constellation of state actions (including especially power maximizing conduct); and the importance of the stability or instability of balances of power.'³¹⁵

³¹⁰ Pl. *Laws* 626a 'In reality every city is in a natural state of war with every other, not indeed proclaimed by heralds, but perpetual.'

³¹¹ For the Melian Dialogue, see Thuc. 3.91-94.

³¹² Low (2007) 1-22.

³¹³ Low (2007) 240-250.

³¹⁴ E.g. are Loenen (1953); de Ste. Croix (1972); Kagan (1974); Kagan (1981); Alonso (2007).

³¹⁵ Eckstein (2006) 12.

This situation will result in a competition among states to maximise their power and achieve influence over the others, since they have no knowledge of the others' strengths.³¹⁶ Eckstein then applies the theory to the Greek Classical Period: 'The Greek city state fulfils the most pessimistic paradigms posited by Realist international relations theorists. Amid a large multitude of states, there was no international law, and the few restrictions on interstate behavior that existed by informal custom had no means of being enforced.'³¹⁷

He does distinguish some form of interstate behavior between Greek *poleis*, but denies the existence of an international law of conduct. This serves to mitigate the violence of the interstate anarchy. State action against other states was mostly restrained due to fear of the gods or for pragmatic reasons.³¹⁸ The Realist approach thus offers a grim look on Greek interstate relations and diplomacy.

Recently, however, a new interpretation has been proposed. Low argues for a more positive approach to Greek interstate relations and the existence of Greek international law in diplomatic conduct. By using examples derived from sources other than Thucydides, she discovered a different perspective on international law.³¹⁹ Although it does not resemble modern international law, Classical Greece was not the lawless warzone that Eckstein portrays it to be. In fact, there were definitely some rules and customs to be followed in interstate relations during the Greek Classical Period.

The guiding norm in Classical interstate relations is reciprocity. Positive relations between various states could be achieved through the interaction and cooperation of the patron deities of *poleis*. Normally depicted as the two deities shaking their right hands – *dexiosis* - it shows the willingness of the gods to cooperate, resulting in the collaboration of the *poleis* in the earthly realm as well. Several examples of this practice exist.³²⁰ Moreover, better relations between states were also attained through individual ties of friendship, *philia*. The nature of *philia* and *proxenia* affirms the reciprocal nature of diplomatic behaviour, albeit on a smaller scale than interstate diplomacy. *Eunoia*, 'goodwill', was a different option for states in interstate politics in the Classical Period. Through their *eunoia*, *poleis* would be

³¹⁶ Eckstein (2006) 15-17.

³¹⁷ Eckstein (2006) 75.

³¹⁸ Eckstein (2006) 41.

³¹⁹ Although it is possible to deduce an international law in Thucydides as well, cf. Sheets (1994) 67.

³²⁰ F.i. the alliance between Athens and Argos, where Hera and Athena are shown shaking hands as a way to conclude an alliance. See IG I³ 86.

favourably inclined towards states who wished to improve their bonds, by showing enough goodwill.³²¹

The morality within the *polis* was also an important factor in the interstate relations, as it was often referred to within interstate affairs.³²² In international affairs, similar to within the *polis*, one was not supposed to break the law or agreements made. Citizens (and other inhabitants of the *polis*) were obliged to follow a certain set of rules concerning behaviour. Divine law was attached to international politics, similarly with its connection to punishment in *polis* regulations. Therefore, breaking the agreements made in international law would be retaliated in the same way; it was an attack on divine regulation too.³²³

Low derives this morality from several conflicts within the *polis* - such as those between Demosthenes and Aeschines – and matters concerning *proxenia*, and applies this morality to sources concerning interstate behaviour. Inscriptions of treaties between states are full of terms that apply to domestic morality, such as *philia* and *sungeneia*.³²⁴ Part of this morality is the motivation and justification for exploits made by states through the reference to past events, along with the hope of shaping future patterns of behaviour.³²⁵ Therefore, it could be argued that in this sense, diachronic progression is entrenched in Greek interstate politics. As Low describes it: ‘... a theme which has recurred in this study is the importance of an awareness of temporal progression to the conduct of Greek interstate politics: actions are regularly motivated and justified by reference to past events, and in the hope of shaping future patterns of behavior. In that sense, therefore, diachronic progression is entrenched in Greek interstate politics.’³²⁶ More importantly, Low shows that *poleis* were actively pursuing peaceful solutions to conflicts instead of reaching for their weapons first. This new insight was a breakthrough in the scholarly attitude towards interstate politics in the Greek Classical period. *Poleis* would find other ways to settle their differences.³²⁷ Consequently, this practice of averting war could also amplify the possibility of cults being imported for political purposes, as a way of reaching peaceful solutions between warring states.

³²¹ For *dexiosis*, see Low (2007) 46. *Dexiosis* also shows a matter of equality between the states. For *philia* and reciprocity, see van Wees (2004) 9-13; Low (2007) 37-43; Isoc. *Antidosis* 15.121-2. For *proxenia*, see Herman (1987) 122-138; Low (2007) 47-48 and Bolmarcich (2010) 117, where she explains *philia* and *proxenia* are a prerequisite for *spondai* in the 430s and 420s; for *eunoia*, see Low (2007) 52.

³²² Low (2007) 212.

³²³ Low (2007) 78-95. For the influence of *nomoi* on behaviour within the polis, IG II² 343. For domestic *nomoi* use in international politics, one example is RO 69.

³²⁴ Low (2007) 49, as one example, she cites an agreement between Paros and the Second Athenian League. See f.e. *SEG* 31.67 and *RO* 29.

³²⁵ Low (2007) ch. 3 and 4.

³²⁶ Low (2007) 212.

³²⁷ Low (2007) 252.

As a result, Low concludes that war is only a consequence of broken interstate agreement, unlike the Realist standpoint that views war as the permanent state of mind and situation of the Greeks at this time.³²⁸ The Realist school derives its standpoint solely from the use of Thucydides' narrative, whereas Low focuses on alternative sources and accordingly, reaches different conclusions. She does not dismiss the fact that power was an important motivation in interstate behaviour, but that power was obtained in a more subtle manner, unlike previous ideas about interstate behaviour in Classical Greece.³²⁹

Not only is Low's argumentation convincing, her model is more fittingly suited towards the Greek mindset concerning war. I am aware of the pitfalls of not differing between 'theory' and practice, since the Greeks fought plenty of wars amongst each other, but the fact that the state of war was not appreciated or lauded in most Greek written sources hints to at least some aversion towards it.³³⁰

This preference for peace subsisted amongst at least part of the Greeks during the Classical Period, as demonstrated by some works written at the time.³³¹ Not only tragedy and comedy spoke out against war, other sources sang from the same hymn sheet. As Herodotos illustrates: 'No one is so foolish as to choose war over peace. In peace sons bury their fathers; in war fathers bury their sons.'³³² Herodotos offers another example, in which a Persian general is stupefied by the lack of unity amongst the Greeks, since they continue to battle against each other. Despite the fact their shared culture and language, they persist in settling disputes with weapons, instead of heralds and messengers.³³³

Herodotos' last remark fits the bill perfectly, with regards to Low's model of interstate relations. Past events were important for the justification of acts in the present, especially in diplomacy between Greek states, since the past formed a major part of the reasoning for intervention or diplomatic contact.³³⁴ Therefore, it is worth looking at previous relations between Athens and Epidaurous, prior to the First and Second Peloponnesian War.

³²⁸ Low (2007) 108. For the Realist standpoint, see Eckstein (2006) 43.

³²⁹ Low (2007) 254-255. Kagan is also a keen admirer of Thucydides and follows his work very closely in his assessment of the Archidamian War, Kagan (1974) 7-8.

³³⁰ Even the Greeks themselves were aware of this oxymoron: See And. 3.1. For an overview of the sources lamenting war, see Zampaglione (1973) 1-105; Raaflaub (2007a). For earlier apprehensions of peace, see Hes. *Th.* 226-232; 901-902, also Hes. *W&D* 109-126; 143-155; 174-201. The preference for peace is also strengthened by a dislike towards Ares, the god of war. See Hom. *Il.* 5.761; 5.831; 5.889-91.

³³¹ See Chapter 5.2. This preference for peace amongst the Greek states could also have arisen to organise a 'panhellenic crusade' against the Persian Empire. For more on this, see Flower (2007) 65-101.

³³² *Hdt.* 1.87.4.

³³³ *Hdt.* 7.9b.

³³⁴ Low (2007) 212-214. Whether an event seems 'mythological' to us, this did not concern the Greeks, they perceived all of their history as 'historical'.

5.5 Interstate relations between Athens and Epidauros

In the course of both Peloponnesian Wars, the relationship between Athens and Epidauros broke down, due to Athens' repeated attacks on Epidauros. Their diplomatic relation, however, was initially of a positive character.

The first mention of contacts between Epidauros and Athens is found in Herodotos.³³⁵ He offers this story as an explanation for the anxieties between Athens and Aigina. Although Aigina does not form the core of the history between Athens and Epidauros, he notes that the Aiginetans were descendents from Epidauros. The historian starts with a description of Epidauros' situation: their lands bore no produce and the lack of harvest sent the Epidaurians into despair. As a result, they inquired at Delphi for a solution to their problem. The priestess replied with suggesting that they set up statues of Damia and Auxesia. These images would have to be made from the wood of the cultivated olive. So, the Epidaurians requested permission from the Athenians to cut down some olive trees. This appeal to Athens specifically is no surprise, since their olives were considered to be the holiest. The Epidaurian request was granted, on one condition: that the Epidaurians would pay annual sacred dues to Athena Polias and Erechtheus. The statues of Damia and Auxesia were erected as the Epidaurians agreed to the demands. As a result, the Epidaurian land finally brought forth fruit. To hold up their end of the deal, the Epidaurians started to send annual sacrifices to Athena and Erechtheus.

Thus, relations between the two *poleis* started off on a good footing, with a specific interest in religious matters. This religious co-operation is further attested in their collaboration in the amphictyony of Kalauria.³³⁶ On the Island of Poros was a sanctuary and amphictyony consecrated to Poseidon. Its members were *poleis* mostly situated around the Saronic Gulf.³³⁷ This league dates back to at least the seventh century B.C.E., proving that the relations between Athens and Epidauros are of some stature.³³⁸

³³⁵ Hdt. 5.82. This event must have taken place before the Athenian-Aiginetan wars of the Archaic Period, since the robbery where the Aiginetans stole the images from Epidauros, as a result the latter could not uphold their end of the bargain with Athens. This resulted in Athenian intervention at Aigina, as Epidauros blamed the Aiginetans for the loss of Athena's sacrifices, see Hdt. 5.83-87.

³³⁶ Strabo 8.6.14 c374. The island of Kalauria was under Troizen's control throughout the fifth century B.C.E., see IG IV 839. Athens controlled Troizen and only returned it in the Peace of Nikias; Thuc. 5.18.7. Another interesting point to mention is the shrine dedicated to Poseion of Kalaureia at Athens, see Parker (1996) 28 and IG I³ 369 74.

³³⁷ For this, see chapter 1.1 and the Appendix I, fig.1. The exact origin of the amphictyony is still contested, see Penrose-Harland (1925) 160-171; Kelly (1966) 113-121; Constakopoulou (2007) 30-31 Pakkanen (2011) 111-134.

³³⁸ Kelly (1966) 118, the founding of the amphictyony is to be dated in the 675-650 B.C.E.

An amphictyony had many different purposes. Interesting is its function as a tool in organising international relations among sovereign states.³³⁹ As Pakkanen describes: ‘...They (Kalauria) guaranteed a framework for both individual and communal religious activities to be carried out, but also provided a safe place for merchant and political encounters between communities and individuals.’³⁴⁰ Because amphictyonies continued to meet during wartime, Athens and Epidauros remained in contact throughout the Peloponnesian War, even outside of the panhellenic sanctuaries.³⁴¹

Further contact between the two *poleis* is not attested until the Persian Wars. They are mentioned as resisting the Persians’ invasion, in conjunction with the other anti-Persian Greek states. Epidauros provided ten ships for the Battle of Salamis and marched with the Peloponnesian states to secure the Isthmus against Persian intrusion.³⁴² Fighting alongside one another against Persia created a bond between *poleis*, one that was always called upon in times of distress.³⁴³ This collaboration showed the valour and prestige achieved by participation in the defence of Greece.

The Epidaurians and Athenians thus had a special bond that united them. Besides their common struggle against Persia, their religious co-operation since the Archaic Period was equally important and lay the foundation for a reciprocal relation that could be invoked in times of negotiation and the aversion of war.

In the Classical Period, the bond between these two *poleis* is augmented, at least from an Athenian perspective, with the inclusion of Epidauros in Theseus’ labours. Theseus was the legendary Athenian king, credited with uniting Attica under Athenian control.³⁴⁴ The young Theseus journeyed from Troezen to Athens, killing five menacing opponents on his path. Through the study of pottery remains, it is observable that these acts were known as his labours, which had developed into a consistent system by 510 B.C.E.,. The same series of

³³⁹ For more elaboration on the amphictyonies’ role for interstate relations, see Funke (2013), especially 462-3.

³⁴⁰ Pakkanen (2011) 122-124. The quotation is from page 124.

³⁴¹ For amphictyonies and their roles for pilgrims and continued contact, see Dillon (1997) 124-148. Moreover, it is interesting to note there is also another tradition that calls the island of Kalauria *Eirene*, ‘Peace’. See Kelly (1966) 118.

³⁴² For the ships; Hdt. 8.43. For the land forces; Hdt. 8.72.

³⁴³ The example of Plataia in the Peloponnesian War comes to mind, when they remind the Spartans of their fight against the Persians, whereas Thebes, whilst trying to conquer Plataia, was a collaborator; see Thuc. 3.54.2-3.59; cf. Flower (2000).

³⁴⁴ Garland (1992) 82-98.

labours were portrayed on the Athenian pottery and were more frequently carved onto metopes.³⁴⁵

A sixth encounter at Epidauros was inserted, although uncertainty remains when this episode was included. However, in my opinion, its addition can be placed in the period between 449 and 415 B.C.E., when the Hephasteion in Athens was constructed. On the metopes, both Herakles' and Theseus' labours were portrayed, thereby turning the great Attic hero, Theseus, into a second Herakles.³⁴⁶ More importantly, though, is which of Theseus' labours are depicted. Interesting to note is that amongst others, it was his killing of Periphetes at Epidauros that was shown.³⁴⁷ The legend of Theseus travelling to Epidauros was thus already part of the cycle during the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. and formed another connection between the two *poleis*.

For Wickkiser, this inclusion revealed Athenian imperial interest in Epidauros, since the other named cities were territories where Athens had once vied for or had already conquered during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.³⁴⁸ Although the Theseus cycle indeed contained expansionist connotations, which Wickkiser describes as 'ruling the Isthmus',³⁴⁹ the role Theseus played in the synoecism of Attica should be more strongly emphasised.

As previously mentioned, the Theseus cycle passes through several areas that were contested by Athens, mainly being the Megarid. Considered part of Ionia by Athenian tradition, in the Athenian mind this area belonged to Athens.³⁵⁰ Eleusis, a part of the Megarid as well, had long been part of the Athenian *polis*. Though the Athenian tradition tells of a struggle between Athens and Eleusis before their synoecism, the fact remains that it resulted in the coalescence of Eleusis and Athens.³⁵¹ Wickkiser treats the outcome as a mixture of imperialism and synoecism. The inclusion of Epidauros in this myth certainly illustrates Athenian interest in the area. Yet, all of the other labours took place in the Megarid, unlike Epidauros. Therefore, I believe the inclusion should be more appropriately regarded as a

³⁴⁵ Wickkiser (2003) 178. The five people Theseus encountered were Sinis (on the Isthmus), Krommyon (on the border of Corinth and Megara), Skiron (at Megara), Kerkyron (near Eleusis), and Procrustes (between Eleusis and Athens).

³⁴⁶ Boersma (1970) 59-61.

³⁴⁷ For the legend of this encounter, see Ps-Apollodo. 3.15.8; Paus. 2.1.4; Plut. *Thes.* 8. For the interpretation of the metopes, see Thompson (1962) 341. Wickkiser (2003) 179 n.641 notes, however, that all of the attestations of Periphetes are Augustan. This is certainly true. Still, it equally undermines her argument that Epidauros' inclusion in the myth would be an imperial twist by the Athenians.

³⁴⁸ Wickkiser (2003) 178. She does name Theseus' role in uniting Attica, but focuses –too much– on the expansionist part.

³⁴⁹ Wickkiser (2003) 180.

³⁵⁰ Pl. *Crit.* 110d; Hdt. 5.76; Strabo 3.5.5 c171, 9.1.5 c392; Paus. 1.39.4. According to Plut. *Thes.* 25, Theseus had united the Megarid with Attica.

³⁵¹ Padgug (1972) 138-143.

gesture by the Athenians in the Peace of Nikias, especially since the Hephasteion and its depictions of Theseus' work in Epidauros was only finished during the peace, after an interruption in building activities that lasted till 421 B.C.E.³⁵² The Hephaistos sanctuary would thus not only suit as an appreciation of the artisans and craftsmen's role in Athens, but also as a way of incorporating Epidauros into Athenian myth.³⁵³

In 421 B.C.E. a dawn of peace arose. Taking into consideration the description of the Peace of Nikias, in which Athens was to bind itself with Sparta and its allies separately, city by city, Epidauros was ostensibly a perfect candidate for Athens. Not only did they have a history of good relations, Athens also seemed receptive to incorporate Epidauros into their *polis*. These positive relations were not renewed by merely including Epidauros in Athenian myth, but additionally - in my opinion - the introduction of Epidauros' patron deity, Asklepios, into the Athenian pantheon portrays Athens' willingness for peace. Particularly because the foundation for good relations between both *poleis* went as far back as the Archaic Period. In order to prove this hypothesis, the reciprocal nature of Asklepios' arrival proves to be the key.

³⁵² Boersma (1970) 60.

³⁵³ This would seemingly fit the Athenian role as protector of Ionians as well, since a legend exists that views the Epidaurians as Ionians before the arrival of the Dorians under Deiphontes, after which the Ionian king of Epidauros, Pityreus, fled to Athens, see Paus. 2.26.1-2; Strabo 8.6.10 argues for a return of Ionians after the Herakleidai returned. For more on the Ionians in Epidauros, see Hall (1997) 69-73. Protecting the Ionians was also part of the Athenian propaganda of the Delian League, see Meiggs (1972) 1-91 and Raaflaub (2004) 179.

6. Asklepios' arrival: Reciprocity and Religion

In this chapter, I wish to put forth the factors that demonstrate an interstate exchange between both *poleis*, Athens and Epidauros, to Asklepios' introduction during the Peace of Nikias. In my opinion, Asklepios' arrival was one of the initial conditions for Epidauros to sign the peace. Firstly, a short recap of the Asklepieion's location, as well as Asklepios' Athenian festivals are provided. Secondly, the benefits for both *poleis* will be examined and evaluated, in order to show wherefore the *poleis* made the reciprocal interstate relation work, in addition to completing the Peace of Nikias.

The gesture towards the Epidaurians made by the Athenians is shown through Asklepios' arrival. The Epidaurian healing god Asklepios temporarily stayed at the Eleusinion upon his arrival, but quickly received his own sanctuary at a very prominent location: the south slope of the Athenian Akropolis. As is previously shown, the sanctuary of Asklepios amounted to quite an undertaking and was of considerable size.³⁵⁴ For a new god to receive such a sanctuary demonstrates the Athenian interest taken in the god's well-being. Aside from the practical issues of obtaining such a profitable piece of land and the subsequent building of a sanctuary, the civic importance of the sight is not to be overlooked.³⁵⁵

The Akropolis was the heart of the Athenian *polis* and was the most sacred place for any Athenian citizen. The Athenian ritual and religious world was focused on the rock in the middle of the *polis*. Athenian festivals evince its importance. These festivities were mostly held at the Akropolis where the sanctuaries were to be found which formed the Athenian identity.³⁵⁶ That the newly introduced god, Asklepios, received a place amongst the high society of Athenian gods demonstrates the grand welcome the Athenians gave him, which should have pleased the Epidaurian officials.

Moreover, the placement provides another alternative insight when viewed in the light of other Asklepieia. The Athenian Asklepieion was situated in the heart of the city, the *astu*, whereas other Asklepios sanctuaries, including that at Epidauros, were located *outside* the city, in the *chora*.³⁵⁷ This placement is particularly striking, considering it was mostly

³⁵⁴ Chapter 1.2.

³⁵⁵ For the practical issues, see Mikalson (1983) 92-93; Garland (1992) 21.

³⁵⁶ Hurwit (1999) 36 and 63. For the important locations, one has to think of the temple of Erechtheos and Athena Polias. The most important festival for civic identity, the Panathenaia, ended on the Akropolis, Shapiro (1996) 215-228; Maurizio (1998) 297 – 318.

³⁵⁷ The *Astu* is the core of the *polis*, whereas the *Chora* mostly consists of the rural area around the *polis*. For the placements of the Asklepieia, see Graf (1992) 159-200. For other differences between the Athenian Asklepieion and other Asklepieia, see Croon (1967) 240-246.

Asklepios' father Apollo, and not the healing god himself, who is regarded as a predominantly urban god.³⁵⁸

Another noteworthy point of the Athenian Asklepieion is its design and architecture. With its sacrificial pit, it recreates the circular building in Epidauros.³⁵⁹ If the Athenians had built their Asklepieion in the *chora*, it would have proven less difficult to duplicate the circular building. However, they elected the Akropolis as the site for their Asklepieion. This urban location would have influenced the impact of a healing cult upon the Athenian population. In accordance with other Asklepieia, it would have been more logical to locate their healing site in a healthier environment than the centre of a *polis* of Athens' size. The placement of the Athenian Asklepieion thus showcases a willingness from the Athenian side to introduce Asklepios as a major player in the divine world, unlike some other newcomers who received lesser locations.³⁶⁰

Furthermore, the involvement of Epidaurian officials in the introduction requires emphasis. A sacred law of the late fifth century from Athenian Agora attests to the involvement of Epidaurian officials in the festival celebrating Asklepios' arrival. This tradition probably reflects their involvement in the importation itself. Their presence suggests a co-operative endeavour between Athens and Epidauros. As Wickkiser describes it: 'Asklepios was never abducted by Athens; rather he was welcomed and imported through negotiation.'³⁶¹

The co-operative nature of the introduction is also exhibited in the name-giving of the Athenian Asklepios festivals. Besides one festival named the Asklepieia, akin to the Epidaurian festival, the name of the festival commemorating Asklepios' arrival was the Epidauria. The Athenian *polis* thus chose to name it after the geographical origin of the cult instead of naming it after the deity, as they resolved to do with Dionysos Eleutherai. Wickkiser asserts that Athenian motivations for this designation are unknown. She mentions the strategic importance of Epidauros, or the hope for Epidaurian prestige reflecting on their own Asklepios cult.

³⁵⁸ For Apollo as an urban god see, Schachter (1992) 36. For Apollo's role as plague diverter instead of Asklepios, see Wickkiser (2008) 64. Apollo was even more applicable as an urban god in his role as plague diverter.

³⁵⁹ Tomlinson (1969) 113-114 and Tomlinson (1983) 66.

³⁶⁰ Parker (1996) 152-198.

³⁶¹ Wickkiser (2008) 97. The law is Agora inv.no I 7471.

I prefer to consider that it was more hard negotiating from the Epidaurian side and reciprocity on the Athenian side.³⁶² The late fifth century B.C.E. was a period in which the Epidaurian Asklepios festival was gaining prestige and status.³⁶³ However, Epidauros was not the only *polis* that claimed to be Asklepios' city of origin. Other traditions were also noticeable.³⁶⁴ How important the distinction between several traditions was, is still seen in the *paian* of Isyllos. This inscription, unearthed at the Asklepieion in Epidauros, is dated around 280 B.C.E. The origin dispute between cities is observable here, although Epidauros by then was firmly established as *the* Asklepieion of the Greek world.³⁶⁵

Of course, it was no 'neutral' god the Athenians imported: It was the patron deity of Epidauros. To secure the goodwill of the Epidaurians was inseparable from securing the goodwill of the front-rank god of Epidauros.³⁶⁶ So for Athens to accomplish the importation of Epidauros' patron deity and place it under the guidance of their own, Athena, they had to give in to some Epidaurian claims concerning the Asklepios cult in Athens.³⁶⁷ Therefore there is a possibility that the naming of the Athenian festival after Epidauros may have been politically motivated. Athens would be supporting Epidauros' claim to Asklepios through the naming of their festival. Athens would have done this, in the hope of getting Epidauros' co-operation for the Peace of Nikias in return. With the support of one of the major powers in fifth century Greece, the Epidaurian claim for Asklepios' place of origin would surely be reinforced.

Athenian familiarity with the myth connecting Asklepios to Epidauros is illustrated by a vase from the Meidias-painter. Dated circa 420 B.C.E., Eudaimonia is depicted, together with the personified Epidauros, who's holding a baby Asklepios.³⁶⁸ Parker states the piece

³⁶² Considering the advantage that the Epidaurians held, since the Athenians had to come to them to conclude the peace. See chapter 5.3.

³⁶³ Tomlinson (1983) 14-17.

³⁶⁴ Wickkiser (1998) 37; Aston (2004); Bremmer (2008); for the other traditions, see note 123.

³⁶⁵ Tomlinson (1983) 17; For the inscription, see Peek (1969) 58; Tomlinson (1983) 14; IG IV² 1 128. The Epidaurian claim was affirmed by the Delphic Oracle, see Riethmüller (2005) 49. The Oracle replied to the Messenian claim to be the birthplace of Asklepios.

³⁶⁶ Garland (1990) 85 n.22 makes a similar statement regarding the introduction of Bendis.

³⁶⁷ Burford (1969) 14; Brackertz (1976) 46-48. However, on p.17 Burford states that the cult had little or no influence on Epidauros' foreign policy. For a different view, see Cole (1995) 292-325; she claims that it must have been Apollo Maleatas. However, Asklepios emerged from this cult and took over its place, see Tomlinson (1983) 16; de Polignac (1995) 28. For Athena as the patron deity of Athens, see Hurwit (1999) 12-34.

³⁶⁸ Burn (1987) 71 plate 46; *LIMC* s.v. *Asklepios*, 868 no.1; Stafford (2000) 155 n.30, see Appendix I fig. 7. Additionally, a relief found in the Epidaurian Asklepieion (ca. 350 B.C.E.) depicts a miniscule worshipper drawing near to an enormous baby; *LIMC* sv. *Asklepios*, 869, no.6. Paus 2.26.5 describes the suckling baby of this particular myth as a 'wonderous' baby who emitted lightning. For the same myth on votive reliefs, *LIMC* s.v. *Asklepios*, 868, no.5; Beschi (1982) 32; Graf (1992) 184-185. For more on the meaning of Eudaimonia, see *Nic.Eth.* 1095a15-22.

was probably won by a poet for a dithyramb,³⁶⁹ perhaps alluding to his winning theme being about Asklepios. Thus, this choice of theme plus the depiction on the vase may be a demonstration of Asklepios' immediate popularity. The inclusion of Eudaimonia is telling, and has led to several varying conclusions depending on the scholar's approach to the source. Burn, for instance, suggests Eudaimonia's presence may point to Athens' good fortune in having received the god for more than merely his healing power.³⁷⁰ Wickkiser ascribes Eudaimonia's inclusion to his ability to forge an alliance between Athens and its recent enemy, Epidauros.³⁷¹ I favour Burn's interpretation, since the 'good fortune' attached to Asklepios could indeed be related to his role in the newly found peace. Moreover, my conclusion is twofold, since it combines both Parker's and Burn's assumptions. The Athenians rejoiced and welcomed the respite from war. This euphoria would not only allow for Asklepios' myth to be regarded as 'good fortune' for the *polis*;³⁷² it would simultaneously account for the poet's victory, since his allusion to the new god's origins and the recently obtained peace were thus received well enough by the Athenian judges to award him first prize. Asklepios, in the Athenian minds, would reside in Epidauros from then on, especially since the Asklepios sanctuary was their only claim to fame in the Greek world during the fifth and fourth century.³⁷³

Aside from the peace negotiations, the introduction of Asklepios would have to be beneficiary for both *poleis*. For Epidauros, besides achieving a supporter for their claim as Asklepios' birthplace, their 'exportation' of the god provided financial benefits as well. Most of Epidauros' wealth was attributable to the Asklepios cult.³⁷⁴ The entwinement of Asklepios in two major Athenian panhellenic festivals certainly boosted its popularity throughout the Greek world. Furthermore, according to Garland, sanctuaries founded from Epidauros contributed a percentage of their fees to the mother sanctuary. If that is indeed the case, Athens would have financially supported the Epidaurian sanctuary as early as the fifth century.³⁷⁵

³⁶⁹ Parker (1996) 183.

³⁷⁰ Burn (1987) 71.

³⁷¹ Wickkiser (2008) 150 n.49

³⁷² Stafford (2000) 130 translates Eudaimonia with 'Happiness. Either translation is applicable to my proposition.

³⁷³ Burford (1969) 15; Tomlinson (1983) 9-17.

³⁷⁴ Burford (1969) 162ff.

³⁷⁵ Garland (1992) 126. He states it is mostly due to the Athenian introduction that Asklepios achieved panhellenic fame. The healing god, however, was already increasingly popular at the end of the fifth century. The introduction in Athens did help, but should not be overstated. For the contributions; Garland (1992) 122 .

So, for Epidauros, the Athenian introduction of Asklepios had several advantages. Firstly, it would put an end to Athenian raids through Epidaurian compliance with the Peace of Nikias. Secondly, the Epidaurians would be supported by one of the major powers of the Hellenic world, namely Athens, in their claim to be Asklepios' birthplace. Thirdly, the financial aspects of the trade-off would benefit Epidauros, as their main source of income would be boosted by a spread of Asklepios' fame in the Greek *poleis*. Finally, it would restore their broken relations with Athens, which up until to the Peloponnesian War had always been firm and well. The Epidaurians thus benefited from Asklepios' new sanctuary, but what had the Athenians to gain?

The Athenian population finally found some form of tranquility during the first years of the Peace of Nikias, after a decade of war and turmoil. The war and plague certainly had their effects on the Athenians. As Rubel has termed it, it was '*eine Stadt im Angst*'.³⁷⁶ It was a period in which other new cults as were introduced into Athens as well, such as Bendis and Adonis. Apparently, the city searched for new ways to cope with the war experience. Asklepios, together with his wife Hygieia, was one of these new gods, as one can never have too many healing gods.³⁷⁷ The introduction of Asklepios and Hygieia thus filled a need within the Athenian *polis*.

Moreover, as Wickkiser has shown, the popularity of Asklepios suited the rise of medicine and scientific approach to disease.³⁷⁸ In addition, Athenians were acquainted with Asklepios' wonders in Epidauros, even before his introduction into Athens.³⁷⁹ These *iamata*, as these wondrous healings are called, thus demonstrate Athenian familiarity with Asklepios' speciality: curing individuals.³⁸⁰ Indeed, the doctors and Asklepios cult were not competitors, they complemented one another.

Furthermore, Asklepios was the patron of the doctors, who achieved a higher position within the Greek world at this time. After all the horrors they went through during the plague, Asklepios' introduction could possibly be a testimony to the doctors' work and an appreciation for what they meant to the Athenian community.³⁸¹

The Athenian *polis* also profited from the introduction on an 'international-political' level, as they attained the peace with Epidauros, which fitted in with the new policy practised

³⁷⁶ Rubel (2000) 20-30.

³⁷⁷ Parker (1996) 175-186; Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 162.

³⁷⁸ Wickkiser (2008) 8-44.

³⁷⁹ IG IV² I 121-124.

³⁸⁰ On the nature of these *iamata*, see Dillon (1994).

³⁸¹ On the appreciation of doctors and their reputation in the Greek world, see Cohn-Haft (1956) and Pleket (1983). The doctors did sacrifice to Asklepios twice annually, see IG II² 772. IG II² 4359 is a dedication to Asklepios by a group of men with strong medical associations.

by Nikias. Peace became central within the new foreign policy that the *demos* approved, since they had endorsed the Peace of Nikias. So, the introduction of Asklepios benefitted Athens on different levels, ranging from the need of individual care to the interstate relational level. The quest for peace and the effort to attain it, are visible in certain associations made between Asklepios and certain Athenian cults, namely that of Dionysos Eleutherios and the Eleusinian Demeter and Kore.

7. Athens, Asklepios and Peace

The healing god Asklepios was introduced during the Peace of Nikias and was warmly welcomed into the Athenian pantheon. He received his own sanctuary and festivals and was incorporated into two major Athenian festivals, the Great Mysteries and the City Dionysia.

As previously shown, the exchange between Epidauros and Athens finalised the introduction of Asklepios in order to obtain a peace agreement. Although the imperialist connotations have been given ample attention, the correlation between peace and the Greater Mysteries and City Dionysia has not.

This chapter will begin by examining the relation linking peace to the Greater Mysteries, before turning towards the City Dionysia. All of this will help to clarify my argument of associating Asklepios' introduction with the Peace of Nikias, mainly through certain aspects of peace reflected in the cults Asklepios was incorporated into: the Eleusinian Mysteries and the City Dionysia.

7.1 Peace and the Greater Mysteries

With his initiation into the Greater Mysteries, Asklepios became a member of the Athenian *polis*, through his inclusion into this prestige *polis* cult.³⁸² His introduction took place during the Peace of Nikias, but on top of that, an additional day was added to the Greater Mysteries, which were put on hold for Asklepios to be initiated. The Eleusinian cult had aspects that suggest a correlation with peace; in which case, Asklepios' initiation as an initial condition of the Peace of Nikias seems comprehensible.

The panhellenic character of the cult, with its *spondai*, ensures an all encompassing truce throughout the Greek world.³⁸³ This respite enabled all Greeks to attend the festival and profit from the benefits Demeter offered them. In a sense, the Mysteries thus provided an opportunity for peace – or at least a stop to the warlike activities - amongst the Greek *poleis*. It can be no coincidence that Asklepios, who could be the key for attaining peace between Athens and Epidauros, was thus initiated into this Athenian 'peace' cult.³⁸⁴

Peace was an important component of the Eleusinian Demeter and Kore cult. Agriculture and harvest provided for festivities and peace of mind. Not coincidentally, one of the complaints uttered in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* was the laying to waste of fertile lands.

³⁸² For more on the connection between Asklepios and Demeter, see Benedum (1986). Although it is certainly true there are connections concerning health, with Asklepios healing the living, whilst Demeter took care of the afterlife, these are all attested after Asklepios' arrival at Athens, see Wickkiser (2008) 87.

³⁸³ Dillion (1997) 1-26.

³⁸⁴ For the Eleusinian Mysteries as Athenian 'peace' cult, see Furley (1996) 35-40.

Harvesting is another joy celebrated in the playwright's *Peace*.³⁸⁵ As goddesses of agriculture, Demeter and Kore had bestowed upon the Athenians the gift of agriculture. Their other gift to the Athenians, the promise of a good afterlife, provided peace and assurance, knowing that death will not have to be feared. These gifts were handed to the initiates of the Mystery cult.³⁸⁶

Asklepios was also initiated.³⁸⁷ As a result, he received the gifts bestowed upon mankind by Demeter, despite being a god. The god was not the only recipient of the gifts, however, since he was the patron god of Epidauros. By initiating Asklepios, the entire *polis* of Epidauros was the beneficiary of these gifts. Additionally, the Mystery cult enabled the initiation of an entire *polis* through one child, chosen from an important family.³⁸⁸ If an aristocratic child could accomplish this feat, it would certainly be attainable to initiate an entire *polis* through the initiation of its patron god.

Moreover, the fact that the festival calendar was adjusted for Asklepios' arrival indicates it must have been met with the approval of the *demos*. The Athenian population wanted this new god to be assimilated into the Mystery rites of Eleusis. There was apparently something special about the healing god that he obtained such a great honour from the Athenian *demos*. I believe this gesture not only shows Asklepios' significance to Athenian domestic life, but equally his importance towards obtaining peace with Epidauros, which becomes seemingly clear considering the context: Asklepios' introduction into the Greater Mysteries took place in the first year of the Peace of Nikias.

Not only the *demos* had to be involved in such important matters as rearranging the festival calendar, the Eleusinian priests were to be contemplated as well. Their involvement should not have met any opposition, since the Eleusinian priestly families, the Eumolpids and Kerykes, were amongst the strongest proponents of peace.³⁸⁹ Because peace was to the advantage of the Eleusinian cult, the clans' support is understandable. The cult had hit hard times during the Archidamian War, since the goddesses were unable to aid the Athenians in times of trouble, unlike the Battle of Salamis, where they helped Athens attain victory.³⁹⁰ Due

³⁸⁵ Ar. *Ach.* 988-99 and Ar. *Peace* 1320-1325. Interesting to further note is the assimilation of Asklepios as being responsible for agriculture as well, see Pl. *Sym.* 186e.

³⁸⁶ On more of the benefits that the Mystery cult provides for the initiates, see Burkert (1987) 12-29; 89-113.

³⁸⁷ Aris. *Ath. Pol.* 56.4; Paus. 2.26.8 and Phil. *VA* 4.18.

³⁸⁸ The *παις ἀφ' ἐστίας*. For more on this subject, see Clinton (1974) 98-114; Sourvinou-Inwood, (1997) 145.

³⁸⁹ Or they were at least opponents of Alkibiades, who was a proponent of war. See Plut. *Nicias* 13.1. What is also interesting to note is Amphiheos, whom Aristophanes portrays in his *Acharnians* as an Athenian trying to obtain peace with Sparta. He claims to be a descendant from Triptolemos and Demeter, the goddess and 'hero-god' of the Eleusinian cult. See Ar. *Ach.* 49-51.

³⁹⁰ Hdt. 8.65.

to this incapability the cult found its popularity subsiding. The cult personnel were thus receptive towards the alignment of Asklepios with Eleusinian Demeter, to stimulate the cult's popularity.³⁹¹

Another aspect that affected the Eleusinian cult was the lack of First Fruits being offered, thereby threatening the ties between Athens and the Eleusinian Goddesses. The Spartan invasions occurred during the harvest season, thwarting the availability of grain offerings. The lack thereof put a strain on the relation between Demeter, Kore and Athens.³⁹² With the return of peace, the goddesses began to collect more offerings again. Therefore, I find Furley's arguments convincing. He claims that the Eleusinian cult did not issue the First Fruits Decree purely for 'imperial designs', but also for the exploitation of the peace to promote peaceful observance of the cult.³⁹³

Hereafter, the Eleusinian cult is also being referred to as a connecting factor between two *poleis* or when factions have to reconcile themselves. Kallias, who was the serving Dadouchos,³⁹⁴ invoked the Eleusinian Mysteries and the gift of grain during his negotiation for a peace with Sparta in 371 B.C.E. The cult and agriculture had always been shared by both Athens and Sparta from the beginning, thus making war between them incompatible and peace should prevail. A similar argument was made by Kleokritos, a Herald of the Mysteries, in 403 B.C.E., to reconcile both quarrelling factions then present in Athens after the Peloponnesian War.³⁹⁵

Callimachus, although dating from a later period, therefore celebrates the peace the goddess Demeter brings, in his *Hymn to Demeter*:

*'I salute you, goddess. Preserve this city in concord and well-being. See that everything is brought in from the fields. Look after our cattle and sheep; save our cornfields; permit the harvest; maintain peace so that he who ploughs may also reap.'*³⁹⁶

Although I am well aware the latter examples date from later times, the fact remains that the Eleusinian cult became aligned with peace; the Peace of Nikias could have initiated this alignment. The Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Kore thus had obvious intentions of peace.

³⁹¹ Clinton (2009) 59.

³⁹² Clinton (2009) 58-59. It is striking to note that the proceedings from the First Fruits boomed from 6 drachmas in 421 B.C.E. to 31 in 420 B.C.E. See also IG I³ 391-394, 399-401.

³⁹³ Furley (1996) 38. He is supported by *ML* 222-223. For a conflicting view, see Cavanaugh (1996).

³⁹⁴ *Xen. Hell.* 6.3.6.

³⁹⁵ *Xen. Hell.* 2.20.2-4.

³⁹⁶ *Call. H.* 6. 134-137. The translation given here is Furley's, Furley (1996) 39.

That Asklepios was strongly connected with this cult was a consequence of his share in the brokering of the Peace of Nikias, whereby Epidauros not only gained Athenian support for their claim, but also received the proper benefits of the Two Goddesses. In return for these gifts, Epidauros was more predisposed towards peace with Athens. Asklepios simultaneously became a symbol of the renewed peace and reconciliation between Athens and Epidauros. His entwinement with the City Dionysia, in my opinion, forms the same strong bond of peace between both *poleis*.

7.2 Peace and the City Dionysia

The City Dionysia had a different character than the Eleusinian Mystery cult. Although viewed as ‘panhellenic’, the City Dionysia focused on the (forced) inclusion of the Athenian allies instead of the entire Greek world, as was the case with the Mysteries. Yet, certain aspects demonstrate a correlation between peace and negotiation and the City Dionysia. Asklepios’ entwinement with the cult would then concur with the healing god’s role in the brokering of the Peace of Nikias.

As previously mentioned, the City Dionysia was a festival attended by many foreigners. Consequently, it possessed a more ‘panhellenic’ appeal than other Athenian festivals, besides the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Greater Panathenaia. Of course, the attending non-Athenians were subject to imperial display, but the presence of so many representatives from different *poleis* offered opportunities for negotiation as well. In addition, the attendance of so many foreigners ensured that the Dionysia were occasions for the foreign cities to reward the *proxenoi*.³⁹⁷

Furthermore, the Great Dionysia was the venue where the treaties were renewed and negotiations between *poleis* took place. A decree, dated around 430 B.C.E., is a prime example of this. Athens had issued the decree in an attempt to restrict Macedonian interference in Methone. Both Macedon and Methone would be required to send envoys to the City Dionysia to negotiate, should Macedon not cooperate.³⁹⁸ According to Wickkiser, this stipulation is a demonstration of Athenian empire. Although not to be completely discarded, I believe it was more than a mere display of power.³⁹⁹ The decree does specify that Macedonia and Methone should oblige to Athenian demands, but at the same time, Athens provides them with an opportunity to negotiate, in order to avert war or military action. It would thus seem

³⁹⁷ Spineto (2011) 304. On p.307, Spineto assesses the presence of the foreigners and what that meant for the Great Dionysia and Athenian identity.

³⁹⁸ IG I³ 61. See Low (2005) for a less imperialist interpretation of Athenian inscriptions concerning other *poleis*.

³⁹⁹ Wickkiser (2008) 86.

that the City Dionysia were portrayed by Athens as the platform for negotiation.⁴⁰⁰ Of course, one has to factor in that the City Dionysia took place during sailing season and so was more accessible than other festivals. Still, that does not dismiss the fact Athens chose this festival for other *poleis* to attend in order for them to settle differences.⁴⁰¹

The Peace of Nikias is another example of the City Dionysia being used for the aversion of struggles between *poleis*. The armistice of 423 B.C.E. was to be renewed or renegotiated on the 14th of Elaphebolion, during the festival.⁴⁰² The preliminary measures for the peace of Nikias were undertaken during the City Dionysia and the eventual oath was sworn at the festival, to be renewed at that location annually.⁴⁰³

Asklepios, as one of the initial conditions for Epidauros to join the peace treaty, was incorporated into the cult of Dionysos Eleutherios. Similar to Asklepios' initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries and his subsequent immersion into the Athenian polis, he became a symbol for the peace between Athens and Epidauros through his implementation into the cult, where the negotiations took place.

Negotiations took place at the City Dionysia in 421 B.C.E. during Elaphebolion. The first talks with Epidauros could have taken place there.⁴⁰⁴ The parties agreed upon introducing Asklepios the following year and this took place during the Greater Mysteries in the month of Boedromion. A year later, a festival honouring Asklepios was celebrated during the City Dionysia, venerating the new god during the same festival the peace negotiations were conducted.

Moreover, Asklepios received a sanctuary next to the Theatre of Dionysos. The gods hence became also geographically strongly entwined. The healing god's sanctuary was easily detectable by those in attendance at the theatre during plays. This alignment was not without reason. Drama could have a healing effect, especially for war traumas.⁴⁰⁵ In addition,

⁴⁰⁰ Even more so since Methone was a privileged Athenian ally, see *ML* 65.

⁴⁰¹ Considering the theatre of Dionysos was more often used for meetings, albeit of the Athenian *demos*. See And. 1.38.4. Nonetheless, it provided the quarrelling states with a perfect platform and location for negotiations. Additionally, it might prove to be a place for 'peace – or at least negotiation – conferences' as are attested in Sparta when conducting negotiations with other states. Sparta invited her allies to discuss the plans for the Peace with the Persian King in 392 B.C.E., see And. 3.33-35, although Xenophon does not mention this 'congress', see Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.14, Andokides is credible since he was an actual participant in the negotiations.

⁴⁰² Thuc. 4.118.12.

⁴⁰³ Thuc. 5.20; 5.23. The peace was also to be renewed at the Hyakinthia in Sparta, thereby maintaining an element of reciprocity in the interstate relations between Athens and Sparta.

⁴⁰⁴ E.g. during meetings of the Amphyctyony of Poseidon on Kalauria. For present purposes however, we include Epidauros amongst the preliminary negotiators at the City Dionysia.

⁴⁰⁵ For Drama and healing, see Hartigan (2005) 179. Hartigan argues for the Asklepieion to have been placed near the Dionysos theatre for curing performances. For drama as a cure for war trauma, see Tritle (2007) 183-187.

Asklepios was equally capable of curing mental illnesses, post-war shocks.⁴⁰⁶ The ancient Greeks were aware of the traumatic experiences of men confronted with the violence of battle.⁴⁰⁷ Even the Epidaurian *iamata* show the horrors of war in the soldier's accounts, awaiting for a cure from all sorts of physical trauma.⁴⁰⁸ The Athenians realised that, without perhaps knowing exactly why, something needed to be done to return warriors to the routine of peace, and to enable them to live peacefully with their families and neighbours. The theatre and ritualistic dance were solutions to this problem.⁴⁰⁹

There was therapeutic value in dancing after a battle. Soldiers danced after a battle to cleanse themselves from trauma of battle and leave violence behind.⁴¹⁰ Theatre was just as important for the recovery of returning war veterans. The dramatists reached out to their returning fellow citizens to help them return to a world in which war's horrors – killing, raping, looting – were not acceptable modes of conduct. Therefore, poets challenged citizen-soldiers to contemplate what was right and wrong, in an effort to sensitise them to the world of civilian life. Theatre and dance educated the Athenians and helped the society to mitigate the effects of war.⁴¹¹

Subsequently, the placement of the Asklepieion so close to the theatre of Dionysos has certain connotations.⁴¹² As Mitchell-Boyask puts it, 'the propinquity of the Asklepieion to the Theater of Dionysus turns the latter into a symbolic place of healing for the polis.'⁴¹³ Although Asklepieia are more often found near Dionysos sanctuaries, the combination with the Akropolis as well is unattested elsewhere. By witnessing the comedies and dramas, the audiences could 'heal' their vision and attain new insights.⁴¹⁴ Furthermore, in Athenian tragedies there are examples of wounded soldiers being healed at the Athenian Asklepieion.⁴¹⁵ Asklepios and Hygieia, with their sanctuary on the holiest place in Athens, beside the Dionysos theatre, thus took care of the *polis*' health.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Compton (1998) 304- 307. In Ar. *Wasps* 120-124, Bdelycleon takes his father, Philocleon, to the Asklepieion at Aigina to cure the father from the mental illness that has made him addicted to jury duty.

⁴⁰⁷ Gorg. No.82 B11, 16-17 DK1961. Gorgias describes that even men who survived battle 'have fallen victim to useless labor and dread diseases and hardly curable madnesses'.

⁴⁰⁸ LiDonnici (1995) 109, 95. Also Plut. *Mor.* 217C; 241F for other examples of battle injured men.

⁴⁰⁹ Tritle (2007) 183.

⁴¹⁰ Tritle (2007) 183. See also Hom. *Il.* 23.257-97 and Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.5-13.

⁴¹¹ Also for proper male behaviour displayed in the theatre, see Winkler (1990) 23. For overcoming the effects of war, see Tritle (2007) 183.

⁴¹² For example, in 327 B.C.E., a priest of Asklepios' named Androkles was honored both for his role as priest of Asklepios and for his care of the theater of Dionysus. The decree was passed at the end of Elaphebolion, the month in which the City Dionysia and the Asklepieia were held. See IG II² 354. Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 113–114, observes that the Roman-era *prohedria* in the theater of Dionysus included a seat for the priest of Asklepios, and that this may reflect traditions extending back to the classical period.

⁴¹³ Mitchell-Boyask (2008) 117.

⁴¹⁴ Wickkiser (2010) 165, 170-171.

⁴¹⁵ Mitchell-Boyask (2007) 103. The wounded man is Philoctetes, in Sophokles' play of the same name.

The therapeutic healing transpired during peacetime. The Peace of Nicias was the first opportunity for peace and the return of war veterans after the traumatic experiences of the Archidamian War, especially the losses at Delion and Amphipolis. Due to the changes in warfare during the second half of the fifth century, war became increasingly total, with all resources of a *polis* involved.⁴¹⁶ Asklepios received his place in Athens, in order for him to cure the war veterans, give them a renewed hope and symbolised the peace – not only with Epidauros, but also the relief from war and the presence of peace altogether – more so than any other decree could have done.

7.3 Asklepios' *pompe*

As discussed in chapter 4.3, the Epidauria procession possessed imperial undertones, according to Wickkiser. She is, however, aware of the danger of her exercise to re-create the exact route of the procession.⁴¹⁷ Therefore, her reconstruction of the actual procession seems to be correct; it is her assessment of its meaning that could be disagreed with. Her argument to see the connotations with the places the route visited as one of *polis* integration, to form a stronger bond with Epidauros and to reinforce the ties between both *poleis*, is quite convincing. However, I prefer to interpret the procession not as one imitating imperial ambition but as a peaceful continued existence of the god in the Athenian *polis*.

Asklepios' path began in Piraeus, the place where the plague entered Athens.⁴¹⁸ It was fitting that some ten years after the outbreak of the plague first struck, a famous healing god reached Athens through the port where calamity entered, thereby ushering in a new period of health for the city.⁴¹⁹

Given the involvement of *phrouroi* in the Epidauria and the prominent role played by the Eleusinian cult personnel, it seems likely that officials of both Asklepios at Epidauros and Demeter at Eleusis were present for the god's arrival at Piraeus. The procession thus became a symbol for cooperation between both *poleis*. It is significant that Asklepios arrived early October, at a time when the military campaigning season was coming to a close. However, Wickkiser merely mentions that it meant Athens was turning from warfare to more peaceful pursuits.⁴²⁰ Conversely, I tend to believe this is yet another sign of Athens' peaceful intentions with the introduction, since Asklepios' arrival at Athens thus signalled the coming of peace

⁴¹⁶ Raaflaub (1999) 140-145. See also van Wees (2004) ch.9 and 10.

⁴¹⁷ Wickkiser (2008) 102.

⁴¹⁸ Thuc. 2.48.2. Not coincidentally, there was also an Asklepieion at the Piraeus, see f.i. Robert (1931) for an elaboration on the Piraeus Asklepieion, or Garland (1987).

⁴¹⁹ Garland (1992) 132.

⁴²⁰ Wickkiser (2008) 102.

and an end to warlike activities. The Epidaurian newcomer became integrated into Athenian civic life and developed into a symbol of peace for the Athenian population.

Moreover, Asklepios followed a similar route taken by other foreign gods that came by sea. Thracian Bendis, for instance, was one of the foreign gods who used the Piraeus harbour to enter Attic soil. The sea provided a potential allusion to another marginal god welcomed into premium location the Athenian pantheon: Poseidon on the Akropolis. Although he did not obtain the citizens' favour as much as Athena did, he nonetheless received a place on the Akropolis. However, Wickkiser overly emphasises the imperial role in these introductions.⁴²¹ Certainly, they arrived at a border area, but more importantly, they were truly integrated into the Athenian *polis* and pantheon, not necessarily for imperial gains.

Asklepios then continued his way into the Athenian heartland, whether following the long walls, or as Wickkiser argues, through a route north of the walls that joined the Sacred Way and thus entered the city via the Dipylon Gate. If that was the case, the Epidauria procession would follow a more renowned route for other grand processions, like the Panathenaia, the initial procession of the City Dionysia, and the preparatory procession that brought the sacred objects from Eleusis to Athens.

His first stop in Athens was the Eleusinion, his first location there before receiving his own sanctuary. As previously described, this was the place where the remains of a former Athenian enemy, Eumolpos, lay. According to Wickkiser, it therefore formed part of Athenian imperial ambitions.⁴²² Eleusis was thus integrated into the Athenian *polis*. But equally so, it signified the peaceful resolution taken by both belligerent *poleis* to end their dispute. Asklepios followed in Eumolpos' footsteps, since his entry in the Eleusinion, signified the god's assimilation into the Athenian *polis*. The former enemies reconciled, it represented Athenian Empire, but evenly so symbolised the peace between both *poleis*.

The terminus of the Epidauria procession was probably the Asklepieion on the South Slope of the Akropolis. Asklepios then settled down slightly below the Athena sanctuaries on the Akropolis, and although she was the patron of the Athenian Empire, she also signified the essentials of being Athenian. Asklepios thus became a neighbour and friend; and Asklepios became fully integrated into the Athenian pantheon and *polis*. The peace was settled, with Epidauros' god becoming an Athenian, as well as through his initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries and his involvement during the City Dionysia.

⁴²¹ Wickkiser (2008) 102. This especially goes for Bendis, for a conflicting view, see Wijma (2010). The same applies to Poseidon, who became an essential part of Athenian autochthony myth through Erechthonius, instead of any imperial design.

⁴²² Wickkiser (2008) 103.

Jonathan Hall has argued that ‘the function of the hero is not so much to serve as an exclusive and static emblem of a city’s distinctive identity, but to articulate the dynamic relationships that might exist between several cities.’⁴²³ Asklepios definitively expresses this dynamic relationship between Athens and Epidauros. He confirms the longing for peace from both sides and their inclination towards finding a peaceful solution to their military struggles. Although other factors could have surely influenced the introduction of Asklepios, the god came in large part to articulate and confirm the peace concluded between Athens and Epidauros. Asklepios’ entwinement in cults like the Eleusinian Mysteries and City Dionysia - cults that not only symbolised imperial power but equally so, negotiation and peace - as well as his placement on the Akropolis, particularly attest to this. Both *poleis* profited from the god’s Athenian introduction, as it became a symbol of the relations between Athens and Epidauros that finally led to a peace in 420/19 B.C.E.

⁴²³ Hall (1999) 52.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to study Asklepios' introduction into Athens in 420/19 B.C.E. A variety of factors influenced the decision to welcome him into the city, ranging from growing disillusionment with traditional gods, to the plague that struck Athens in years past. These 'bottom-up' factors were encompassed and implemented into the 'top-down' assessment of Asklepios' arrival. This 'top-down' approach, was based on Wickkiser's poignant observations concerning the Athenian *demos* as being the main protagonist for the Epidaurian's god establishment in Athens, rather than Telemachos. The workings of Athenian democracy and decision-making with regards to the introduction of new cults, clarifies that the factors clearing the way for the Athenians to welcome Asklepios into the *polis*, were in turn essential in the accomplishment of obtaining political advantages from the god's arrival: A political agreement with Epidauros. Thus, Asklepios' arrival was politically motivated. Unlike Wickkiser's proposal to interpret the political reasons in an imperialist light, this thesis, on the contrary, proposed a less dark and negative assessment.

Peace was on the Athenians' minds, not imperialism. Therefore, I have shown that the Athenian *demos* was more inclined towards a peace between Athens and Epidauros than an expansion of their empire. However, one should not exclude the possibility of imperialist feelings being present in the city: Athens did not turn into a peace-loving *polis* with no militaristic aims at all overnight. In fact, it was the downward spiral in which the Athenians found themselves after several major lost battles, that facilitated the ascension of a more peace-minded policy in Athens. It was this policy that subsequently introduced Asklepios as one of the conditions necessary to broker a separate peace with Epidauros. Apparently, Asklepios healed all manner of wounds, even diplomatic ones. A closer look at the formulation of the Peace of Nikias, its terms and the context in which Athens found itself, concretises the need for Athens to obtain peace with several of Sparta's allies. It made sense for Athens to look for *poleis*, with whom prior (good) relations existed, as a solid starting point for negotiations, as befitted the contemporary practice in interstate relations. The reciprocal nature of the interpretation shows the advantages of Asklepios' introduction for both *poleis*. Consequently, the peace treaty was arranged with both *poleis* reaping its benefits.

Asklepios' symbolisation of peace becomes apparent through his alignment in important Athenian civic cults, notably those of Eleusinian Demeter and Dionysos Eleutherios. Through these affiliations he was able to reach all social strata of the Athenian *polis*. Although conventionally these cults were interpreted from an imperialist perspective,

these cults contain certain aspects that correlate with peace. The Mysteries brought an aspect of panhellenic peace, and Asklepios' initiation in them offers a perspective in which he shares this gift as one of the initiates. His alignment with the City Dionysia is the result of this festival's propensity towards not only power display, but negotiation and peace proclamations as well. Additionally, the drama and theatre performed during this festival had a healing effect upon the traumatised veterans of the Archidamian War. The Asklepieion, situated beside the theatre of Dionysos, provided an unmistakable token of peace. During gatherings and meetings of citizens in the theatre, one glance towards the Asklepieion would remind them of the newly brokered peace. Asklepios and Dionysos together healed the *polis* of the negative effects of the battles lost at Amphipolis and Delion, whereas Demeter brought peace of mind and security to the *polis*. With the Peace of Nikias, Asklepios brought new hope to Athens. The connotation of peace that accompanied Asklepios could be a possible explanation for his immediate surge in popularity upon his arrival at Athens. The healing god was received into a city desperate for new hope and peace, something that suited the new political goals of Nikias and the peace party. A newly founded hope and peace that would thereafter be symbolised by Asklepios' arrival.

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Index of literary sources

Aelius Aristides	1389-1395
<i>Orationes</i>	<i>Peace</i>
48.37-45	230-285
	465-508
Aeschines	551-563
<i>Against Timarchus</i>	682-3
23	1175-76
<i>Against Ctesiphon</i>	1198-1264
66-67	1320-1325
	<i>Wasps</i>
Akesilaos	120-124
<i>FrGH 2</i>	121-123
F18	655-679
	1006
Andokides	1015-1050
<i>On the Mysteries</i>	
1.38.4	Aristotle
<i>On the Peace with Sparta</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i>
3.1	2.85
3.3	7.4
3.6	56.4
3.8	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>
3.33-35	1095a15–22
	<i>Poetica</i>
Andron	1448 a 27
<i>FGrH 01</i>	
F17	Callimachus
	<i>Hymn to Demeter</i>
Aristophanes	6.134-137
<i>Acharnians</i>	
39	Clement of Alexandria
49-51	the <i>Protrepticus</i>
50-53	3.45.1
174-185	
183-202	Demosthenes
496-509	<i>Against Androtion</i>
504-506	76-7
566-70	
620-23	Diodorus Siculus
978-87	4.14
989-99	12.43.1
<i>Birds</i>	12.73
832	12.73.1
<i>Knights</i>	
150	Euripides
790-812	<i>Hecuba</i>
797	638-657
858-870	
1303	

<i>Iphigeneia in Tauris</i>	
	1446-1474
<i>Medea</i>	
	190-196
<i>The Suppliants</i>	
	113-119
	406-408
	479-493
	744-749
Gorgias	
	82 B11 (DK 1961)
Herodotus	
	1.87.4
	5.76
	5.82
	5.83-87
	6.105-106
	7.9b
	8.40
	8.43
	8.55
	8.65
	8.72
Hesiod	
<i>Theogony</i>	
	226-232
	901-902
<i>Works and Days</i>	
	109-126
	143-155
	174-201
Hippocrates	
<i>Epidemics</i>	
	27.7
Homer	
<i>Iliad</i>	
	1.45-67
	2.729-33
	5.761
	5.831
	5.890-91
	23.257-97
Isokrates	
<i>Antidosis</i>	
	15.121-2
<i>On the Peace</i>	
	8.82
<i>Panegyricus</i>	
	4.28-4.29
	4.168
Lucian	
<i>The Scythian (Scytha)</i>	
	1-2
Lysias	
	12.67-69
Panyassis	
	fr.19
Pausanias	
	1.3.4.
	1.21.4-22.2.
	1.39.4
	2.1.4
	2.10.3
	2.23.4
	2.26.1-2
	2.26.8
	8.47.7-8
Pherekydes	
<i>FGrH 3</i>	
	F 35
Philostratos	
<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	
	3.17
	4.17-18
Pindar	
<i>Nemean</i>	
	10
<i>Pythian Ode</i>	
	3.8
Plato	
<i>Critias</i>	
	110d
<i>Laws</i>	
	626a

<i>Symposia</i>	9.1.5 c392
186e	9.5.17
194b	
	Thucydides
Plutarch	1.56-65
<i>Alcibiades</i>	1.96
13	1.104-111
29.1-5	1.105.3-106
<i>Moralia</i>	1.112
14.22 [1103b]	2.15.3-6
217C	2.17.1
241F	2.35-46
<i>Nicias</i>	2.47.3
4	2.48.2
7	2.49.5
9	2.49.5- 2.53
9.8	2.53.1
13.1	2.56
<i>Pelopidas</i>	2.56.4-5
29.4-6	2.58.3
<i>Perikles</i>	2.65
38	3.3.1
<i>Theseus</i>	3.36-50
8	3.54.2-59
25	3.91-94
30	3.104
	4.15-23
Pseudo-Apollodoros	4.17-20
<i>Bibliotheca</i>	4.19.1
3.15.8	4.26-40
	4.41.1-2
Pseudo-Plutarch	4.45.2
<i>De Unius</i>	4.66-73
2	4.78.3
	4.91-101
P.Oxy	4.102-104
2490-2495	4.118-119
	4.118.12-14
Scholiast	4.119.2
<i>Acharnians</i>	4.135.2
504	5.2
<i>Ad Aristophanes Ploutos</i>	5.13
1013	5.13-24
<i>Frogs</i>	5.16.1
501	5.17.2
	5.18.2
Strabo	5.18.7
3.5.5 c171	5.18.9
8.6.10	5.19
8.6.14 c374	5.20

5.21	8.73
5.22	
5.23	Xenophon
5.24	<i>Anabasis</i>
5.32.1	6.1.5-13
5.54-56	<i>Hellenica</i>
5.56-79	1.2.10
5.66	2.20.2-4
5.80.3	4.8.14
5.87	6.3.6

Index of epigraphical sources

Agora Inv. No.		4359
	I 7471	4510
		4960
IG I ³		4961
	5	
	6	IG IV
	14	839
	31	
	34	
	35	IG IV ²
	40	1
	46	I 121-124
	48	I 128
	61	
	64	<i>Meiggs and Lewis</i>
	68	40
	71	44
	75	46
	78	49
	86	65
	259-272	71
	296-299	
	391-394	<i>Rhodes and Osborne</i>
	399-401	29
	369 74	69
IG II ²		<i>SEG</i>
	343	21.3-4
	354	22.2-3
	772	25.226
	974	28.225
	999	31.67
	1046	47.232
	1252	
	1253	Syllaloge Inscriptionum Graecarum
	1496	885
	4355	
	4358	

Chronological Table

All dates are B.C.E., unless mentioned otherwise

490	Battle of Marathon
480	Battle of Salamis
478	Battle of Plataia
460-445	First Peloponnesian War
454	Egyptian Expedition by Athens
c. 449	Peace of Kallias
431-404	Second Peloponnesian War
431	Introduction of Bendis
430	First Outbreak of the Plague
429	Second Outbreak of the Plague Death of Perikles
426	Third Outbreak of the Plague
425	Performance of Aristophanes' <i>Acharnians</i> Battle of Pylos Battle of Sphacteria
424	Performance of Euripides' <i>Hecuba</i> Performance of Aristophanes' <i>Knights</i> Battle of Delion
423	Armistice between Athenians and Peloponnesian League Performance of Euripides' <i>Supplian Woman</i>
422	Performance of Aristophanes' <i>Wasps</i> Battle of Amphipolis Death of Kleon and Brasidas
421	Performance of Aristophanes' <i>Peace</i> Peace of Nikias
420/19	Introduction of Asklepios
418	Alliance between Athens, Argos, Elis and Achaea Battle of Mantinea

Appendix I



Fig. 1 Map of the Saronic Gulf. From Constantakopoulou (2007)

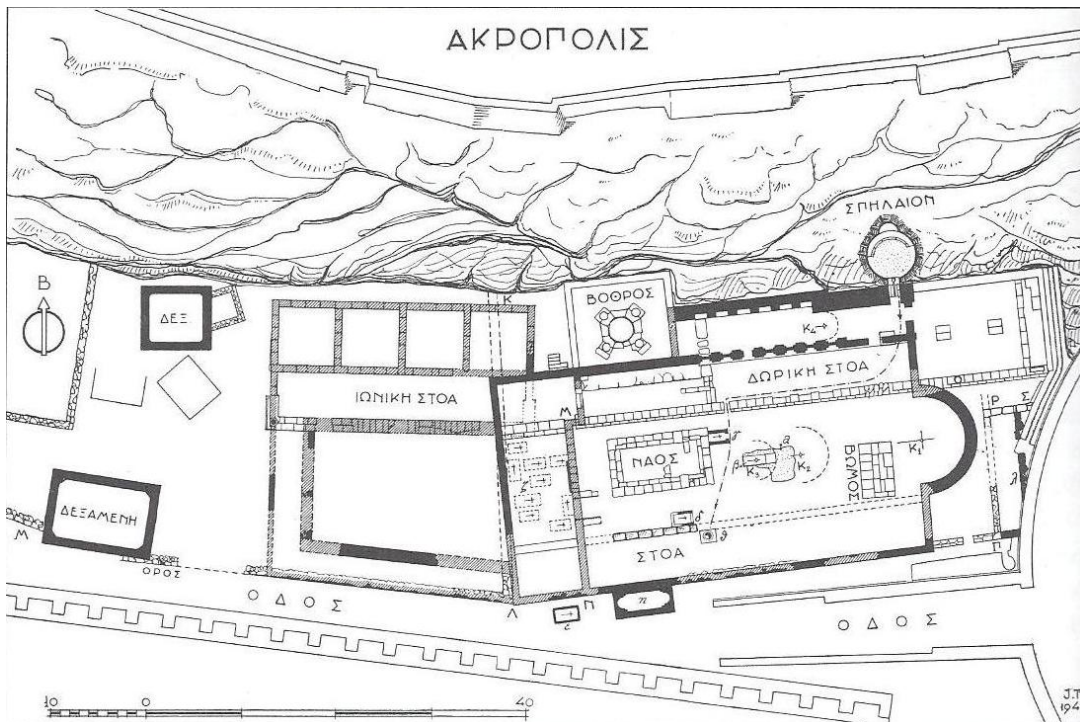
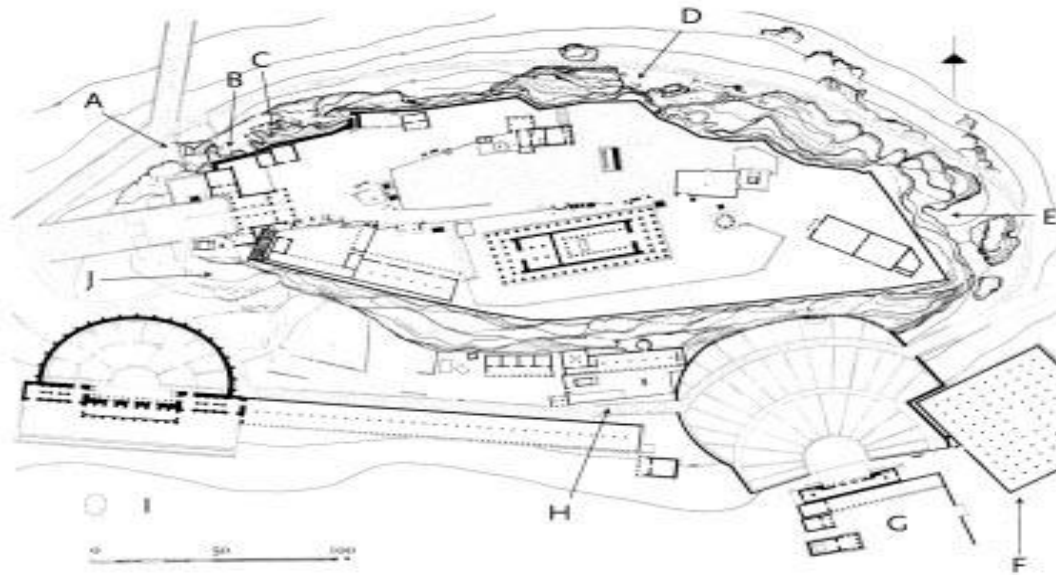


Fig. 2 Plan of the Asklepieion according to Travlos. Taken from Riethmüller (1999)



114. Plan of the slopes of the Acropolis, showing the position of the sanctuaries: (A) Klepsydra; (B) Cave of Apollo; (C) Cave of Pan; (D) Aphrodite and Eros; (E) Cave of Aglauros (?); (F) Odeion of Perikles; (G) Sanctuary of Dionysos; (H) Asklepieion; (I) Shrine of Nymphs; (J) Aphrodite Pandemos.

Fig. 3 Plan of the Athenian Acropolis and its slopes. Camp 2001 (Fig. 114)

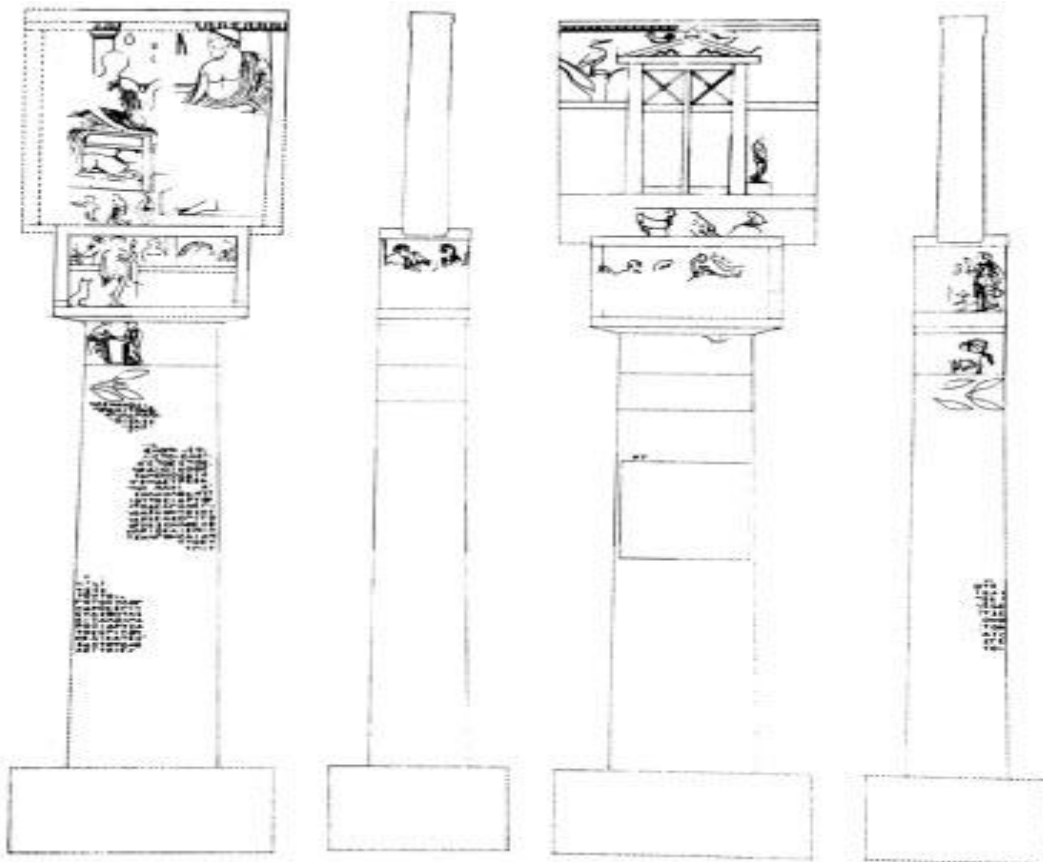


Fig. 4 Telemachos Monument, as reconstructed by Luigi Beschi. H: ca. 2.85 m. Beschi 1967/68 (Fig. 22 a-d).

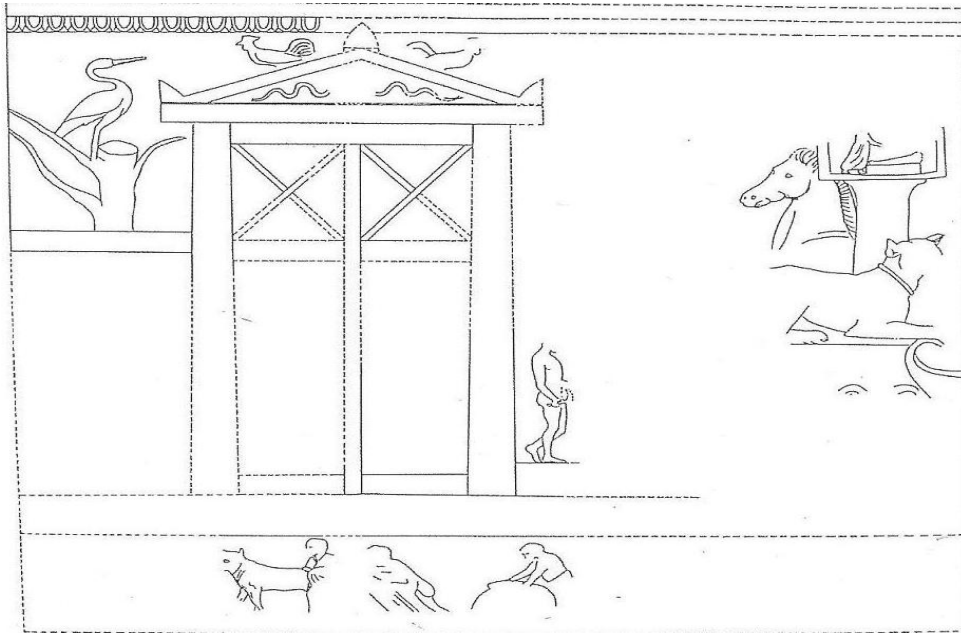


Fig. 5. Relief depicting boat and waves, Beschi (2002)

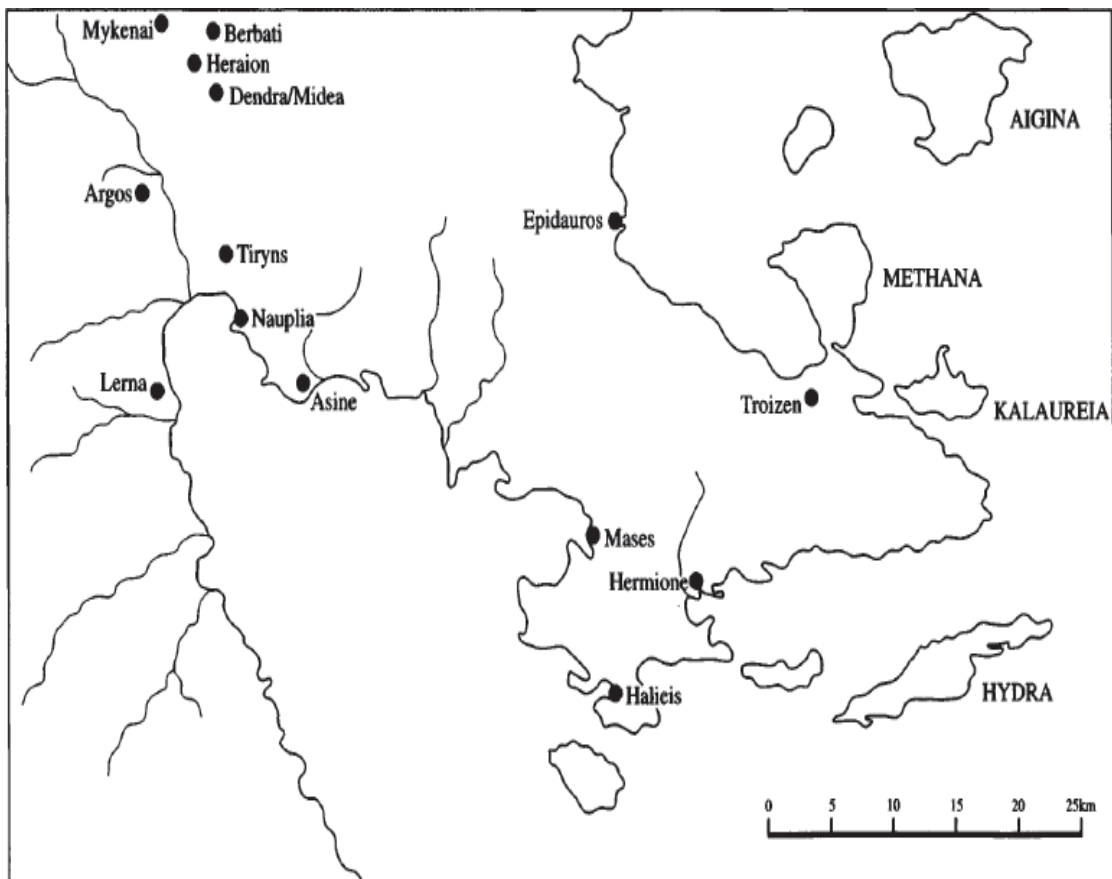


Fig. 6 Map of the Argolid, Hall (1997) 68



Fig. 7 the Meidias-painter vase depicting Asklepios, Epidauros and Eudaimonia, Burn (1987) 71, plate 46

Appendix II

IG I3 78 (IG I2 76) First-Fruits Decree

Translation by C.W. Fornara as cited in Wickkiser (2003).

[Τιμο]τέλ[ε]ς Ἀχαρνε[ὺς] ἐγραμμάτευε.

[ἔδοχο]εν τέι βολέι καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνευε, Τιμοτέ-
[λες ἐ]γραμμάτευε, Κυκνέας ἐπεστάτε· τάδε οἱ χουγγραφές χουνέ-
[γο]ραφσαν· ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεοῖν τὸ καρπὸ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲ-

5

ν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τὸν ἑκατὸν μεδίμνον [κ]-
ριθὸν μὲ ἔλαττον ἔ ἑκτέα, πυρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τὸν ἑκατὸν μεδίμνον μ-
ὲ ἔλαττον ἡμιέκτεον· ἐὰν δέ τις πλείο καρπὸν ποιέι ἔ τ[οσοῦτο]-
ν ἔ ὀλείζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι. ἐγλέγεν δὲ [τὸς δ]εμ-
άρχος κατὰ τὸς δέμος καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς

10

Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἐλευσινάδε. οἰκοδομέσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρεῖς Ἐλευσῖν-
ι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡόπο ἂν δοκίει τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τοῖ ἀρ[χ]ιτ-
έκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἔναι ἀπὸ τὸ ἀργυρίο τὸ τοῖν θεοῖν. τὸ[ν δὲ κα]-
ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν ἡὸν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τὸν δεμάρ[χον],
ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χουμμάχος κατὰ ταυτά. τὰς δὲ πόλες [ἐγ]λ[ο]-

15

γέας ἡελέσθαι τὸ καρπὸ, καθότι ἂν δοκίει αὐτέσι ἄριστα ὁ καρπὸ-
[ς] ἐγλεγέσεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐγλεχθεῖ, ἀποπεμφσάντων Ἀθέναζε·
τὸς δὲ ἀγαγόντας παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς Ἐλευσι-
νόθεν Ἐλευσινάδε· ἐ[ἄ]ν δὲ μὲ παραδέχσονται πέντε ἔμερὸν νννν

19

ἐπειδὰν ἐπαγγελέι, παραδιδόντων τὸν ἐκ τὲς πόλεος ἡόθεν ἂν [ἔ]-

20

[ι] ὁ κα[ρπ]ός, εὐθυνόσθον ἡοι ἱεροποιοῖ χιλίασιν ν δραχμέσι [η]-
[έκασ]τος· καὶ παρὰ τὸν δεμάρχον κατὰ ταυτά παραδέχεσθαι. [κέρ]υ-
[κα]ς δὲ ἡελομένε ἡε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀ[γ]γέλλον[τ]ας [τὰ]
[νῦν] ἡεφσεφισμένα τοῖ δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἔναι ἡος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ [λ]-
οιπὸν ἡόταν δοκίει αὐτέι. κελευέτο δὲ καὶ ἡο ἡεροφάντες καὶ [ὁ]

25

δαιδῶχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς ἡέλλενας τὸ καρπὸ κατὰ
τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν. ἀναγράψαντες δὲ ἐ[μ]
πινακίοι τὸ μέτρον τὸ καρπὸ τὸ τε παρὰ τὸν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ[ν δ]-
[ἔ]μον ἡέκαστον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὸν πόλεον κατὰ τὲν πόλιν ἡεκάσ[τεν]
[κ]αταθέντων ἔν τε τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἐν τοῖ βολ[ευτ]ε-

30

[ρ]ίοι. ἐπαγγέλλεν δὲ τὲν βολὲν καὶ τέσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν [τ]ἔ[σι] ἡε-
[λ]λενικέσιν ἀπάσεσι, ἡόποι ἂν δοκίει αὐτέι δυνατὸν ἔναι, λ[έγο]ν-
τας μὲν κατὰ ἡὰ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[νοι]-
[ς] δὲ μὲ ἐπιτάπτοντας, κελεύσοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βόλονται,

35 [κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν. παραδέχεσθαι δ-
ἐ καὶ παρὰ τούτον τῶν πόλεον ἐάν τις ἀπάγει τὸς *ἱεροποιὸς* κα-
τὰ ταῦτά. θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τὸ πελανὸ καθότι ἂν *Εὐμολπίδαι* [ἐχσ^η]-
[γῶ]νται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν *ἑκα[τέρ]-*
[αι ἀ]πὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τοῖ *Τριπτολέμοι* καὶ τοῖ [θε]-
οὶ καὶ τῆι θεᾷ καὶ τοῖ *Εὐβόλοι* *ἱερεῖον ἑκάστοι τέλεον* καὶ
40 τῆι *Ἀθηναίαι* βῶν χρυσόκερον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ-
οδομένος τὸς *ἱεροποιὸς* μετὰ τῆς βολῆς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν-
αι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιησαμένος *ἡαττ'* ἂν τοῖ δέμοι τοῖ *Ἀθηναίων* δοκέ-
ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, *ἡότι ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς*
45 *ἀνεθέθε, καὶ ἑλλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον·* [τοῖ]ς δὲ ταῦτα ποιῶσι
πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπία[ν, *ἡοί]τινες ἂν*
[μ]ὲ ἀδικῶσι *Ἀθηναίος* μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν *Ἀθηναίων* μεδὲ τὸ θεό. *ν*
[Λ]άμπων εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ *χσυγγραφαὶ* τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τὸ
καρπῶ τοῖν θεοῖν· τὰς δὲ *χσυγγραφὰς* καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγ-
ραφσάτο *ἡο γραμματεὺς ἡο* τῆς βολῆς ἐν στέλαιν δυοῖν λιθίνοι-
50 *ν* καὶ καταθέτο τὲν μὲν *Ἐλευσίνοι* ἐν τοῖ *ἱιεροῖ* τὲν δὲ *ἡετέραν* [ἐ]-
μ πόλει· *ἡοι* δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντων τὸ στέλα· *ἡοι* δὲ *κολ[ακρ]-*
έται δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον. ταῦτα μὲν *πε[ρ]ι* τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τὸ *καρ[π]ῶ* [τ]-
οῖν θεοῖν ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸ στέλ[α], μένα δὲ :::: ἐμβάλλεν *ἑκατονβ-*
55 *αιῶνα* τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα τὸν δὲ *βασ[ι]λέα* *ἡορίσαι* τὰ *ἱιερὰ* τὰ ἐν τ[ῶ]-
ι *Πελαργικῶι*, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐν^ηιδρῦεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τοῖ *Πελα-*
ργικῶι ἄνευ τῆς βολῆς καὶ τὸ δέμο, μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνεν ἐκ τῶ [Π]-
ελαργικῶ, μεδὲ γέν ἐχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος. ἐάν δέ τις παραβαίνει *ν*
τ:::ούτον *τι*, ἀποτινέτο πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, ἐσαγγελλέτο δὲ *ἡ-*
60 [ο] *βασιλεὺς* ἐς τὲν βολέν. *περι* δὲ τὸ ἐλαίον ἀπαρχῆς *χσυγγραφ-*
σας *Λάμπων* ἐπιδειχσάτο τῆι βολῆι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης *πρυτανείας*·
ἡε δὲ βολὲ ἐς τὸν δέμον ἐχσενενκέτο ἐπάναγκες.

[Timo]tel[e]s of Acharnai was Secretary. | Resolved by the Boule and the People, Kekropis held the prytany, Timote[les] was Secretary, Kykneas presided. The following the Commissioners (syngrapheis) drafted: First fruits shall be offered to the two goddesses, in accordance with ancestral custom and th[e] oracular response from Delphi, by the Athenians (as follows): from each one hundred medimnoi of barley not less than one-sixth (of one medimnos); of wheat, from each hundred medimnoi, not less than one-twelfth. If anyone produces more grain than [this amount] or less, he shall offer first fruits in the same proportion. Collection shall be made by [the] Dem[archs] deme by deme and they shall deliver it to the Hieropoioi || from Eleusis at Eleusis. (The Athenians) shall construct three

(storage) pits at Eleusi|s in accordance with the ancestral custom, at whatever place seems to the Hieropoioi and the architect to be suitable, out of the funds of the two goddesses. *The grain* shall be put in there which they receive from the Demarchs. | The allies as well shall offer first fruits according to the same procedure. The cities shall have *colle||ctors* chosen for the grain by whatever means seems best to them for grain collection. When it has been collected, they shall send it to Athens, | and those who have brought it shall deliver it to the Hieropoioi from Eleusis at Eleusis. If (the latter) do not take delivery of it within five days *vv|* after it has been reported to them, although it was offered by (the envoys) of whatever city [was the sourc||e] of the *grain*, the Hieropoioi at their euthynai shall be fined one thousand *v* drachmas [e|ach]. They shall also receive it from the Demarchs in accordance with the same procedure. [Her|alds] shall be chosen by the Boule, which shall send them to the cities announcing [the | present] decree of the People, in the present instance as quickly as possible and in the f|uture, whenever it (the Boule) thinks best. Let an exhortation be pronounced both by the Hierophant and [the] || Daidouchos for the Hellenes to make offerings of the first fruits at the Mysteries in accordance | with the ancestral custom and the oracular response from Delphi. After writing on | a notice board the weight of the grain (received) from the Demarchs according to the demes and of that (received) from the cities according to city, | (the Hieropoioi) shall set up (copies of) it in the Eleusinion in Eleusis and in the Bouleute||rion. The Boule shall also send a proclamation to the other cities, [the] Hellenic cities in their entirety, wherever it seems to the Boule to be feasible, telling them the principles on which the Athenians and their allies are offering first fruits, and | not ordering them but urging them to offer first fruits, if they so desire, | in accordance with the ancestral custom and the oracular response from Delphi. The acceptance || of any (grain) that anyone may bring from these cities as well shall be the duty of the Hieropoioi accor|ding to the same procedure. They shall perform sacrifice with the pelanos in accordance with what the Eumolpidai [dic|tate]; and (they shall sacrifice) the triple sacrifice, first, a bull with gilt horns to each of the two goddesses *separate|ly*, *out of* (proceeds from) the barley and the wheat; and to Triptolemos and to the [go|d] and the goddess and Eubolos a full-grown victim each; and || to Athena a bull with gilt horns. The rest of the barley and wheat shall be s|old by the Hieropoioi together with the Boule and they shall have votive offerings dedicat|ed to the two goddesses, having made whatever seems best to the People of the Athenians, | and they shall inscribe on the votive offerings that it was out of the first fruits of the grain | that they were dedicated, and (the name) of every Hellene who made the offering of first fruits. [For those] who do this || there shall be many benefits in abundance of good harvests if *they are men who | do not* injure the Athenians or the city of the Athenians or the two goddesses. *v* | Lampon made the motion: Let all the rest be as (advised) in the draft-decree (of the Commissioners) for the first fruits of the | grain for the goddesses. But their draft-decree and this decree shall be ins|cribed by the Secretary of the Boule on two stelai of marbl||e and set up, the one in the sanctuary in Eleusis, and the other o|n the Akropolis. The Poletai are to let out the contract for the two stelai. The *Kol|akretai* are to supply the money. These things concerning the first fruits of the grain to t|he two goddesses shall be inscribed on the two stelai. There shall be intercalcation of the month Hekatomb|aion by the new Archon. The King (Archon) shall delimit the sanctuaries in th||e Pelargikon, and in the future altars shall not be erected in the Pelargikon without the consent of the Boule and the People, nor shall (anyone) cut stones out of the Pelargikon, or remove soil or stones. If anyone transgresses any of these regulations, he shall be fined five hundred drachmas and impeached by the King (Archon) before the Boule. As to the first fruits of olive oil, a draft-dec||ree shall be produced by Lampon before the Boule in the ninth prytany | and the Boule shall be obliged to bring it before the People.