

CONTAGIOUS HEALING:

ON THE DIFFUSION OF THE ASCLEPIUS CULT IN PRE-HELLENISTIC GREECE

Per Vissers

Student number: 3865797

Onderzoeksseminar III – Heilige Plaatsen

Bachelor Thesis

Department of History and Art History

Utrecht University

Table of contents

1. Introduction	p.3
2. Methodology	p.4
3. Explaining diffusion of cult	p.7
4.1 Mapping out the spread	p.10
4.2 Mapping out the spread on a regional scale: Thessaly	p.11
4.3 Mapping out the spread on a regional scale: Arcadia	p.13
5. Concluding remarks	p.15
6. Appendices	p.17
7. Bibliography	p.21

1. Introduction

Starting in the sixth century BCE, but likely built on beliefs from an earlier age, the cult of the physician god Asclepius grew to become one of the important cults in the Greek religious realm.¹ Over the course of the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE the cult surged, and various sanctuaries were built in cities and villages throughout the Greek world. Most of these were quite modest, some grew to become huge attractions for pilgrims who were seeking a cure for their illness (though Asclepius was also often asked to cure minor ailments like baldness and insomnia).

The large scale spread of the cult throughout Greece is presumed to have started in the sixth century BCE, but Asclepius worship seems to have its roots centuries earlier. Asclepius is mentioned in literature that predates the sixth century, most famously Homer's *Iliad*, in which he appears as a mortal physician, and Hesiod.² Asclepius appeared on coins, before the common era, in the city-states of Pergamon, Dyrhachium, Larissa, Trikkala, Astypalaea, Epidauros, Caine, Rhegium, Metapontium, Agrigento, Syracuse, Selinus, Amorgos, Menaenum, and on the islands of Cos and Lesbos.³ It's a certainty that more cult sites existed. According to one estimate around 200 *asklepieia* had been founded by the end of the fourth century BCE. Accurate or not, this figure indicates how important the cult must have been in the daily lives of many Greeks. Furthermore, we can assume the deity depicted on coins would have played a significant role in the local religious life.⁴

This significant role prevailed for centuries. The deified half-mortal Asclepius was adopted into the Roman pantheon. In the Roman world the Asclepius cult continued to be the dominating health cult until Christianity and its physician saints Cosmas and Damian, who allegedly took over the Asclepian sanctuary on the slopes of the Acropolis, supplanted the Greek god.⁵ Asclepius' cult dissolved over the course of the first half of the first millennium CE (receiving its coup de grâce in the fourth century, a period characterized by the zealous Christian emperors Constantine I and Theodosius I) but some of its religious traditions lived on in Christian health cults.⁶ For example, the Asclepian ritual of *incubatio* (temple sleep), spending the night in a temple hoping to be visited by the deity in a dream in which he would perform surgery or prescribe a treatment, survived in Byzantine religious customs. The practice of *incubatio* still prevails on Tinos, one of the Northern Cyclades.

The most famous of all the sanctuaries to Asclepius is located in Epidauros. The large complex certainly played a vital role as a centre for pilgrimage throughout antiquity. Widely accepted is the idea that the cult of Asclepius spread mainly from Epidauros, in most cases through direct contact.

¹ Whenever I speak of "the Asclepius cult" or "the cult," I'm referring to the general worship of the god Asclepius. When I'm referring specifically to a local or regional cult, it will be clearly stated.

² Homer, *Iliad*, 4.127-197.; J.E. Bailey, 'Asklepios: Ancient Hero of Medical Caring', *Annals of Internal Medicine* 124, 2 (1996) 258.

³ G.D. Hart, 'Ancient Coins and Medicine', *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 94, 2 (1966) 80.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 77.

⁵ A. Sheikh, 'Healing Images: A Historical Outline of their Use in Western Medical and Psychotherapeutic Traditions', *Abaton, Des Moines University Literary Review* 5 (2011) 9.; M.P.J. Dillon, 'The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian Iamata', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 101 (1994) 259.

⁶ Hart, 'Ancient Coins and Medicine', 236.

Epidaurus had its own version of the birth myth of Asclepius, in which the god's mother Coronis was Epidaurian or at least gave birth to Asclepius on territory of Epidaurus, which means Epidaurus claimed to have strong ties with Asclepius, making it the holiest of sanctuaries.⁷ There are, however, multiple versions of the birth myth. Two other versions, from Thessaly and Messenia, claim to be tied to Asclepius through maternal descent as well. Of special importance is the version that claims Asclepius' mother, Coronis, was not from Epidaurus but from Thessaly. This version is likely to predate the Epidaurian myth.⁸ There is reason to doubt the idea that throughout Greece people saw Epidaurus as the most divine of all Asclepius' sanctuaries, especially before the Hellenistic Period. In addition, available physical evidence, such as the iamata and results of excavations, suggests that some other sanctuaries arose in the same period as Epidaurus, or even earlier. Thus, the idea that Epidaurus was the main centre from which dissemination of the religion took place is far from certain. Still, this is the view that seems to be conveyed in modern literature, in some cases explicitly, in other cases as something that can be taken for granted.⁹ The possibility of other diffusion patterns should be examined. My research question is therefore: "In which way(s) did the cult of Asclepius spread geographically throughout the Greek world, especially in the pre-Hellenistic Period?"

In this article I attempt to demonstrate a new angle from which to examine the spread of the cult of Asclepius. I do not question the importance of the Epidaurian sanctuary. The sheer amount of archaeological remains of buildings, epigraphical evidence and literary sources describing the brilliance of Epidaurus make it impossible to do so. But the fact that it was an important cult site, and one of which we know a lot, does not necessarily mean it was the only centre from which dissemination took place. I surmise that the system through which the cult spread over the Greek lands was much more complex.

2. Methodology

The diffusion of the Asclepius worship took place in a world in which a lively religious system already existed. It was not the spread of a new religion, rather it was the spread of an addition, a new module, to the existing religious system. The cult of Asclepius can therefore be treated as an idea (or an innovation), this concept allows us to apply theories of diffusion of ideas. A theory describing the ways in which religion can move through space and time, as presented by Chris Park in his article "Religion and Geography," provides the necessary theoretical background.

Park recognizes two basic types of religious diffusion that we can use to analyze the dissemination of Asclepius: expansion diffusion and relocation diffusion. Expansion diffusion is a pattern in which the number of people who adopt the religion grows. The category of expansion

⁷ E. Aston, 'Asclepius and the Legacy of Thessaly', *The Classical Quarterly* 2, 54.1 (2004) 19-20.

⁸ J.W. Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte* 1 (Heidelberg 2005) 91.

⁹ W.M. Gesler, 'Therapeutic landscapes: theory and a case study of Epidauros, Greece', *Environment and Planning Society and Space* 11 (1993) 84.; E.J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Baltimore 1998) 108.

diffusion can be sub-divided into contagious diffusion and hierarchical diffusion. Contagious diffusion is diffusion through a population by direct contact. In this pattern, the religious idea is usually transferred *in situ*, at a holy place. Park notes that this is a common pattern of religious diffusion. Generally, this kind of diffusion spreads geographically, with the speed of expansion influenced by the frictional effect of distance. Less common is hierarchical diffusion, which might best be described as top-down diffusion, in which a religion is imposed upon society by a leading figure, for instance a king. The latter seems to be less relevant in case of Asclepius, however we must not ignore the possibility of religion imposed from above, on the level of the *polis* (for instance Asclepius in Athens). A second basic type of religious diffusion is relocation diffusion, which practically always has something to do with migration. It has little to no short-term effect on the size of the religion.¹⁰

Compatible with Park's theory of the dissemination of religion is that the spread of the Asclepius cult occurred in the shape of a hub-and-spoke model (figure 1). Ann Markusen states the hub-and-spoke model lies in the middle of two extremes: a situation in which no firm (in our case, sanctuary) is dominant and a situation in which one firm has complete dominance. In terms of this model, the Asclepius worship had several old cult centres with large spheres of influence (the largest circle), which formed a network of "hubs." From each of these hubs, (the idea of) Asclepius worship diffused geographically over time, causing the establishment of new sanctuaries (the smallest circles) within their respective spheres of influence. We can use this hub-and-spoke model as a model to describe the diffusion of ideas.

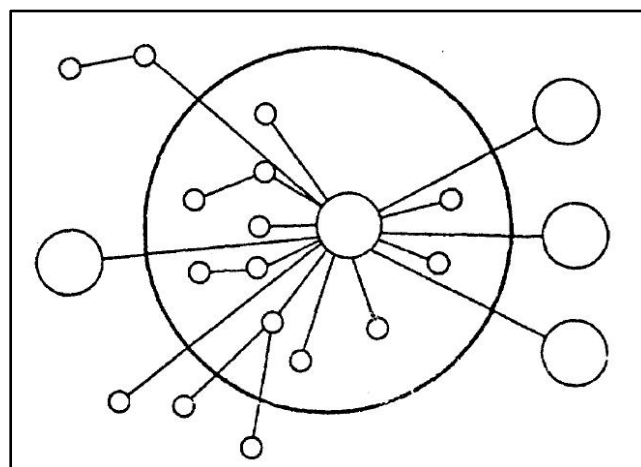


Figure 1. Hub-and-spoke model from Markusen's "Sticky Places in Slippery Space."¹¹

The hubs, often the large and old cult centres, are difficult to explain (it is difficult to trace their origins). A significant fact is that most of the hubs seem to date from a similar period, though no evidence exists that reveals whether they were dependent of each other or not. Having said that, the

¹⁰ C. Park, 'Religion and geography' in: J. Hinnells (ed.), *Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (London 2004) 414-445, 423-427.

¹¹ A. Markusen, 'Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts', *Economic Geography* 72, 3 (1996) 297.

diffusion of Asclepius worship in its earliest stage is shrouded in mystery and is therefore not the focus of this study. However, the types of religious diffusion described by Park do allow us to say some things about the presumed spokes.

Viewing the spread of Asclepius as a phenomenon taking place in networks of people (the Aristotelian *koinôniai*) has advantages, as eloquently described by Vlassopoulos: “(...) the concept of the network takes the form of *koinônia* (association) in the micro-level below the polis. This concept can allow us to move beyond the static polarities that we employ when writing Greek history, and move towards more nuanced accounts.”¹² Pretty words, but how are we going to use this approach in researching the spread of Asclepius, and how can we recognize patterns of diffusion?

Discussing the cult characteristics and researching the people involved is a necessity. Therefore, the first part of this study attempts to reconstruct the spread of the cult. This is achieved by examining literary evidence and inscriptions (most importantly, the *iamata* of Epidaurus) that provide insight into the nature of pilgrimage in Asclepius worship.

The last part of the article emphasizes the structural development of the cult, and thus moves the scope away from content analysis (text interpretation) and towards explaining the physical nature of Asclepius’ cult. This is achieved by – whenever possible – favouring sites for which solid archaeological evidence is available. For instance, patterns of diffusion can supply information about the growth of the cult that epigraphs and literary sources won’t release.

I have made maps of Thessaly and Arcadia that display a hypothetical dissemination of the cult on a regional level, as presented in chapter 4. They allow further speculation about the nature of the dissemination and give insight into the relevance of the proposed hub-and-spoke model. I have picked Thessaly because it is allegedly home to the oldest sanctuaries of Asclepius in Greece. An extra reason to focus on Thessaly is the fact that the region simply has a large number of sanctuaries. The fact that I’ve chosen Arcadia requires some more explanation. Arcadia has proven to be a difficult case, mainly because it was a relatively backward region in the middle of the Peloponnese, surrounded by regions with more power, that each had their own version of the Asclepius birth myth. The author of one of the influential works about the spread of the Asclepius cult is Milena Melfi. In an article by Alevridis and Melfi, which studies Arcadia specifically, they promote the view that the Arcadian sanctuaries were likely established under direct influence of Epidaurus. I thought it would be interesting, clarifying, to apply the theories I use in this study to test this hypothesis.

For the gathering of data, most importantly the dating of the individual sanctuaries, I heavily rely on “Asklepios, Heiligtümer und Kulte” by Jürgen Riethmüller, the most complete and up-to-date catalogue of Asclepius’ sanctuaries. Where possible I have taken conflicting interpretations by other authors into account.

¹² K. Vlassopoulos, ‘Beyond and Below the Polis: Networks, Associations, and the Writing of Greek History’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22, 1 (2007) 15.

3. Explaining diffusion of cult

Whether we assume Epidaurus was the centre of the Pan-Hellenic Asclepius cult from which the deity diffused, or attempt to look for different models to explain the diffusion, in any case we have to be aware of the fact that before Asclepius became the principal Greek god of healing, various medical institutions (including deities with healing powers) existed in the Greek *poleis* and the rest of the Mediterranean region. For example, as Herodotus suggests in the following citation from *The Histories*, a serious medical profession existed in the fifth century BCE:

(...) he departed and came to Egina. Being established there he surpassed in the first year all the other physicians, although he was without appliances and had none of the instruments which are used in the art. In the next year the Eginetan State engaged him for a payment of one talent, in the third year he was engaged by the Athenians for a hundred pounds weight of silver, and in the fourth by Polycrates for two talents.¹³

Then if we wish to increase our knowledge of the spread of Asclepius, the question we must ask ourselves is how the emergence and growth of the Asclepius cult corresponds with the already existing medical institutions. There is still a lack of consensus among scholars about the degree of disruptiveness of the spread of the cult. In other words, to what extent did the import of Asclepius into a region compete with existing medical practice? It is possible that Asclepius became an addition to the existing medical system instead of competing with it, dealing with the problems that physicians couldn't fix.

In any case, Asclepius in many sites replaced older health deities, but there is no reason to believe that this took the form of a health revolution. The dissemination of the Asclepius cult was presumably not a disruptive mechanism, and it was a slow process. For instance, in Epidaurus the cult of Asclepius had grown over the years to become very large, but when his disciples visited the sanctuary, they apparently honoured Apollo Maleatas before turning to Asclepius. Apollo Maleatas was the old health deity of Epidaurus, who maintained an important (ceremonial) role in local cult practice.¹⁴ The oldest version of the birth myth of Asclepius was likely written down in the seventh century BCE, before the large scale diffusion of the cult, and records Asclepius as being the son of Apollo, thus connecting the two deities.¹⁵ It is quite conceivable that the existence of an Apollo cult at a site facilitated the coming of Asclepius, as illustrated by the number of sanctuaries of Asclepius established in close vicinity of sanctuaries of Apollo (some even replaced the old cult of Apollo), listed in appendix 1. But we need to know more.

¹³ Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.129-134.

¹⁴ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 154-157.

¹⁵ Bailey, 'Asklepios: Ancient Hero of Medical Caring', 258.

If we visualize the dissemination of *asklepieia* in a map, this shows how the deity spread geographically over time. But it does not provide enough information to understand how and why the cult diffused. The dots need to be connected, which means the cult characteristics need to be examined. More specifically, we need to know more about the people who were involved. For example, what can we say about the social positions of the pilgrims who visited the larger *asklepieia*? Did cult centres like Epidaurus only attract wealthy pilgrims, who could afford the journey? Information about pilgrimage patterns can give us a clearer picture of Asclepius worship as a religious system, and gives meaning to Park's diffusion of religion theory.

First of all, we need to keep in mind that priests of the larger cults might have been influential in the spread of the cult. One source of information is provided by the *theoroi* from Epidaurus, ambassadors spreading news about the recurring festivals, in this case the festival at Epidaurus in honour of Asclepius. They travelled through the country to spread information about the cult and the upcoming festival. What message the Epidaurian ambassadors carried exactly is unknown. What we do know is that they visited towns and holy sites on the Peloponnese, but also travelled to Thessaly and even into Macedonia and Thrace.¹⁶ So the word was out there. But who undertook the pilgrimage, and why did these people decide to visit Asclepius?

The worship of Asclepius mostly took place in a very personal sphere, much unlike the cults that dealt with large groups of people (e.g. Athena Polias, to whom people turned for the safety of an entire city). We're dealing with a cult operating almost exclusively in the domain of the individual.¹⁷ It comes as no surprise that pilgrimage played a central role.¹⁸ In order to receive help from Asclepius, one needed to travel to the sanctuary. If a person was too ill to travel, someone else had to go in his or her place.

In order to find out more about the people who visited the *asklepieia*, the *iamata* of Epidaurus (records of Asclepius' miraculous cures, inscribed on *stelai*) serve as a good source. We can use information from the *iamata* to get an idea of the area of influence Epidaurus had in its glory days. First of all, how far were the pilgrims prepared to travel?

One of the *iamata* tells the story of a woman from Pellana, a Laconian city located in between Sparta and Arcadia, who came to the sanctuary for a birth.¹⁹ Another describes a man from Thessaly visiting Epidaurus to get rid of the tattoos on his forehead.²⁰ This is in itself remarkable enough, however to me it seems facial tattoos can only mean slavery or some kind of religious fanaticism. So this *iama* could be describing a slave or a freedman, not exactly the upper-class of ancient Greek society. Apart from the interesting fact that the tattooed man came all the way from Thessaly to

¹⁶ P.J. Perlman, *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen 2000) 67-69.

¹⁷ Dillon, 'The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian *Iamata*', 255.

¹⁸ S. Coleman and J. Elsner, *Pilgrimage: Past and present: Sacred Travel and Sacred Space in the World Religions* (London 1995) 20.

¹⁹ IG IV² 1,121.2.

²⁰ IG IV² 1,121.6.

Epidaurus, this *iamata* is relevant because it seems to concern the social position of the pilgrims at Epidaurus as well, an interesting point. On this subject some uncertainty still remains. Finding out if pilgrims were expected to pay more for Asclepius' services in Epidaurus than in, for example, Alipheira can perhaps tell us more about the dynamics of Pan-Hellenic Asclepius worship.

The nature of the sacrifices made to Asclepius in Epidaurus is mentioned a few times in the Epidaurian *iamata*. One of the *iamata* describes a boy receiving Asclepius' services after paying a few dice (ἀστραγάλους, referring to *dice* or *knucklebones*, a common votive offering).²¹ Of course the priests at Epidaurus recommended the pilgrims to give more. One of the inscriptions tells how a woman who slept at the *asklepieion* was ordered, in a dream, to dedicate a silver pig at the sanctuary.²² Apparently a substantial gift.

We have to see the *iamata* for what they are, though. The stories do not seem to describe historical events, but should be read as an instruction manual, or sacred prose that would make the readers (likely during the temple sleep ritual) feel good about themselves whilst telling them how to behave. The stories explicitly reminded the reader that stealing from other pilgrims or ridiculing the god would backlash, Asclepius is described as being generally friendly and fair, but strict and vengeful when necessary. So the *iamata* are to be taken as mythological stories, written down by the priests for didactic and propaganda purposes. Thus, the *iamata* reveal how the priests wanted to present their cult, and shows us to whom the Epidaurian sanctuary tried to appeal. The stories show people from throughout Greece (e.g. Laconia, Thessaly) visiting the sanctuary at Epidaurus, demonstrating the reputation of the cult in the ancient Greek world. Furthermore they suggest that the miracles were likely not exclusively for the wealthy.²³ However, we can quite safely assume that not everyone in Greece could afford the journey, with the opportunity of pilgrimage depending on both social position and geographical distance from Epidaurus. Even though the sanctuary at Epidaurus was immensely popular, most of the ill went to local *asklepieia* in search of a remedy, as noted by Dillon in his study "The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian *Iamata*."²⁴ This helps to explain the existence of the many small sanctuaries spread throughout Greece.

An important additional argument is offered by Wickkiser. In her 2008 study of the spread of the Asclepius cult, she points out that the cult grew because it attracted patients who had been refused treatment by doctors. Kapparis, in his review of Wickkiser's book, is not convinced by the argument because it does not explain why the ill turned specifically to Asclepius instead of other deities or even local heroes.²⁵ However, because the cult of Asclepius had strong ties with the medical profession, with the deity seemingly functioning as a sort of patron saint, I find Wickkiser's argument convincing.

²¹ IG IV² 1,121.8.; M. Diab, *Lexicon Orthopaedic Etymology* (Amsterdam 1999) 29.

²² IG IV² 1,121.4.

²³ Dillon, 'The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian *Iamata*', 243-244.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 240-241.

²⁵ K. Kapparis, 'Book Review: Asklepios, medicine, and the politics of healing in fifth-century Greece: between craft and cult', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 64, 4 (2009) 553.

Lastly, another point made by Wickkiser about the spread of the cult is worth stating. The idea that certain catastrophic events must have played a major role for the spread of the deity was generally agreed upon in the scientific debate, but has in recent years been questioned. Wickkiser refutes the argument that plague caused the spread of Asclepius (to Athens) by pointing out that there is little epigraphical evidence of the plague itself (which means Thucydides might have exaggerated the significance of the plague) and certainly no archaeological material that hints at Asclepius curing plague victims.²⁶ This was a quality his father, Apollo, was thought to have possessed. Apollo was the god thought responsible for the Athenian plague of 430 BCE (a disease afflicting so many has a cause beyond the individual and must relate to the anger of a deity), which means Apollo was the god that needed to be addressed.²⁷ Moreover, it is very likely that the Athenian *asklepieion* was built after 420 BCE, leaving a gap of ten years between the arrival of the plague and the arrival of the god unexplained.²⁸ The arguments presented by Wickkiser are controversial at least, and thus demand us to be cautious. Even though catastrophic events might have functioned as a catalyst for the spread of the cult, especially in Athens, it is safe to say that the cult of Asclepius generally wasn't a crisis cult.

4.1 Mapping out the spread

The data which can be found in appendix 1, I have brought together as a primary list of datings to make reference to. The sanctuaries presented in the appendix are situated throughout the Greek world. The list consists for a large part of relatively important sites (according to Riethmüller), most of which are quite accurately dateable. Also included are sanctuaries that lie in between some of the larger sanctuaries on the list. These are listed in order to allow for a more complete chronology of the geographical spread of Asclepius. A few points about the data in appendices 1, 2 and 3 are worth stating.

First of all, as noted earlier when discussing the hub-and-spoke model, the start of a cult in a certain place is very hard to determine. We can date most of the *asklepieia* with a degree of certainty, but these dates by no means necessarily indicate the beginning of local (health) cult practice. The datings offered are often based on the oldest archaeological evidence (ideally found *in situ*) that can convincingly be connected to a local Asclepius cult. In this case, consistency is key. The fact that the actual origins of the cults are hard to trace does not pose an insurmountable problem for this research, but it must be kept in mind.

A second point concerns the sanctuary at Trikka, which is deemed to be older than the sanctuary at Epidaurus even though archaeological evidence is thin. Trikka is seen as an important cult site, and

²⁶ B.L. Wickkiser, 'The Appeal of Asklepios and the Politics of Healing in the Greco-Roman World' (PhD Dissertation, Austin 2003) 75.

²⁷ V. Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London 2004) 39.

²⁸ R. Mitchell-Boyask, *Plague and the Athenian Imagination: Drama, History and the Cult of Asclepius* (Cambridge 2008) 3.

it is one of the cult centres from which diffusion might have taken place. It is therefore listed in appendices 1 and 2, taking its uncertainties for granted.

A third point that demands explanation is the column “Earliest numismatic evidence (Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum)” in appendix 1. The significance of Asclepius coins is relative. In some regions, in some periods, all towns of any importance had mints and were able to issue money (for example on the Peloponnese in the fifth century BCE).²⁹ This category is only listed to give extra insight into the importance of the Asclepius sanctuaries in their respective regions. I have included this category although in the Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum only a few coins depicting Asclepius were found. Lastly, a dash indicates no relevant data could be found.

4.2 Mapping out the spread on a regional scale: Thessaly

Thessaly is thought to be the birth place of the Asclepius cult, the region supposedly housed the oldest cult sites in the entire Greek world. Especially Triikka plays an important role in the history of Asclepius worship. It is named by many, including Strabo, as the oldest sanctuary of Asclepius.³⁰ An interesting example of this is the story by Greek poet Herodas, written around 270 BCE, which likely takes place at the *asklepieion* in Kos, in which the main protagonist names Asclepius “(...) you who rule over Triikka and who have settled in lovely Kos and Epidauros.”³¹ Even if it’s a fictional work, it shows the relevance of Triikka, even in the early the Hellenistic period, when Epidauros was large and influential. An important point to make is that a factor obstructing exchange between Thessaly and the rest of Greece might have been the aggression of the Thessalian leaders, who at irregular intervals throughout the late Archaic Period and Classical Period threatened neighbouring states, or even fought, especially with Boeotia, Phocis and Athens.³²

East from Triikka, the town of Larissa seems to have been of importance as well. It was the capital of the Dotian plain; according to the Homeric Hymn to Asclepius this is the area where the deity was born.³³ In addition to literary sources, archaeological evidence suggests the cult in Larissa must have existed in the early fifth century BCE, possibly earlier. The fact that the earliest numismatic material connected to the cult of Asclepius was likely minted in Larissa only strengthens the idea that it must have been one of the important centres of cult practice in Thessaly, certainly in the (late) Classical Period.³⁴

The dating of the sanctuaries of Thessaly poses a methodological problem. Many of the sanctuaries have not been excavated properly, for some even the exact location remains unknown, this obstructs

²⁹ P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus (excluding Corinth)* (London 1887) XIV.

³⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, 9.5.17.; Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 91.

³¹ Herodas, *Mimes* 4.

³² J. Bintliff, ‘Regional Survey, Demography, and the Rise of Complex Societies in the Ancient Aegean: Core-Periphery, Neo-Malthusian, and Other Interpretive Models’, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24, 121-23 (1997) 21.

³³ Unknown, Homeric Hymn to Asclepius.

³⁴ Hart, ‘Ancient Coins and Medicine’, 80.

accurate dating.³⁵ For most of the locations dating is therefore based on inscriptions. Keeping these caveats in mind, we can draw a hypothetical diffusion of the cult (figure 2), which shows that the spread of the cult might not have been a gradual process. The inscriptions and evidence from remains of buildings provide enough information to group the sanctuaries in different chronological phases:

- Phase I: Origins of Asclepius in Thessaly.
- Phase II: Around 400-350 BCE.
- Phase III: Around 300-250 BCE.
- Phase IV: Around 200-100 BCE.

An important notice is that the third phase is a period in which only a minimal degree of diffusion can be observed. According to the data I found, only two of Asclepius' holy places are likely to have been established between 300 and 200 BCE. For one of these, Pherae, the information currently available makes it hard to date, which means the estimated date of establishment is conjectural, it is merely based on a *terminus ante quem*. There are a few special cases, marked on the map and in the appendix with a question mark, of which the dating is even more controversial.

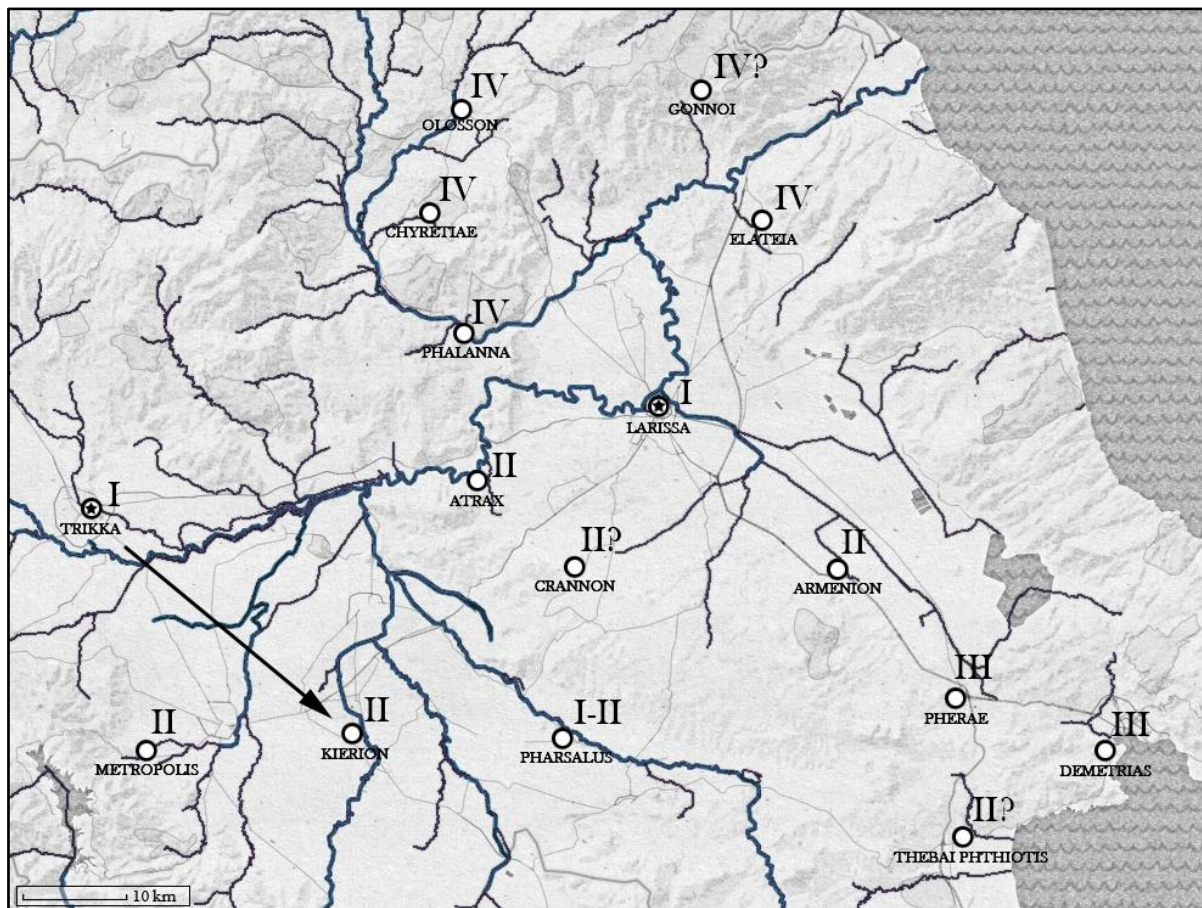


Figure 2. Map of Asclepius sanctuaries in Thessaly, and the chronology (phases) in which they were likely established.³⁶

³⁵ J.W. Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte 2* (Heidelberg 2005), 295.

³⁶ Rivers and effluents plotted using datasets Ποταμοί and Υδρογραφικό δίκτυο from <http://geodata.gov.gr/geodata/> (accessed on June 8, 2015); Coordinates of the ancient sites from <http://pleiades.stoa.org/> (accessed on June 4, 2015).

The map of sanctuaries in Thessaly (figure 2) has a few interesting elements. First of all, the cult of Asclepius seems to have spread in a southern direction hundreds of years before spreading to the northern area of Thessaly. It is important to remember that most of the cults north of Larissa are generally dated using only a *terminus ante quem* approach, as shown in the appendix. They might be older, but there is no sufficient evidence, and thus no reason, to believe they are. Whereas the southern diffusion seems to be in line with the pattern of contagious diffusion, the time gap between the centres and the northern region remains unexplained.

The map raises more questions than it solves, which discredits the idea of contagious diffusion. For instance, the hub-and-spoke model cannot explain the site at Pharsalus. It seems to have no connection to the other Thessalian sanctuaries. However, the sanctuary at Pharsalus is a peculiar one. It was a shrine in a cave, where many deities were worshipped.³⁷ Nonetheless it looks like either a failed hub with no spokes (if such a thing exists) or an early branch of the cults at Triikka or Larissa.

Neither does the rest of the distribution of sanctuaries in Thessaly show a plausible pattern of contagious diffusion, except on the Dotian plain, where the phase II sanctuaries (e.g. Kierion, Atrax, Armenion) are all at a similar distance from Larissa, the alleged hub. What we further know is that the cult of Asclepius very likely came to Kierion from Triikka. On the map, this is indicated with an arrow. In case of Kierion the evidence seems to be particularly strong, which makes it likely that we can view Triikka as a hub and Kierion as one of its spokes.

4.3 Mapping out the spread on a regional scale: Arcadia

Like the sanctuaries in Thessaly, the Arcadian sanctuaries can be grouped in chronological phases:

- Phase I: Origins of Asclepius in Arcadia.
- Phase II: Around 470-420 BCE.
- Phase III: Around 370-300 BCE.
- Phase IV: Around 300-150 BCE.

Tracing the spread of the cult on the Peloponnese is not an easy task. The peninsula housed some of the most important cult centres of the Asclepius worship. It is often mentioned that Epidaurus had a large influence on the Peloponnesian sanctuaries of Asclepius. Of course Epidaurus was located relatively close to the Arcadian borders, but so were Sparta, Messene and Argos. The Peloponnese was an arena of clashing interests, alliances, intertwining religions and war. This forces us to be very cautious. The region of Arcadia counted 18 sanctuaries and other places of worship to Asclepius, most of them located in fairly close proximity of each other. Asclepius worship seems to have come to Arcadia relatively early, which makes it particularly interesting.

³⁷ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 293.

The Arcadian sanctuaries had their own version of the birth myth. Even though Arcadian birth myth was likely based on the Messenian version, the Arcadians promoted the idea that Asclepius had strong ties with their region. This myth might not have been as influential as the myth from Thessaly, but still implies the Arcadian *asklepieia* in a certain sense competed with Epidaurus. In other words, the Epidaurians were not the only ones claiming primordial status, as we have already seen.

A curious idea is presented in a study by Alevridis and Melfi. The article states that the importance of water in the Arcadian Asclepieia (which can be deduced from the fact that the Arcadian *asklepieia* were often located in close vicinity of rivers) likely indicates influence from Epidaurian worship of Asclepius.³⁸ In order to test this assumption, I have plotted the rivers (and effluents) of Greece in the maps of Thessaly and Arcadia (figures 2 and 3). If we assume that most of the *asklepieia* in Thessaly are not established through direct influence from Epidaurus, which is not unthinkable, the fact that the Thessalian sanctuaries are often built close to water seems contradictory.

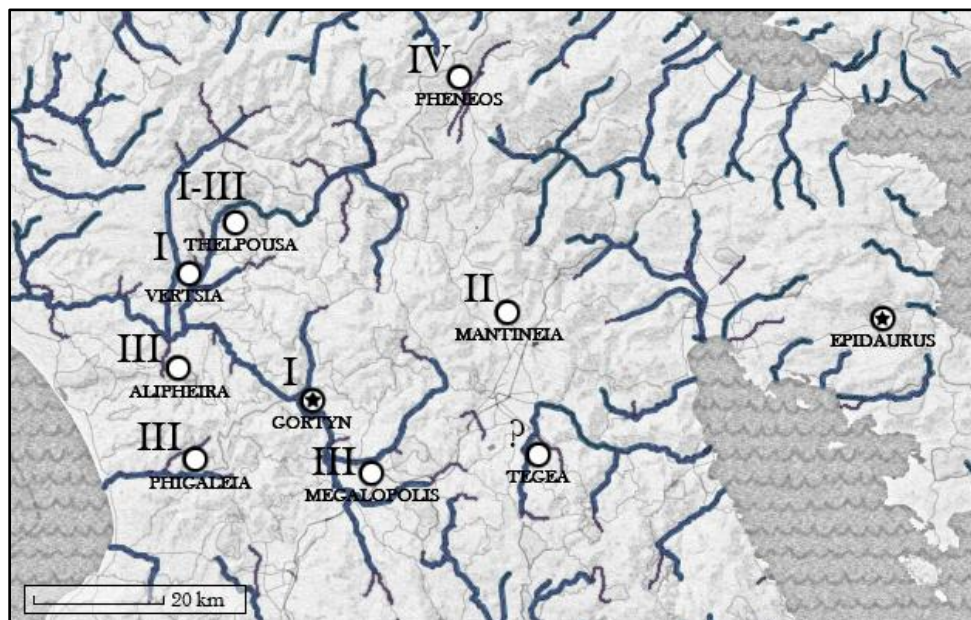


Figure 3. Most of Asclepius' sanctuaries in ancient Arcadia. Epidaurus plotted on map for comparison of geographical distance.³⁹

Looking at the map of Arcadia and the hypothetical spread of Asclepius through Arcadia, it seems to be largely explicable using Park's theory. The important Arcadian cult centre, according to Riethmüller, is Gortyn, as marked on the map with a star. The cults in Vertsia and Thelpousa are supposedly very old as well, but have to be more cautious with these, especially in case of Thelpousa, since the evidence is less solid. A "ripple pattern" can thus be recognized, with the cult centres in the

³⁸ Alevridis, S., and Melfi, M., 'New Archaeological and Topographical Observations on the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Alipheira', in: Østby, E. (ed.), *Ancient Arcadia* (Athens 2005) 279.

³⁹ Rivers and effluents plotted using datasets Ποταμοί and Υδρογραφικό δίκτυο from <http://geodata.gov.gr/geodata/> (accessed on June 8, 2015); Coordinates of the ancient sites from <http://pleiades.stoa.org/> (accessed on June 3, 2015).

middle of the area, the newest sanctuaries generally located the furthest away from the oldest sanctuaries. The only site that does not adhere is the Mantinea. This is one of the old cults in the Arcadian region, and was likely a significant cult as well. The early development of an Asclepius cult, relatively far from the centre of the regional Arcadian cult, is hard to explain. It's possible the cult was Epidaurian and came to Mantinea from Athens, especially since the latter formed an alliance with Mantinea in 420-410 BCE. The least we can say is that 420-418 can be considered a *terminus ante quem*, in this period Athenian sculpture came to adorn one of the temples in Mantinea.⁴⁰

Another uncertainty concerns Asclepius at Tegea. This cult, which is likely relatively young, might have strong ties with Athens (according to Pausanias, in Tegea statues of Asclepius and Hygieia flanked a statue depicting Athena).⁴¹ If we assume that both these cults are established under Athenian/Epidaurian influence, thus viewing them as specifically non-Arcadian, the hypothetical model of diffusion would make more sense. It would show Arcadia as a compact region with at least one old sanctuary (Gortyn) functioning as a cult centre that stimulated the establishment of new sanctuaries in close vicinity. The idea that the Arcadian sanctuaries only had a limited area of influence makes sense if we consider the limited political power of the region, and the Arcadian population growth of the Classical Period and early Hellenistic Period could explain why most of the diffusion seems to have taken place in this extent of time.⁴²

5. Concluding remarks

The approach used in this article relies heavily on the quality of dating of the sites. The accuracy of these datings is often not sufficient, in any case not for the regions I have researched. Further excavations will of course improve the accuracy of the datings, but can also supply us with more information that allows us to find out which cults show similarities and which cults definitely don't, on a regional level. This would give us more material to more convincingly trace the spread of a cult, it exposes the hubs and shows us which sanctuaries can be seen as spokes.

Accurate dating is also necessary to provide us with adequate starting points for the identification of a cult or a cult variety. Without it, starting points may be chosen that reflect known excavation sites rather than historical sequence. The result may be that a cult is created instead of discovered:

For it is easy to show how spatial distributions, equivalent to the traditional cultural entities, can be generated by the archaeologist out of a continuum of change. If uniformities and similarities in artefact assemblages are viewed as the result of interactions between individuals, and if such interactions decrease in intensity uniformly with distance, each point will be most like its close neighbours. Consider the point *P* lying in a uniform plain, with its neighbours fairly regularly spaced around it. Similarity in terms of trait *C* decreases with distance from

⁴⁰ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 147.

⁴¹ Pausanias, 8.47.1.

⁴² Bintliff, 'Regional Survey, Demography, and the Rise of Complex Societies in the Ancient Aegean', 10.

point P . At the same time the variables A and B vary uniformly across the plain with distance along the axes x and y . If the excavator first digs at P and recovers its assemblage, he will subsequently learn that adjacent points have a broadly similar assemblage, which he will call 'the P culture'. Gradually its boundaries will be set up by further research, with the criterion that only those assemblages which attain a given threshold level of similarity with the finds from P qualify for inclusion. So a 'culture' is born, centring on P , the type site, whose bounds are entirely arbitrary, depending solely on the threshold level of similarity and the initial, fortuitous choice of P as the point of reference.⁴³

The datings are not the only obstacle, the spread of the cult of Asclepius is a complex historical process. The archaeological material that has been dug up in Arcadia and Thessaly leaves us wondering about the chronology of the diffusion, which means that for an attempt to describe the spread, like this one, many assumptions have to be made. Opportunities lie in factors outside the religious realm, that may have to be taken into account as well. It is likely that demographical, economical or political factors affected the diffusion of the Asclepius cult, next to religious developments and medical needs. For instance, political turbulence and warfare in the fifth century, e.g. strained relations between Boeotia and Athens, may have influenced the spread of the cult of Asclepius. An explanation of the spread of the Asclepius cult will have to take such factors, in order to be convincing. But evidence about the spread in time and place comes first. In the previous chapters I have attempted to show that a approach that starts from such evidence (the bottom-up approach) already produces interesting results. While this study leaves a lot of questions unanswered, the fact that an approach like this one can raise new questions, makes it worthwhile.

⁴³ C. Renfrew, 'Space, time and polity', in: J. Friedman and M. Rowlands (eds.), *The Evolution of Social Systems* (London 1977) 94-95.

6. Appendices

Appendix 1 – Sanctuaries of Asclepius in the Greek world

Asclepius sanctuary site	Dating according to Riethmüller (with a degree of certainty)	Dating according to Melfi and others	Earliest numismatic evidence (Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum) ⁴⁴	Was an Apollo cult present at the site?	Epithet	Relevant information
Epidaurus	Late 6 th century BCE. ⁴⁵	Second half 6 th century BCE. ⁴⁶	From around 370 BCE ⁴⁷	Yes, Apollo Maleatas, from around 750 BCE, <i>terminus ante quem</i> . ⁴⁸	-	
Athens	420/419 BCE. ⁴⁹	End of 5 th , beginning of 4 th century BCE. ⁵⁰	-	Yes, Apollo Maleatas, late 5 th century BCE. ⁵¹	-	Certainly an Epidaurian cult.
Corinth	6 th century BCE, probably late 6 th century. Riethmüller is inconclusive about how this relates to Epidaurus.	End of 5 th century BCE seems very likely. ⁵²	-	Yes, Apollo Pythios. ⁵³ Evidence from the early 6 th century BCE, but perhaps dating back to the 8 th century BCE. ⁵⁴	-	
Trikka	Possibly before Epidaurus.	-	300-190 BCE. ⁵⁵	Yes, Apollo Maleatas. ⁵⁶	-	Though possibly the origin of Asclepius in Greece, cult probably did not actively seek expansion. ⁵⁷
Pharsalus (cave, Karapla)	Around 450 BCE. ⁵⁸	-	-	Yes. ⁵⁹	-	
Delphi	Late 5 th century BCE. (possibly started in the late 6 th century BCE). ⁶⁰	-	-	Yes.		
Tithorea	5 th or 4 th century BCE. ⁶¹	-	-	-	Asklepios Archagetas (the founder) ⁶²	
Alipheira	Late 4 th century. ⁶³	350-300	-		-	

		BCE. ⁶⁴				
Messene	4 th century BCE. Possibly preceded by healing cult (Riethmüller suggests Asclepius) dating as far back as the 7 th /6 th century BCE. ⁶⁵	250 – 200 BCE. ⁶⁶	146 BCE, <i>terminus post quem</i> . ⁶⁷	-	-	
Mytilene (Lesbos)	4 th century BCE. ⁶⁸	-	-	Yes, Apollo Maloeis. 440-400 BCE. ⁶⁹	Asklepios Soter (the saviour) ⁷⁰	
Pergamon	250 – 200 BCE, <i>terminus ante quem</i> . ⁷¹	Possibly in Pergamon since 4 th century BCE. ⁷²	-	Yes, Apollo Kallitekno according to Aelius Aristides. ⁷³	Asklepios Soter	Important cult centre. Epidaurian cult.
Orchomenos (Boeotia)	Around 250 BCE ⁷⁴	3 rd century BCE ⁷⁵	-	-	-	
Gortyn	(late?) 6 th century BCE.	Late 5 th , early 4 th century.	-	-	-	Important (regional) cult centre.

Appendix 2 – Sanctuaries of Asclepius in Thessaly

Asclepius sanctuary site	Earliest credible dating	Dating terminus ante quem	Phase	Relevant information
Trikka	Almost certainly before Epidaurus.		1	Most important city of Hestiaiotes region.
Pharsalus ⁷⁶		Around 450 BCE.	1/2	Capital of Phthiotis region. Cave sanctuary provides oldest irrefutable evidence for Asclepius cult in Thessaly. Asclepius was not central deity in cave shrine.
Larissa ⁷⁷	500-475 BCE.	450-400 BCE. ⁷⁸	1	Capital of Pelasgiotes region. If depiction from 500-475 BCE is indeed Asclepius (which is likely), it is the oldest Asclepius depiction known in Greek world.
Armenion ⁷⁹	Around 400 BCE.		2	
Crannon		3 rd century BCE. Cult seems to be older, but due limited amount of evidence this cannot be verified yet.	2 (?)	Important city in Pelasgiotes region.
Atrax ⁸⁰	400-350 BCE.		2	
Demetrias	3 rd century (after 294)	2 nd century BCE.	3	

	BCE.			
Gonnoi	300-250 BCE. ⁸¹	2 nd century BCE	4 (?)	The earliest evidence is insufficient for dating the <i>asklepieion</i> . The <i>terminus ante quem</i> will therefore be used. Cult likely came to this area by immigration of the Perrhaebi. ⁸²
Thebai Phthiotis (Mikrothives)	400-350 BCE. ⁸³		2 (?)	
Kierion (Arne) ⁸⁴	Early 4 th century BCE.	4 th or 3 rd century BCE (numismatic evidence).	2	Capital Thessalotis region. Cult very likely spread from Triikka.
Metropolis ⁸⁵		Late 5 th , early 4 th century BCE.	2	After Triikka, most important city of Hestiaiotis.
Pherae ⁸⁶		Late 4 th , early 3 rd century BCE.	3	Existence Asclepius cult evident. Dating difficult. Only a plausible <i>terminus ante quem</i> .
Elateia ⁸⁷		2 nd century BCE.	4	Existence Asclepius cult evident. Dating difficult. Only a plausible <i>terminus ante quem</i> .
Chyretiae ⁸⁸		190 BCE.	4	Existence Asclepius cult evident. Dating difficult. Only a plausible <i>terminus ante quem</i> .
Olosson ⁸⁹		Around 150 BCE.	4	Existence Asclepius cult evident. Dating difficult. Only a plausible <i>terminus ante quem</i> .
Phalanna ⁹⁰		Around 200 BCE.	4	Existence Asclepius cult evident. Dating difficult. Only a plausible <i>terminus ante quem</i> . Exact location ancient town unknown.

Appendix 3 – Sanctuaries of Asclepius in Arcadia

Asclepius sanctuary site	Earliest credible dating	Dating terminus ante quem	Phase	Relevant information
Thelphusa ⁹¹	-	370 BCE.	1-3?	Possible location Arcadian birth myth. Limited evidence.
Vertsia ⁹²	(late?) 6 th century BCE.	-	1	Limited evidence.
Gortyn ⁹³	(late?) 6 th century BCE.	Late 5 th , early 4 th century.	1	Important cult centre.
Mantineia	470-460 BCE.	420 BCE.	2	
Alipheira	350-300 BCE.	-	3	
Megalopolis	370-350 BCE.	-	3	Cult likely came to Megalopolis from Thelphusa.
Pheneos	3 rd century BCE.	Around 150 BCE.	4	
Tegea	-	-		Existence of cult certain, dating too uncertain due to limited evidence. Likely spread to Tegea from Athens.
Phigaleia	-	350-300 BCE.	3	Strong ties with Alipheira.

-
- ⁴⁴ The numismatic data is from the Catalogues of Greek Coins in the British Museum. A dash means no coins depicting Asclepius or bearing his name are listed in the catalogue.
- ⁴⁵ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 158.
- ⁴⁶ M. Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia* (Rome 2007) 507.
- ⁴⁷ Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus*, 156.
- ⁴⁸ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 154-157.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 229.
- ⁵⁰ Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, 507.
- ⁵¹ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 157.
- ⁵² Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, 507.; B.L. Wickkiser, 'Asklepios in Greek and Roman Corinth' in: S. Friesen, D. Schowalter, et. al. (eds.), *Corinth In Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (Leiden 2010) 37.
- ⁵³ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 157.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 130.
- ⁵⁵ P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Thessaly to Aetolia* (London 1883) 52.
- ⁵⁶ Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, 51-52.
- ⁵⁷ Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 105.
- ⁵⁸ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 106.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 106.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 112.
- ⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 110.
- ⁶² Pausanias, 10.32.12.
- ⁶³ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 192-193.
- ⁶⁴ Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, 507.
- ⁶⁵ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 142 – 143.
- ⁶⁶ Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, 507.
- ⁶⁷ Gardner, P., *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus*, 112.
- ⁶⁸ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 108.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 108.; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos* (London 1894) 184.
- ⁷⁰ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 108.
- ⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 337-338.
- ⁷² C. Gates, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece and Rome* (2nd edition; London 2011) 297.
- ⁷³ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, p 340.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 120-121.
- ⁷⁵ Melfi, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, 507.
- ⁷⁶ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 293.
- ⁷⁷ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 102.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 102.
- ⁷⁹ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 298-299.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 299-300.
- ⁸¹ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 103.
- ⁸² *Ibidem*, 103.
- ⁸³ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 291-292.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 296-297.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 297-298.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 305-306.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 300-301.
- ⁸⁸ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 310.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 313-314.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 314.
- ⁹¹ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 144-147.
- ⁹² *Ibidem*, 144-147.
- ⁹³ Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 1, 145-146.

7. Bibliography

Literary sources

Herodas, *Mimes* 4.

Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.129-134.

Homer, *Iliad*, 4.127-197.

Pausanias 8.47.1.; 10.32.12.

Strabo, *Geography*, 8.4.4; 9.5.17.

Unknown, *Homeric Hymn to Asclepius*.

Epigraphical sources

IG IV² 1,121.

Secondary literature

Aston, E., 'Asclepius and the Legacy of Thessaly', *The Classical Quarterly* 2, 54.1 (2004) 18-32.

Alevridis, S., and Melfi, M., 'New Archaeological and Topographical Observations on the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Alipheira', in: Østby, E. (ed.), *Ancient Arcadia* (Athens 2005) 273-284.

Bailey, J.E., 'Asklepios: Ancient Hero of Medical Caring', *Annals of Internal Medicine* 124, 2 (1996) 257-263.

Bintliff, J., 'Regional Survey, Demography, and the Rise of Complex Societies in the Ancient Aegean: Core-Periphery, Neo-Malthusian, and Other Interpretive Models', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24, 121-23 (1997) 1-38.

Coleman, S. and Elsner J., *Pilgrimage: Past and present: Sacred Travel and Sacred Space in the World Religions* (London 1995).

Diab, M., *Lexicon Orthopaedic Etymology* (Amsterdam 1999).

Dillon, M.P.J., 'The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian Iamata', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 101 (1994), 239-260.

Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein L., *Asclepius: Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Baltimore 1998).

Gardner, P., *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus (excluding Corinth)* (London 1887).

Gardner, P., *Catalogue of Greek Coins : Thessaly to Aetolia* (London 1883).

Gates, C., *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece and Rome* (2nd edition; London 2011).

Gesler, W.M., 'Therapeutic landscapes: theory and a case study of Epidauros, Greece', *Environment and Planning Society and Space* 11 (1993) 171-189.

- Hart, G.D., 'Ancient Coins and Medicine', *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 94, 2 (1966) 77-89.
- Kapparis, K., 'Book Review: Asklepios, medicine, and the politics of healing in fifth-century Greece: between craft and cult', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 64, 4 (2009) 552-554.
- Markusen, A., 'Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts', *Economic Geography* 72, 3 (1996) 293-313.
- Melfi, M., *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia* (Rome 2007).
- Mitchell-Boyask, R., *Plague and the Athenian Imagination: Drama, History and the Cult of Asclepius* (Cambridge 2008).
- Nutton, V., *Ancient Medicine* (London 2004).
- Park, C., 'Religion and geography' in: Hinnells, J. (ed.), *Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (London 2004) 414-445.
- Perlman, P.J., *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen 2000).
- Renfrew, C., 'Space, time and polity', in: Friedman, J. and Rowlands, M. (eds.), *The Evolution of Social Systems* (London 1977) 89-112.
- Riethmüller, J.W., *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte 1* (Heidelberg 2005).
- Riethmüller, J.W., *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte 2* (Heidelberg 2005).
- Sheikh, A., 'Healing Images: A Historical Outline of their Use in Western Medical and Psychotherapeutic Traditions', *Abaton, Des Moines University Literary Review* 5 (2011) 6-23.
- Vlassoupoulos, K., 'Beyond and Below the Polis: Networks, Associations, and the Writing of Greek History', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22, 1 (2007) 11-22.
- Wickkiser, B.L., 'The Appeal of Asklepios and the Politics of Healing in the Greco-Roman World' (PhD Dissertation, Austin 2003).
- Wickkiser, B.L., 'Asklepios in Greek and Roman Corinth' in: Friesen, S., Schowalter, D. et. al. (eds.), *Corinth In Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (Leiden 2010) 37-66.
- Wroth, W., *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos* (London 1894).