THE HEALING GODS OF
ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS
Published on the Foundation Established in Memory of

PHILIP HAMILTON McMILLAN

of the Class of 1894, Yale College
THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

BY
WALTER ADDISON JAYNE M.D

ME ITUS PROFES O O
GYNECOLOGY AND ABDOMINAL URG Y
UNIVERSITY O COLO ADO

Non est vive re, sed valere, vix
M tial

NEW HAV N YALE UNIV RSITY PRESS MCMXXV
LONDON U P Y ILFO OXFORD UNIVERSITY P
The present volume is the second work published by the Yale University Press on the Philip H. Milton McMillan Memorial Publication Fund. The Fund was established December 12, 1922 by a gift to Yale University in pursuance of a pledge announced on Alumni University Day in February 1922 of a fund of $100,000 bequeathed to James Thayer McMillan and Alexander C. Well Angell. The Fund was established by Mr. Eliabeth Anderson McMillan of Detroit to be devoted by them to the establishment of a memorial in honor of her husband.

He was born in Detroit, Michigan, December 28, 1872, prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, and was graduated from Yale in the Class of 1894. An undergraduate, he was a leader in many of the college activities of his day and within a brief period of his graduation was called upon to assume heavy responsibilities in the management and direction of numerous business enterprises in Detroit where he was also a Trustee of the Young Men's Christian Association and of Grace Hospital. He died of heart disease on October 4, 1919, deprived of the city of one of its leading citizens and of the University of one of its most loyal sons.
PREFACE

All studies of civilization preceding the Christian era must be considered as tentative only and a subject to repeated revisions in the future. Many original documents giving first-hand information regarding the political, religious, and social life of the early Orient have come into our possession quite recently, and a large number of them have not been critically examined or even translated while the term and the language used in some are not understood nor has any key to their interpretation yet been found. Excavations yielding rich archeological returns are still in progress; others of equal promise are projected, and further important information concerning the people will undoubtedly be obtained in the near future. These remarks apply equally to the medicine of the ancients. Although sufficient is known from classical literature and from studies of newly discovered archeological documents to justify general conclusion regarding the therapeutic theories and practice of the ancient East many extant medical treaties especially of Mesopotamia and Egypt have not been translated or adequately studied and may easily contain statements which will materially alter our present views.

The following volume on the ancient method of religious healing and the pagan healing gods is therefore presented as an introductory historical study. This particular phase of the religious and social life of the ancients is seldom considered independently but rather in connection with an introduction to the general history of
medicine a those of Neuberger and Pagel of Garron and the essay of Osler or in papers on special aspects of the subject. Careful reviews of the origins of ancient medicine a referred to by classical authors are given in the older medical histories, as those of Le Clerc and Sprengel but since these were written much direct in formation has been obtained through archeological researches which have greatly broadened our knowledge of the healing practice in the cults of the pagan deities. Some part of this new material has been considered in the several brief monographs that have been published in Germany during the past forty-five years. These have not been translated, the subject has received little attention from writers of English, and yet it has not been adequately presented to the English speaking peoples for general study. In preparing this work from material culled from many sources an endeavor has been made to give a more detailed and extended exposition of the subject in a form for general survey and comparison without attempting to cover the broader aspects of the early history of the healing art.

The author has selected for study several of those great civilizations that preceded and overlapped the Christian era from the birth of history to the time when paganism was suppressed by the edict of Emperor Theodosius. In the several nationalities religion and healing had passed beyond the elementary stages of development and were more or less systematized under priesthood. The civilizations had their development in an Oriental nursery and their earliest traces are found among the Indo-Iranian and the peoples of Mesopotamia and Egypt remarkable for their general learning and culture, their occult science, and the supposedly ineffable mysteries of their religions. Coming from various parts of the old world these several nationalities were commingled by
war and conquest and finally outgrowing their native environment they overflowed westward. Filtering through channel that are now often obscure the learning of the mysterious people of the East and their wondrous art came to Greece where they were undergoing examination when conquering Rome drew all civilizing influences to herself. The knowledge and art of the great Orient came to the Occident as a mystic but locating heritage there to be appraised side by side with the native faith and practice of Greece and Rome, to be refined and molded under new surrounding and other influence into loftier conceptions of a new and higher civilization. The healing custom of these nations and the beliefs that prompted them were representative of their age and illustrate the ancient relation existing between religion and the healing art, which were continued under the Christian fathers in a more or less modified form.

The subject is approached strictly from a historical standpoint all theories and controverted matters being avoided so far as possible. Facts, traditions, and myths have been gathered from archeological studies, the work of classical authors and the treatises of authoritative commentators, and the subject matter of each nationality is considered independently and under two sections: the first giving a general review of the salient feature of their respective religions and healing custom and the second dealing with the personalities of their deities most intimately concerned in the cure of the sick.

Owing chiefly, to the imperfect and fragmentary character of the ancient records no pretense can be made to completeness especially in the lists of the healing god. Doubtless innumerable deities who were conceived as efficient healers served their peoples and faded leaving no tangible record behind. The name of other were probably lost in the destruction following the fall of
tions and of paganism and till other now buried may be disclosed on monument and in document yet to be unearthed. In many instances, the healing function of a god is vaguely referred to or the divinity appears to be of such minor importance that the name has purposely been omitted. A short biographical sketch is given of those deities who are curative, and are definitely noted and it is believed that the work of their cults is herein given a fairly characteristic tic of the official healing practices of their respective nationalities. The period during which the deities were active is indicated when possible, but this is often indefinite, and no chronological order is feasible, and the gods are listed alphabetically.

Other kindred field of inquiry of equal attractiveness have not been invaded. The healing deities of the post-Vedic religions of India, particularly the Buddhist, with its extension into Tibet, China, and Japan, or of the great Slavic and Teutonic races, and those of ancient America, the Inca, the Mayas, and the Aztecs, all present interesting racial types that would well repay a more detailed study than has yet been given them.

The present work has been prepared in the odd moment of leisure from the active practice of medicine and with a full appreciation of many shortcomings, the general spirit of the studies is offered with the hope that it may have an interest for the reader and perhaps stimulate further and more satisfactory research in this by path of early civilization.

The author desires to acknowledge with sincere appreciation the courtesies and generous assistance received from many friends during the progress of the studies, without which they could not nearly have approximated completeness. Special thanks are due to Mr. Martha L. Crook for her active interest and cooperation and for her research and translations from the German.
man to the late Professor Morris Jastrow Jr for reviewing the manuscript of the chapter on Babylonia and Assyria to Professor Henry F. Lutz of the University of California and T. George Allen of the University of Chicago for their comment on the Egyptian chapter to Lieutenant Colonel Fielding H. Garrison on USA for his interest, encouragement, and advice after reading the early draft of the manuscript and finally to Professor Louis H. Gray of the University of Nebraska for constant advice and many valuable suggestions.
CONTENTS

LI T OF ILLU TRATION .................................................. PAG XXIII

INTRODUCTION .................................................................. XXV

LI T OF ABBREVIATION .................................................. XXXVIII

CHAPTER I THE HEALING GOD OF ANCIENT EGYPT ........... 3

Part I General Survey

Th e civiliz eion of Egypt Th Pyramid T t Egyptian rete e Char ter of th rly rligion Egypti n deit Deitie ine mat m numals Loc l deit Cosm nd trib l god The rise of Re No u iormity of beli f O ir nd Isis The Osi n myth Trial of th d ad Th Neg tive Confes ion Th e Book of th D d nd Coffin T t Th e life l th tomb Th e oul nd th body Th Sacr d Eastern Sky Spirits and d ons Th e pr thood R ligion e tivals Egypti n m gic Divine gic Th m gic rt Ex pl of m gic Divin tion Dr nd l Early Egypti n healing Loc l healin deitie T pl of h l ing M dical librari s Pr par to of th p pyr Th medie l p pyr Th K hu Papyrus Th Edwin S th P pyru Th H rst M die l P pyru Th Weste r P pyru Th Eb r P pyru Th Gr ter Berlin, or Brug ch Papyrus Th London M dical Papyrus 0th r papyri Papyrus ot canonical D cription of die e in th p pyri C us of diseas Prophyl xi God uff red fro diseas Physicians Healing method R m di s Medici in eations Test for st rility Gen ral r ark Prof Egyp ti n medici e Th old mri c phy ia n

Part II The Healing Deitie ............................................. 52

'Anuq t Ap B , or Be a Ept or U ret H thor Horus Hor or Horu Im hot p Isi , o E t Kho u, or Khon Neith Nekh t Nepthys or Nebt hot Ptah Sekh met Serapis or Osor hap Thoth Thout or T htu Uba t t, or Bastet Uzout, U t, or Buto (Ut)
Minor Divinitie of Child birth and Nursing
Hqt Mkhnt Ren nut t, or Rnmu

Chapter II The Healing Gods of Babylonia and Assyria

Part I General Survey
G r l view of the p opl Ancient record Th respec
tiv civiliz tion The religion Th p ntheon The rank of

Part II The Healing Deitie

Chapter III Th Healing Gods of Th Pagan
S mit of th West

Part I General Survey

Chapter IV Th Healing Gods of Ancient India
Part I General Survey
CONTENTS

Part II The Healing Deities

Tlie Aditya Agni Apah Th A'vin Bh 1 jy r j nd Bh 1 jy guru Brah Brh pati Dak Dh nv nt ri Dh tp Indr Th Maruts Rudra S ra v ti Savitr Som Surya Tv tp V runa Vat or Vayu

CHAPTER V THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT IRAN

Part I General Survey

Iran n religion Th Ave t Th r ligno of Zoro tr Mythology Th r tion of r medi Di e a d duali 'Countl di e Th cur H h g t xt Di of nm l

Part II The Healing Deities

Ahur ni Airy an Aredvi S r An hit A hi C t Drv p Ho Mithr Thr etao ( r F r dun) Thrn Tishtry V rethr ghn Yim

CHAPTER VI THE HEALING GOD OF ANCIENT GREECE

Part I General Survey

Th origin f th god Th n tur of th god Th gods nd man Th panth on Th divi functions N w co eption Ab ne of dogma nd moral r str int in r ligno Shrines and r ligno ity Chthomic d ti Chthomic ch r ter Chthonic function Th d mon Th wor hip of heroe C r om l Or cl nd divin com unc tion Dr am nd th dre m or el Incub tio Prc t d ine b tion D d c of cult nd oracl Am l me ar tio Di crbed to up rhum n ag nei Attitud of divi ity tow rd di e d h ling P i n d Apoll Th cradle of Gre k m dicm E rly h aling c to Th he l ing rtu l and miracl s M gie nd h aling Th thod of r ligno h ling Th dirct method E mpl Th ndi rect method Sacr d w t r Votive off nng G ral evi dene s of Gr k r ligno h aling Miraculou cur Origin of ration l m dicm in t pl prac tic R ligno and practical medicine Introduction of for ign h h g ult Th desc nt of Gr k medicn

Part II The Healing Deities

The Healing Deities

Askl pio Th nam An rth prit nd h ro D velop
ent of the cult A kl p10 nd Apollo The birth l g nd
Th Epid ur n l g nd Oth r I gend The fa ily of
Askl p10 Hi d c ndants Machaon and his ons Podalei
r10 R i ng th d d and th death of Asklep1o Th
burn l pl c Th transform tion of the cult Emigr tion
to Ep d uro D ific tio Shrin es d anctuaries of th
ult Loc tio of hrm by erp nt Sites of the Askle
p1 1a Th he ling te pl The netity of the mpl
Th i ag nd mble s of the god Au iliary deitie s
T nt 1 t d of building The most famous of th Askl
p11 Th actuary at Epidauros Th te ple Th Thy
1 Auxilliary t pl The dormitory Other buildings
with th h ero Stadium nd th ater Th ground Th
pr nt runs Th Asklepi 1on t Ath n Th Askl p11 on
 t Ko The A klep eion t Perga on Adm inistration of
th Askl p11 Th Hier eu A 1st nt priest Th A kl
p1 d 1 Th Hippokratic Oath The cult ritual Th proc
dure at the Askl p1 1a Th ritu l of the i dividual Incuba
tion Th ment l mpre 1on Practical therapeutie Th
use of nmal m th cult S rpent Serp nt l gends Dog Tab
l t r lati g cures Popularity of th Askl piei Re creae
tio Th nk offering Public health fu ctions Public festi
v 1 Festivals t Ath n F estivals at Epidauros Festivals
t Ko F tivals t Pergamon Oth r festiv ls Medie l
progr toward scientie ethod Th cult influenc
R pitu tio Th my tic A kl p10 Amphiaraos Aphro
dt Ap ilo Ari t 1os Art mi Athena Auxesia Damia
De ter Dioni os Eil ithyia Epapho Genetyllis H d s
H k te H lo H ph 1os H r H r kl H r me
Hygi 1 Is Th K b ro1 Kirk Leto M leate Th
Mus Th Nymph Orpheu P in P n P r pho e
Po ido Prom th u Rh S b z10 Sarapis T
phoro Th Trophonio Zu

D migods Heroe and Heroine A sociated
with He ling

Achill Ag d A philocho A ynos (Alkon) A ti
kyreo Ap1 Ari t ho B kis Chiron Th Daktylo1
D 10 Th Dio kouro1 H lena Hero I tro Th Kory
b nt Th Ko r tes M dei M lampou Molp d a Heml
thea Mop o Mous 1 Oion Polyido Prot ilao To
ri [Glyko th f l god or hero]
Supplementary Li t Peronalitie not D1
cussed

Ak id Al nor Al xid Ak id Alk
Amphitrit Darron Dion Epim d Epimenid Eri
bote Euro to Gorg go Hektor Ip h on l (i)o
Ichn 1 Id Ion Iphykl K iro K lech Luno M
 d 10 Medo Nicho cho Ody u Or iloch 1 P ion
 a10 P n kei Peleus Peri ed Phokos Polyd m
 Prokri Sphyro T I on Teukro

CHAPTER VII TH H ALING GOD OF ANCIENT ROME 373

Part I General Survey

Foreign influene m R m n r lgion Th r ult g com
 pl iti Th e rly Roman religion Th piritual world
Th deities the uprem lord Function of deity Th
nture of th religion The great god Th arly anctuary
D Manes, Genuu and Iuno Organ ation of r lgion Th
rituals Augury The Etruse n h ru pue Th or el of
the Cum an Sibyl Three typ of divin ion Th religiou
invasion Greek nd Semitic deitie Magna Mat r Orient l
influences Decline of n tiv religion Gre k influ nc
Emotional cult Furth r decline of the Roman religio
Religiou tolerane Religious r form Growth of Ori nt l
influ nes Orient l religion Astrology S duction of Ori
ent l cults Supre cy of Ori nt l rgion Dow fall of
paganus R ma of th Ro n ft th No pecifie h ling
deit Early efforts for h ling D1 a e d itl P
ience a d d ity AE culapus and lat r pideme Hol
ys s expiations H aling and m gic Patrician h ling
customs Heali g m g neral AE cul piu nd h rl t
Div nation Incubation Lyi g on of hand S er d r
pents nd dogs Votive offering Gre k edicne in Ro
Sec pci tow rd cult h al g

Part II The Healing Deitie

I Roman Deitie (A) Deities of General
Function

Ang ron (or A g ron ) Angiti A n Per mn B
D Caia C ch i (or T n qu) Chittmn F cin
CONTENTS

Faun (F tu , or F tuell ) Faunu (Fatuu Fatuellu or Inuu ) F cundit s Ferom F ona Fortuna Her eule Iupiter Labor Mar Meditrin Min rva Neptunus Norte Picumnus and Pilumnus Picu S lu (or Hygna) S turnu Silv nu Sor nu Strema Tiberinus V cuna

(B) Child birth Deities

C rm nti (or C rm nt ) Comiti Dian Egeria G nti M n Inu (or Inu Lucina) Iuturn M ter M tut N tio (or N co) Ni 1 du Op Virbu

(C) Underworld Deities

C rna Di (Di Pater or Oreu ) L re Pr o rpin

(D) Deities of Disease

Angi a Clo cin Febri M fiti Scabi

II Foreign Deities

Adoni Æcul pnu Apollo Hygri I i M gn M ter Mithr Sabaziu S r pi

Supplement

( ) Minor D itie a d Num na o iat d with Child b r 1 g Antevorta Av rruneu Candehfera Cinxî Curtius D cm D v rra F bru Febru (and F brulis) Fluo ni (or Fluon ) Int rcidona M na Nona Numeri Opn n Partul Prîe Pertund Populon Porrum Potvort Prema Pror (or Prosa) Sntinus and Sen tin Subgu Vagit nu Vitumnu

(b) Minor Deities nd Nu âs associ ted with th C r nd Growth of Childr n from Infancy to M turity Abe on Ad ona Agenoria Alemona Catu Cuba Cunin Domidcaster and Domideca Edu a Fabulinu Fat Scri bund Fortun B rbata Iterduca Iug or Iugali Iug tnu Iuenas Levan L tu Locutius Men Nun din OSSIPAGA Parc Pavni Potin Rumina (or Rumili ) Sntia St tulnu (or Statanu and Statin ) Stimula V tie nu V mh Virgii n i Volumus nd Volumn Volupia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPT VIII THE HEALING GODS OF THE ANCIENT CELTS</strong></td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part I General Survey</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ancient Celt and their records</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Celtic religion</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celtic gods The pantheon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druidism Religious ceremonies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celtic healing tale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'culdron of r nov tion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part II The Healing Deities</strong></td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belenus Borvo or Bermo Brigt, Brignt, or Brigando</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dmona Diane chgt Goibnu Granno Lug Mabon or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapono Miach or Mid ch Mogouno or Mogon Siron Sul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deities of which little is known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abnoba Addu Arduinn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griselic Nymph Ilxto Iv or Ivnu Lh Lhun nu Lenu Luxovius Olotot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequa Sin quati Virotuta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY By Chapters General</strong></td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEX</strong></td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ILLUSTRATIONS

Ašklepios of Melos

Im hotep

Išis with Horus the Child in the Papyrus Swamps

Ea of Eridu

Churning the Ocean of Milk for the Amṛta

The Abaton at Kos

Æsculapius

Frontispiece

Facing Page 32

65

119

175

299

465
INTRODUCTION

It is a matter of common knowledge that from the dawn of history the healing art had been more or less intimately connected with religion. During antiquity the bonds uniting them were inseparable and for many centuries medicine was an integral part of religion. On the free soil of Hellas however restrained by no binding religious traditions and by no hierarchy experience with the remedies of folklore and critical observations of disease permitted by an unfettered personal judgment backed by liberal speculative constructive thought developed under Hippokratic influence a scientific spirit ethical ideals, and a definite line of cleavage. The healing art free for the first time from acerdtoral surveillance directed by an organized priesthood began to be studied on its merit both within and without the temple. The scientific method the germ of all future progress was then introduced and theories were put to the test. The breach with religion once created widened slowly and medicine was independently studied by an ever increasing number of enthusiastic disciples with honest purpose and open analytical mind. Thereafter medicine never ceased to assert its right to its own development but religion always concerned with human destiny physical and spiritual though relaxing its hold continued to retain a powerful influence over the healing art and too often restricted efforts looking to advancement. Notwithstanding persistent struggles for intellectual freedom it was not until the nineteenth century that medicine with
other science gained sufficient headway to break loose from ancient authority and tradition and to find opportunities for unprejudiced investigation experiment and adoption of new principles. During the succeeding years medicine had entrenched itself behind numerous demonstration of newly discovered facts and it has finally been accorded a high place among the sciences although retaining many of its time honored characteristics as an art.

Throughout its history of human progress from the primitive state to the higher intellectual level, the race has shown a strong conservatism of opinion an ever constant tendency to cling to old beliefs and customs while tentatively accepting newer conceptions prompted by a broader better knowledge of the workings of nature laws upon which advances in civilization have been based. Mankind instinctively is dependent upon the Supreme Power for life and all benefits, and it is not a matter for surprise that many in our communities, rejecting modern professional idea of disease its causes and its treatment prefer to rely on the people of old upon divinity for the preservation of health and for relief from all physical ills. The prevalence of this faith side by side with new thought and the many variant form of mental healing resulting from modern psychological studies excite a very special interest in the types of belief of those ancient people who exercised the religious healing function. And suggest a historical study of these beliefs and the methods employed in such healing by the representative of the pagan religions of the pre-Christian era without however, any attempt to appraise the relative values of divine mental and material healing practices.

In the following studies the early types of ancient and primitive healing are considered only as they pertain to
the spiritual beliefs of the people View and opinions of compiler have been avoided unless based upon original or sound collateral evidence and an endeavor has been made to cite original author and document authority whenever possible.

At the outset it should be noted that one of the most important features of the early history of medicine is the essential uniformity in principle of belief prompted by the human religious instinct as they relate to the healing customs of people widely separated by space and time differing only in details of racial and national coloring. All comparative studies support the assumption that prehistoric man did not differ materially from the savage as observed in the modern world and in this fact is found the explanation of the identity of all forms of ancient and primitive medicine and the unity of folklore. Garrisson in his recent work forcibly summarizes these conclusions in the following words:

One of the best accredited doctrines of recent time is that of the unity and solidarity of folklore. The collective investigation of historical ethnology, archeology, philology, and sociology reveals the singular fact that all phases of social anthropology which have to do with instinctive action inevitably converge to a common point of similarity or identity. This is true of all myth upon the law and social customs of primitive people (a al o of the cruder ethnic aspect of religion) which are concerned with the fundamental instinct of life preservation and reproduction. It is possible as we shall see that many of the cultural practice such as mummification, circumcision or the couvade may have been deliberately transmitted by migration from one continent or island and imposed upon others (Elliot Smith). But the fact remains that, for the human action which have been defined as instinctive a base upon the unity which is the mother of invention folklore.

1 A Introduction to the History of Medicine, 3d ed. 1921 p. 17
The mind of savage man is its pathetic effort to form religious and ethical temples for moral and spiritual guidance or to beautify the commoner aspect of life with romance and poetry. He unconsciously taken the same line of late 1eance, followed the same plane of cleavage. The civilized mind differs from the savage mind only in respect of a higher evolutionary development. Human race and social custom have changed as they became more highly specialized. The heart of man remains the same.

It follows that under different aspects and times all phases of folk medicine and ancient medicine have been essentially alike in tendency differing only in unimportant detail. In the light of ethnology, this proposition may be taken as proved. Cuneiform hieroglyphic, runic, birch bark, and palm leaf inscription all indicate that the folk way of early medicine whether Accadian or Scandinavian, Slavic or Celtic, Roman or Polynesian have been the same in each case an affair of charms and pell plant lore and psychotherapy to stave off the effects of supernatural agencies.

The people of the ancient pagan world regarded all natural phenomena the causes of which were not apparent as due to unseen supernatural agencies. They believed that they were surrounded by innumerable invisible spiritual beings of great variety differing widely in character, who possessed supernatural powers by which they energized the nature controlling its forces and directing its process in their infinite detail. Each had the attribute of life and many were believed to be immortal. A few more highly developed in the imagination of the people were personified and received names. They were conceived in the likeness of man they had human traits were endowed with sex, and had families and their characters were a mixture of good and bad. In general those who represented constructive agencies helpful to man were the good spirits while those who were destructive and harmful were, for the most part evil.
spirits Then there were host of other, including the ghosts of the dead who still had power over the living whose ethical character was not clearly defined and who might be either good or bad. The evil spirit greatly outnumbered the good and were ever active in attempt to accomplish malevolent design upon mankind. The spiritual being having both general power and specific functions in nature determined the collective and individual destiny of man, but the powers of the good spirits and deities were as a rule superior to those of evil although they were unable wholly to conquer and control them.

Because of their ethical character and superior power the benevolent deities were regarded as the natural protectors of mankind and the people learned to look to them for benefits in all the exigencies of life for defense against the attacks of those of evil intent and especially for rescue when misfortunes befell.

The deities composing the several national pantheon were conceived in all ranks of dignity and power and for each and every function. There were the great deities of the heavens who were associated with the cosmos, the deities of earth of vegetation, and of the underworld the tutelary gods of tribe and village, of the household the family and the guardian spirit of the individual. Many gods conceived as anthropomorphic were grouped in families or in triads of father, mother and son in enneads or even in double and triple ennead. Some of the deities growing in power and importance absorbed the attributes of lesser gods who were obsoleted or who faded and became obsolescent. Other were syncretized and had many aspects, differing with time and place. All were subject to the political, social, and religious vicissitude of their people, and a nation were conquered or passed away they were lost to memory except a few of the more important who survived in
tradition or who, adopted by victor, secured a place in the records of their respective civilizations. For the most part the gods were identified with political or social organizations and only a few held a place in the true affection of the people.

All the activities of nature were emanations of the will and power of supernatural beings, usually referred to as gods. Divinity was therefore believed to be omnipresent and in its beneficence as the protector of mankind, gave indications of its intent for the future course of events by omen and portent, whence prognostications were of the utmost importance for guidance in all the affairs of life, both public or national and personal. Correct interpretations were earnestly sought, since the success of ruler, the destiny of nations, and the fate of individuals depended upon the forecasts and decision of diviner.

Divination and prophecy standing midway between magic and religion, became important in both national and social life, in the practice of which priests acquired great skill.

Such in brief were the early fundamental beliefs that dominated the outward conduct of ancient peoples and prompted their flattering appeals to their many deities for protection and help in need. But though the official religion as interpreted by their political and religious leaders directed the attention of the populace to the beneficence of their deities, the great mass of the general folk were often imbued with fear and dread of the power of the malevolent gods and demons that they were more inclined to propitiate them than to rely on the worship of their benevolent deities.

Medicine men and magicians appear as the first intermediaries with the spirit world among primitive people. The kings and priests rose above the common people as higher order and king were occasionally regarded a
INTRODUCTION

divinity itself so that many were deified after death. The priests representing the highest learning and culture and the instructor and intellectual leaders of their peoples were skilled in magic and occult practices and according to approved formulas served the people in their appeals to the divinity for health, happiness, prosperity and relief from misfortune.

In the pagan religions, appeal was made to the god by prescribed ceremonies and rituals for the welfare of the community and of the individual. The beneficent divinities were implored to exercise their superhuman divine powers alike in their general and in their special spheres of activity, not only to grant favors but to restrain the powers of evil from carrying out their design to the detriment of man. While the invocations to the malevolent divinities were intended to cause them to depart to exorcise them or to appease, propitiate or coerce them to cease their malignant activities and sometime to induce them to accept a substitute victim. All recourse to the spiritual force of nature was dealing with the occult based upon the belief that man by proper approach could sway or control the god according to his will and the more primitive practices ceremonies and rituals representing this faith partook of the character of magic rather than of worship in its present accepted sense, which became manifest only a religion developed to higher levels. As the ceremonial of these worship are analyzed and the elements which we recognize as magic are differentiated, the manual and many of the oral rite, as the gestures with the wand, the formulas for exorcism, the incantation, the words of power, and the command they appear as the more direct mechanical methods of approach to the spirit world but they were regarded as powerful and essential for the effective coercion and control of inanimate objects and divinity even
INTRODUCTION

of high rank and were believed to be potent to compel them to obey the will and commands of the magician or of the magician priest.

Whether magic preceded religion as its rudimentary form in the evolutionary scale of human history or whether it was identified with its lowest primitive forms has not been determined by any consensus of opinion. Magic and religion had a fundamental unity in the fact that both dealt with the occult, superhuman power of nature in an effort to control them for the benefit of man. They were therefore very nearly akin and in all the great pagan religions they were interfused and indistinguishable so that in the earliest magico-religious formula there appear no appreciable of any distinction between magic and religion whence it is deemed improbable that any such differences between the two as are now recognized existed for the ancients. It is asserted however that a differentiation came to be made in the Semitic religion and that it was the community and not the individual that was the object of the permanent and unfailing help of its deity. It was a national not a personal providence that was taught by ancient religion. So much was the case that in purely personal concern the ancient were very apt to turn, not to the recognized religion of the family or of the State but to magical superstition. The individual was bound to act with the community not for himself alone. In Greece and Rome cults that were foreign, strange, and had no official recognition were magic heterodox inferior and suspect and were frequently regarded as illicit and forbidden by law. Cults


of great variety, however both native and foreign received recognition and in making the distinction between magic and religion the consideration does not appear to have been one of kind but to have been dependent rather upon the popularity influence and aumed usefulness of the cult to the people.

With the advance of ethical conceptions magic was believed to be a bad, religion a good method of approaching the occult. It was conceived that while the malevolent powers might be propitiated and animate objects endowed with activity by the magicians so that both might be compelled by his will the good spirit and deities occupied a sphere beyond man’s control whence their favor could be obtained only by humiliation and conciliation. Although confidence in magic declined and it became more and more definitely allied with black art its superstitions have shown a remarkable permanence and uniformity continuing in the background of the consciousness of the people occasionally leading them astray and only partially restrained by a veneer of the more practical conceptions of advancing knowledge or even by Christianity.

In ignorance of the operation of natural laws divine ascribed to spiritual being of supernatural power the malevolence of demons magic influences enchantments and spells of the black art exercised by a sorcerer, wizard or witch, the evil eye or the act of an enemy or possibly the malady was believed to be superinduced by the gods, and as religious conceptions reached a higher level, it was regarded as a visitation of the wrath of a deity in revenge for some act of omission or commission, neglect, or impiety until finally it was held to be a punishment for sin. The individual fell prey to disease in consequence of these supernatural onslaught while the community, in similar fashion was visited by epidemic
The demons of disease gained entrance to the body through one of its natural openings in an unguarded moment, taking possession and carrying on their destructive work by so eating or gnawing away the ential and other tissues of the body that unless driven out, they might even cause death. Comparing such ancient beliefs with our present knowledge of pathogenesis, they are found strangely similar by simple changes in terms, substituting those of bacteriology and parasitology for the host of unknown and unnamed active living forces the invisible beings of demonology.

Diagnosis was of small importance in religious healing, since the causes of all diseases were believed to be practically the same in kind and were covered in the prescribed magico-religious formulas. Therapeutic methods differed widely in detail but each was based upon ritual of worship, sacrifice, and purification to conciliate and gain the favor of the gods, and to entreat divine intervention for cure or to exorcise the malignant authors of disease to appease, frighten or coax them, or to offer a substitute victim and thus to be rid of them. Such appeals were supported by mystic rites often accompanied by the administration of remedies the exact method of treatment not infrequently being communicated in dreams and visions or by oracles while in the cure of the sick magic was ever an efficient handmaiden of religion. Healing was therefore a mystic process which under the ancient régime often appeared as the successful result of a contest between invisible beings of good and evil or was taken as proof that offended deities had been conciliated and had conferred their favor. Prevention of disease was believed to be obtained by the wearing of amulets and talisman, the power of prophylaxis being derived from some spiritual source, usually because of some inscribed divine words of power.
In theory and in large measure in practice the deities generally were efficacious for healing and any god might exercise his control over the demons of disease to effect a cure or might extend his beneficent power directly for the aid of the suffering. Some divinities however appeared to the people to be more graciously inclined than others to aid the sick and even to be more efficient as healers whence they became favorites and were renowned for their therapeutic benefactions in addition to other functions which they might have. A few developed as specialists but the majority exercised their healing power sporadically and in special instances or they were merely patrons of the healing art and had little or no active function.

Such in general terms were the beliefs and customs of the ancient pagan civilizations in the matter of religious therapeutics. In this connection it should be remembered however that in most countries herein referred to there were physicians who practiced independently and by ide with temple healing. Some were governed by custom others by law. It is assumed that for the most part they gathered their medical knowledge from folklore and experience or from the priestly class and it is known that they frequently cooperated with the priest to whom they looked for guidance. Such independent work undoubtedly had a very definite influence on the development of the various ancient theories of disease and on the more material practical therapeutics, forming scientific method and a gradual relaxation of the hold of religion on the healing art but for these coincident phases in the history of medicine the reader is referred to the many general treatises on the subject.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW  Abhandlung n der königlich n Akadémie der Wissenschaften und der Philologischen Gesellschaft

AF  Alterntumliche Forschungen

AJA  Am. Journ. of Arch. Ology

AJP  Am. Journ. of Philology

AJSL  American Journ. of Semitic Languages and Literatures

AKAW  Anzeigen der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur

AMH  Annals of Medical History

AMWL  Allgemeine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur

AP  Anthropological Papers

APA  Abhandlungen der königlich preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

BAM  Bulletin de l'Academie de Médecine

BCH  Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BIA  Bulletino dell'Instituto di Correspondenza archeologica

BKSGW  Bericht über die Verhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

BMJ  British Medical Journal

BOL  British Register of Orts and Roads

CIA  Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum

CIG  Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum

CIGGS  Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum et Romanarum

CIL  Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CIR  Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum

CIS  Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum

CINC  Cinaische Nachrichten, Curtius

CMV  Th. K. Cam. M. moral Volu

CSHD  Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Driessler

EB  Encyclopedia Britannica


ER  Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics

ERE  Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics

ESE  Ephemeris für den Aegyptischen und Altorientalischen Kunde

GIPA  Grundriß der Denkmal von Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaft

IF  Indogermanische Forschungen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td>Inscription Grææe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGA</td>
<td>Inscriptione Græææ Antiquis inæ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal a latique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMA</td>
<td>Journal of the American Medical Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBASE</td>
<td>Journal of the British American Archeological Society of Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCP</td>
<td>J hrbucher fur d sasche Philologi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHS</td>
<td>Journal of Hellenic Studie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>Kleine Schriften</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAIA</td>
<td>Mittheilungen de kai erch deut chen archaeologi chen In stituts in Athen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAIBL</td>
<td>Mémoire de l Institut national de France Académie des Incription et Belles Lettre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAR</td>
<td>Mythology of All Races</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>M'lang 'gyptologique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVG</td>
<td>Mitth ilung n der vorderasiati chen Ge ell ch ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMBIF</td>
<td>Notice s t xtrait de manu eurit d l Bibliothèque im p ri le t utr bibloth'qu L Institut d périal d Fr nc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYHSQB</td>
<td>N w York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCC</td>
<td>Proceeding of the Ch r ka Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRSM</td>
<td>Proceeding of th Roy 1 Soci ty of M dic S ction of the Hi tory of M dicn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSBA</td>
<td>Proc eding of th Soci ty of Biblical Arch ology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue archéologique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Revue Itique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Revue égyptologique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMC</td>
<td>Revu il d Étude 'gyptologiques d'diée à l mémoire d Jan Fr nçois Champolhon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revu d l'histoire des religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Revu nummatique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Record of th Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTPA</td>
<td>Revu il d tr v ux r latif ' l Philologi t ' l Arch olo gie égypti nne et assyri nne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RVV</td>
<td>Religion g chichthich V rsche und Vorarbeiten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGAS</td>
<td>Studien auf de G bi te der græchsch ch n und der arischen Sprachen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIG</td>
<td>Sylllog Inscriptionum Græarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGAA</td>
<td>Untersuchung n ur Geschicht und Altertumskunde Agypten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS

ZA Zeitchrift für Ägyptische Sprach und Altertumskunde
ZDMG Zeitschrift für deutsche morgenländische Geschichte

The following authors mentioned for their work given:
Pulyi Wissowa, Reich Ausführliche Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie
CHAPTER ONE

EGYPTIAN GODS
CHAPTER ONE
THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The civilization of Egypt

The ancient Egyptians were a people of superior attainments. The condition in the Nile valley being favorable to life and conducive to prosperity, the people utilized their advantages, developed their resources and were at least on a par with their contemporaries as pioneers and leaders in the arts of civilization.

Egyptologists assert that the more they learn of ancient Egypt the more complete and far-reaching it civilization is found to have been. The attainment of their learned men were recognized and admired by their contemporaries and the repute of their age for wisdom was proverbial, while they were equally renowned for their skill in healing disease (Herodotos iii, 1 132). Many of the earlier kings as well as those of the Thinites in the fourth millennium B.C., and of the Third Memphite Dynasty, are reputed to have been versed in medical lore and a chief priests to have practiced healing among their peoples. Specialists were attached to the court of kings and several physicians and superintendents of physicians were renowned and respected that their names were recorded on stone and are known to us. The foundations of Egyptian medicine were laid in prehistoric times.

1 Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, 1 118
G Foucart, Disease and Medicine (Egyptian) in ERE iv 751
of healing disease, devised by the gods and communicated to their representatives the priests were not subject to improvement by man; hence they were jealously guarded preserved and became traditional. Although the practice in the different parts of the Valley may have varied in influenced by the special religious belief of the various healing centers the information now available does not permit of making distinctions either for place or for possible changes in the course of the widely separated period of ancient Egyptian history. It is believed, however, that the methods of healing developed in the early centuries were as conservatively followed without material change in principle as were the religious beliefs and customs with which they were associated and of which they were an integral part.

The Pyramid Texts

The first glimpse of the early civilization of Egypt furnished by the Pyramid Texts from her oldest monument indicate that, in the fourth and third millennium B.C., she was already far advanced in her intellectual and spiritual development. At that early date Egypt had developed the peculiar beliefs and had adopted the custom and practices which influenced her whole religious career. Although characterized by a strong conservatism for previous concept, political and tribal rivalries as well as moral and philosophical development played active part in Egypt's long history resulting in an unfolding and a formation of conception of divinity and its powers and many changes occurred in the religion of the several district or nome, often politically detached into which the long valley of the Nile was divided. Gods and cults were blended by peaceful combinations or were fused by conquest with a compounding of name a disguising of

myths, and a mass of surprising inconceivabilities that have bewildered all late observers.

Egyptian reticence

The priests were extremely reticent respecting their religion, and such explanations as they made in response to inquiries were in enigmatical terms hints of half truth, mystical suggestions, and intimations of symbols which confused their hearers and served further to obscure the meaning of their religious rites rather than reveal their entreaty. The Egyptians believed that words are a great mystery. The Divine Books and the books of the double house of life were accredited and none but the initiated were permitted to see them. It is not to be looked at (Papyrus Leyden, 348 recto 27) by any except him for whom it was intended. The eye of no man whatsoever must see it. It is a thing of abomination for [every man] to know it. Hide it therefore the Book of the Lady of the Hidden Temple is its name. The Egyptians, however, illustrated and liberally portrayed the practical application of their religious belief and custom on their monument, but they were silent concerning their philosophy and theology while it is doubted whether they ever attempted to formulate theories or to establish principles.

Character of the early religion

The religion of the Egyptians appears to have had its origin in animism out of which its polytheistic pantheon is assumed to have developed. From prehistoric times it had grown out of their crude beliefs and without control or guidance had evolved the innumerable traditional

4 Breasted Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p 369
Budge Egyptian Magic, p 116 also Baillet Idées morales et Égypte antique, pp 72 75
Muller Mythology, Egypt n, pp 15 214
THE HEALING GODS

myths of the many independent deities of the Nile valley. It presented itself to a late observer [Herodotos] as a religion of innumerable external observances and mechanical usage carried out with such elaborate and insistent punctiliousness that the Egyptians gained the reputation of being the most religious of all peoples. The earliest glimpses of the life of the people the evidences of the Pyramid Age show that they were pious and devout (Herodotos ii 64) tenacious and sincere in their beliefs, and with a high moral discernment for truth, righteousness and justice. These sentiments influenced their daily life and by such standards they were judged after death. Moral purity and justice in this life gained for them a life after death in many respects like unto that upon earth.

**Egyptian deities**

The recognized religion of the Egyptians was based upon polytheism. Although some Egyptologists find suggestions that a belief which may practically be characterized as monotheistic was ancient when the pyramids were built more particularly in the cult of Osiris and as early as 3300 B.C. it never gained definite recognition or influence not even in the ephemeral religious revolution of Aten. In their primitive day the Egyptians had conceived the force of nature and other influences affecting their lives as living, breathing, thinking beings, revealed and manifested in various forms as fetishes in wood or stone or as abiding in animals, birds and reptiles, so that earth, air, and fire teemed with spirits of all sorts carrying on the works of nature and aiding or obstructing mankind. The Egyptian deities were developed from among

---

7 Br. ted, op. cit., p 367

Ib., pp 165 ff

A. H. Gardin, *Egypt, Ancient Religion,* in *EB* ix, 52

10 Budge, *Gods,* i 119 147 al o Br. ast d op. cit., p
these pirts Mythical tale were conceived concerning them and they acquired per onal trait qualities func
tion powers and attributes God for all function were evolved according to the expanding intellectualpiritual
and imaginary need of the people and their leaders and the e divinitie had nature like unto those of man al
though with greater powers of concentrating their en
ergie they were superior to humanity They had need of
food and drink they had passions and emotion of grief
and joy they were subject to disease nd de th they
grew old and had the infirmities of age became enfeebled
tottered druled and were helples and finally like man
they went forth to the tomb and were there subjected to
the same moral inquisition11 Their bodie were mummi
fied and preserved in appropriate tombs but the pirit of
the divinity wa transferred to the mummy or to an
image of the god nd dwelt therein the god or godde re
ceiving the same homage and worship a before

Deities incarnate in animals

Apparently a an outgrowth of prehistic animistic be
lief 1 the pirts of the divinitie were incarnate in the
form of certain animal bird and reptiles As repre
ntative of their re pective deitie uch aced animals
received hom ge and developed cultic wor hip (Herodo
tos η 65 66) 1 Very early certain other god and god
des es were conceived as having human bodie with the
head of the animal or bird that was identified with them
and the name became a distinctive part of the title of
the divinity a the ibi headed Thoth (or Thout) the
hawk headed Horus and the lion headed Sekhmet14 A

11 M pero The History of Egypt, Ch 1de, Syria, Babylon and As
syria, i 151, 162, 225 ff al o Müller op cit, p 80
1 Muller op cit, p 159
1 Budde op cit, η 345 ff 7
14 Gardiner, op cit, p 50
THE HEALING GODS

few deities particularly Osiris and Ptah were represented with human heads and faces and it has been suggested that this may be attributable to a possible Semitic origin or as being examples of the deification of ancient rulers. Emblems often suggestive of their function were acquired and these together with the animal form served to identify the gods in pictorial representations in the tombs and on the monuments. Such characterizations were constant from very ancient times and became distinctive of the divinity except that in subsequent syncretisms deities borrowed the heads and emblems of other god as indicative of additional function and aspect which they had assumed although the worship of Osiris Neith and Hathor as known in late periods retained many of the characteristic aspects shown by pre Dynastic and archaic monuments.

Local deities

Each political district (or nome) city and tribe throughout the Nile valley had its own local divinity who bestowed life health and prosperity upon his or her people who was its patron protector and ruler, whose divine sovereign power was recognized and whose supremacy was upheld against all rivals. The real names of the gods were known only to the priests if at all they were too sacred to be mentioned whence the deity received substitute names some being best known by their home eats as He of Edfu (Tbôt) or She of Dendera (Enet). Such deities might be either male or female and there was usually a consort possibly a neighboring god or goddess and a child making a triad or family of divinities. At the seats of the greater deities the number asso

---

1 K. S. Thomas, Heroes and Hero Gods (Egyptian), in ERE vi 648
2 Budg. op. cit., 195 f.
3 G. Foucart, Nams (Egyptian), in ERE i 153
THE EGYPTIAN DEITIES

cated in the sanctuary was frequently larger an ennead at Heliopolis (An or On) or a circle of associated gods a that surrounding Thoth at Hermopolis (Khmunu) and there was sometimes a double or triple ennead. Each nome and city had its temple sacred to its official deity and lesser divinities associated with the chief god were a signed shrines in the sanctuary relative to their importance receiving appropriate hares in the worship and sacrifices. Each family almost each individual possessed a god or fetish who had a niche or shrine in the household and who was loved, respected, worshipped consulted and obeyed as the family or personal guide in the various contingencies of life. A nome and city in increased in importance their respective deities developing independently of each other advanced in prestige and formed relations friendly or otherwise with neighboring gods. Myths and tales were repeated and the local divinities often became famed beyond their borders for certain functions and attributes. Local priests were quick to take advantage of any opportunity to enhance the position of their god frequently accomplishing it by blending with a more important deity. Thus at Heliopolis the nome god Atum was united with the great sun god Re and became the more dignified Atum Re rising in rank by reflected glory and appropriating his attributes and his powers. In such cases the local divinity did not lose his identity but gained in prestige by the additional aspect of a composite character. Thus Horu was syncretized and presided over three nomes in Upper and two in Lower Egypt while Hat hör had five seats in Upper and one in

1 Budg, op cit, p 216
2 Ma pro op cit, p 172 ff
Muller op cit, pp 202 204
1 Budg op cit, p 175
1 Ib, p 102
Lower Egypt. Such syncretism became a common practice. Local deities assumed correlation with the great gods used their attributes and exercised their power with resulting conflicts of personality, indistinctness of character, fanciful variations and a mystic confusion that is bewildering to the stranger though it apparently enhanced the beauty of the mythological conception for the Egyptian imagination. Thereafter the great god could best be identified by their original residences as Re of Heliopolis or Hat hör of Dendera.

**Cosmic and tribal gods**

Two phenomena appear to have been prominent in the development of the religious thought of ancient Egypt. First the sun, the most insistent fact in the Nile valley, or the solar system, and second the life giving Nile. Very early the gods were conceived as being of two groups: those representing the cosmic forces of nature, the sun, moon and stars, the atmosphere, and earth, which are referred to as the solar group and the tribal or official divinities of the nomes and cities. In the solar pantheon, the sun was viewed differently in various places and had several names. At Edfu he appeared as a falcon, as a winged disk (Hor or Horu) or as Har akhtny Horn of the Horizon, and there were four Horus in the Eastern Sky. The sun disk with falcon's wings was one of the most common symbols of Egyptian religion. In many places the sun was a winged beetle Kheprī rising in the eastern sky, the maternal sun of noon day was Re, and the evening sun Atum appeared at Heliopolis as an old god.

Moore *The History of Religions*, p 146
Müller *op cit.*, p 92
Budg *op cit.*, pp 9f
man tottering to his grave in the west. Originally distinct these ungod were correlated Horus became the son of Re and they coalesced a Re Atum (Pyramid Texts, §§1694-1695) The moon Thoth an eye of the sun god was called the ‘Horus eye’ and this was the holy t ymbol of Egypt Horu · wa supposed to prepare th way for Re when he opened his eyelid dawn pappeared when he clo ed them the du k of night fell Re the Horu eye traversed h1 kingdom across the sky by day in h1 Boat of Millions of Years returning to the east by an other boat by a pa age through Duat (the Underworld) or by way of the dark north. 0 Íbis headed Thoth wa the moon god Qēb was the earth god and Nut h1 consort wa the sky godde s supported by Shu god of the atmos phere Numberless deities were developed for minor functions

The rise of Re

In the earliest temples the sun god was the source of life and increase. The priests of Re at Heliopolis fostered the solar theology and during the Fifth Dynasty (circa 2750 B.C.) it was established as the state religion. Re thus becoming the universal divinity of Egypt. 1 though he was not the nome god but a deity of priests Atum the nome god of Heliopoli gained prestige by his assimilation with Re and it then became popular for other local deities to identify themselves with Re so that in the end Re was combined with nearly every deity of Egypt. Ptah being a notable exception. The process of assimilation continued until after 1600 B.C when it ended with a radical yncr

Mull r op c t, p 83
Breasted op c t, p 10 1 o Budge op c t, p 352

0 Budg op c t 1 206 ff al o Breast d op c t, p 144 W M
Flinder P trie, “Egyptian Religion in ERE v 244

1 Moore, op c t, p 153
Budge op c t, 1 330 333 349
THE HEALING GODS

tim in the pantheistic approach to monotheism et forth by Aten. The sun god was believed to be an ally and protector of the kings of Egypt who about the Fifth Dynasty assumed the title 'Son of Re' every Pharaoh thenceforth claiming to be a divine incarnation a living representation of the sun god a bodily son of Re by his queen mother and often acting as the first priest in official ceremonies as an intercessor for the people.

No uniformity of belief

The gods and the beliefs associated with them never had any general acceptance throughout the Nile valley views differed in each district and in each age and it has been said that there was no such thing as the Egyptian religion but that rather during thousand of year there were ever varying mixtures of theologies and eschatologies in the land, though the funerary side of the religion became better known than any other.

Osiris and Isis

According to the myths of the Pyramid Texts Osiris of Mendes (Dêdu) in the Delta was the Nile god the fertilizer of the soil and the beneficent deity of vegetation while his sister and consort Isis of Buto (Per nazit or Per uzoit) also in the Delta represented the rich black soil of the Valley and was the divinity of love and fecundity. Osiris also symbolized the doctrine of the after life the future life in the grave an early feature of Egyptian religion thought and the tomb was the kingdom of

---

2 Muller op cit., pp 28 21, 224 ff
4 Brttd op cit., p 15 Budg op cit., 1 329
Müllr op cit., p 170
Not an early example if of the origin, of the id of virgin birth
7 Ptri in ERE v 236
Br ted, op cit., p 143
Osin. Between the sun god Re and Osiris as the deity of the Underworld there existed from the beginning a serious rivalry for the highest place in religion and this continued throughout the many centuries of Egypt's history until after the Christian era.

**The Osirian myth**

According to the myth, which has many variations, Osiris had incurred the enmity of his brother Seth who murdered him and threw his body into the Nile where it was found by Isis and by the aid of Thoth was temporarily restored to life. His posthumous son the child Horus seeking justice for his father introduced him into the Great Hall at Heliopolis for justification from the charge brought by Seth before the tribunal of the gods and at the trial the accuser was defeated by Horus with the moon god Thoth as the ally and advocate of Osiris or s Judge of the Rivals who reconciled the gods while Osiris was vindicated ('ju tiffed') by the gods and was made Lord of the Underworld and Judge of the Dead superseding Anubis (Anupu) the old Lord of the Sepulchre. According to another form of the myth the body of Osiris was dismembered and scattered by Seth who diligently sought and gathered up by the faithful Isis put together by Thoth embalmed by Anubis and placed in the tomb at Abydos (Abotu) of which he became lord, whence that necropolis was thereafter the center of his cult this concept of him overshadowing his aspect as the Nile god. In his person Osiris had suffered indignity and death at the hands of his enemies, had risen from the dead and had made his moral justification before his judge being

---

Muller, *op cit*, pp 72-73

4 Muller *ibid*, pp 117-118 also Boylan *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p 42

41 H pr presented s a fat man wa l o a Nile god
awarded everlasting life in the Land of the West, and later a more glorified existence in the Eastern Sky. The Osiran doctrine was a popular one, but while it was accepted by the more cultured and refined among the people, it did not satisfy their aspirations. Though it gave to every Egyptian the hope of securing moral purification after death of attaining everlasting life and of becoming an Osiris.

**Trial of the dead**

The Judgment scene in Amenti, of which there are three accounts, a part of the *Book of the Dead* and the most common in the papyri, is depicted on the walls in many tombs. The deceased is conducted to the trial chamber, the Hall of Ma at by Thoth and his heart is weighed in the Great Balance against an ostrich feather representing Ma at the goddess of right and truth by Anubis superceded by Thoth who records the result and reports it to Osiris (*Book of the Dead*, ch p cxxv). The deceased is then led before his judges Osiris and the forty-two counsellors by Horus and there makes his profession of a moral just and pure life on earth denying all wrong. In the Negative Confession of which there are several versions the deceased addresses Osiris as follows:

Homage to thee, O Great god thou Lord of Ma at. I have come to thee, O my lord, and I have brought myself hither that I may behold thy beauty. I know thee and I know thy name, and I know the name of the two and forty gods who exist with thee in the Hall of Ma at who live on evil doers and devour their blood. Hail to thee great Lord of Truth. Behold I come to thee, I bring to thee righteous names and I expel for thee in I have committed no again to the people. I have not

---

*4* Boyce in *op. cit.*, p 142

don evil in the place of truth I knew no wrong I did no evil thing I did not do that which the god bominates I did not report evil of a servant to his mater I allowed no one to hunger I caused no one to weep I did no murder I did not command to murder I caused no man misery I did not diminish the food in the temple I did not decrease the offering of the god I did not take away the food offering of the dead I did not diminish the grain measure I did not load the weight of the balance I did not withhold the herd of the temple endowment I did not interfere with the god in his payment I purified four times I made a thousand Phoenix pure which I took Hierakonpolis (Henen neut) For I made no evil of the Lord of Breath who keep alive all the people There is no evil thing gained in the land in the Hall of Mamet because I know the name of the god who are therein, the follower of the Great God

If the deceased is found true of speech the god says Pás onward and he is guided by Horus After traversing the Seven Hall of Osiris and answering correctly the names of the many pylon and other questions the god of the pylons says Pás on thou art pure and he becomes one of the People of the West in the land of Sekhet Earu or Field of Rushe By the ide of the Great Balance its a monster Sobk the ‘Devoures’, with the body of a hippopotamus and the jaws of a crocodile to whom Anubis tosses the hearts which do not weigh against the feather of the unfortunate who fail to justify themselves or of those who are condemned to torments or to punishments that mean annihilation or long agony

The Book of the Dead and ‘Coffin Texts’

In order to pass the ordeal successfully and to become one of the blessed enjoying everlasting life in the Land of the West, the deceased must not only know the names of

---

\* Budg, M gren, p 167
\* Muller, op cit, pp 148 179 180
his judges the counsellors and other persons and things he meets on his journey but he must be prepared to avoid the pitfalls and dangers of the passage to his final resting place. I know you and I know your names, therefore know ye me even as I know your names. Accordingly all the necessary information was prepared and buried with the dead lists of names prayer texts hymns of praise and especially magic words of power to enable him to answer all questions correctly and to arrive at his final home in the 'Field of Rushes, the celestial realm of the early king'. The dead are glorious by reason [mean] of their equipped mouths. King Unas at his burial (3300 B.C.) was provided with a book of words of power in which it was stated that the bone and flesh which possess no writing are wretched but behold the writing of Una is under the great seal and behold it is not under the little seal. The devouring crocodile was held back by these mean 'Get thee back return, get thee back thou crocodile fiend Sobk Thou shalt not advance to me, for I live by reason of the words of power I have with me or I am clothed and wholly provided with thy magical word O Re the which are in heaven above me and in the earth beneath me. These matters are contained in the Pyramid Texts originally the mortuary customs for kings engraved on the walls of the royal tombs but after the Old Kingdom the belief in the effectiveness of the uttered word developed to such an extent that they were appropriated by the middle and official classe thus coming to represent a similar funerary literature of the populace of the Feudal Age.

The texts were written on rolls of papyrus which have

4 Budge op cit, p 165
47 Brindley op cit, p 94
4 Budge op cit, p 124
4 Ibid pp 126, 127
commonly come to be called the Book of the Dead, the official version, which was built up gradually and which became standardized some time even canonically in the Saite period, finally containing 165 chapters. Copies of extracts from these documents about equally divided between the popular mortuary literature and the Pyramid Texts were supplied by the priests to the coffin maker of the Feudal Age, and scribes copied them in pen and ink on the inner surface of the cedar coffin in writing the name of the deceased whence they came to be known as 'Coffin Texts' 50. In some of the copies the successful issue of the trial as anticipated by the deceased and his friends was depicted and the word *ju-ta-ti* was appended to his name on the tomb 1.

*The life in the tomb*

In the cult of the dead the after life in the tomb in Amenti, was an active one similar in many respects to that on earth and a text in the *Book of the Dead*, chap cx gives a man power of 'doing everything even as a man doeth on earth'. While the present life was in every way preferable that of the dead was not gloomy but was joyous and happy if their wants were supplied though neglect rendered their existence correspondingly wretched. Those in the tomb required food, drink, clothing, utensils and servants (*ushebtiu*) as when on earth but for these they were entirely dependent on the good will and sacrifices of their family, their friends and those who followed them. Since therefore there was constant dread that their stores in the tomb should fail endowments were established to guard against such a contingency and other

---

50 Gardiner, in *EB* ix, 56

measures were taken that the supply should be continuous and permanent. Providing for the deceased became a heavy financial burden upon the people until it was finally lifted by the ingenuity of the priests with the aid of the magic of daily life which was brought more and more to bear on the hereafter and which was increasingly placed at the service of the dead. All things pictured on the walls of the tomb mystically became real and alive, ready for the service of the occupant by the mere magic of word formulas. Hence all the needs of life including arable fields and servant and animals to work them were imitated in figure or were portrayed on the wall and when given a name they supplied all wants, thus permanently securing the future comfort of the departed by the things which chanted declamation make real. Appeal to passers-by were engraved on the tombs, requesting them to utter a prayer, to recite the magic formulas that procured those essentials for the happy life of the dead saying: It will cost but a breath of the mouth. It may be noted that wild and dangerous animals such as lions and elephants were often pictured incomplete and as lacking an essential part if it was thought that they might be dangerous to the occupant when they became alive.

The soul and the body

The Egyptian believed that both gods and men were composed of at least two elements, a body and a soul. The body had a double, a *ka*, an incorporeal reflection which

4 *Ib*, pp. 294 ff.
Müller *op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff.
Foucart *ERE* ix 152

7 Gardiner *in EB* i 56, *Isocolled* *op. cit.*, pp. 272 ff.
P. Lacau "Suppression des modifications de signes dans l'écriture funéraire," *in ZA*, 1914, l, 164.
wa born with him and which awaited him at the tomb as a kind of superior genius to act as his monitor and guide.

When a man or god died it was said that he had gone to live with his ka, which dwelt in the sky when it was a god or a king. In the tomb of King Pepi who died about 3200 BC it was recorded that Pepi goeth forth with his happy with his name and he liveth with his ka, he [the ka] expel the evil that is before Pepi he removes the evil that is behind Pepi. (Pyramid Texts 908)

The soul or ba, associated with the breath was depicted as a bird with a human head hovering over the mouth of the deceased giving him breath with his wings and awakening him to the after life. The body remained on earth and the soul dwelt above; nor did the soul or shadow of a divinity differ from those of a man except that they were stronger and more ethereal. The amuletic sa, circulating among the gods gave greater vigor which they could transmit to man and when they became exhausted they renewed their strength at the Pond of Sa in the Northern Sky.

The Sacred Eastern Sky

The Osirian heaven wa in the gloomy west the Field of Rushes or Earu and Osiris was Lord of the People of the West. From earliest times the kings of Egypt and later (2950–2475 BC) the nobles and great men had been accorded a happier celestial realm where they blended with Horus the sky god and where they were given a seat in the Sacred Eastern Sky. Even from the beginning the bitter rivalry for the highest place in Egyptian religion.

Breasted op cit., pp 52 ff
Budge Magic, p 158, al o Breasted op cit., p 53
Breasted op cit., pp 56 ff
Mapro, op cit., I, 151
Breasted, op cit., p 139
THE HEALING GODS

had continued The solar theologians of Heliopolis had actively supported the claims of Re and had succeeded in advancing him to supremacy but the ethical teachings of the Osiran faith made a powerful appeal to the common people and had a rapid growth after the Pyramid Age gaining strong adherents and attaining such influence that the cult became a dangerous rival to the adoration of Re. During the Middle Kingdom the worship of Osiris made irresistible progress gained moral supremacy and confusions developed between Osiris and Re. Osiran theology was combined with that of Heliopolis and the Osiran hereafter was celestialized and received an honored place in the happier celestial realm in the Sacred Eastern Sky which was reached by a ladder or by a boat the Boat of Million of Years of which Re was the ferryman or which was guided by the strange ferryman whose face was backward.

**Spirits and demons**

Reflecting the ideas of prehistoric animism the Egyptians imagined that every living being or thing had its spirit or demon and that spirits existed in vast number in the heavens, earth and nether world. They were never specifically good or bad in origin or disposition but in their development, according as they were controlled or directed by a master spirit or by a personal whim, some proved friendly to man while others were hostile. Spirit became detached from their objects and as they emerged and were recognized they received names and might become deities. The classes of spirits were not clearly defined.

---

4 Bräted op cit, p 285

5 Br, pp 148 153, 158 iso Budg Gods, i, 167 11, 241

6 Muller op cit, pp 58, 176 the same Budged op cit, pp 157 ff

7 For a general survey of the subject see G. Foucart 'Demons and Spirits (Egyptian) in ERE iv, 584 589 the same Budged, op cit, i, 3 ff.
fined though they ranked between gods and the king and queen, but there were the baui and the khuu, the latter being also the name for the ghosts of the dead. These terms were interchangeable for a time but later the baui appeared more beneficent and the khuu more maleficent although the essential natures of demons and gods were the same. Then there were the rekhtuu (the knowing ones the wise) who though full of wisdom were mischievous and were the personifications of the powers opposed to the deities. There was also the great and powerful master spirit of evil the serpent Apop the arch fiend who represented darkness who was spiritually opposed to Re and who with his fiends as the children of rebel lion was equally hostile to man. Each morning he fought with Re to prevent the rising of the sun and though he was always defeated he renewed the struggle daily to continue the darkness. The god of Upper Egypt Seth, the brother of Osiris and Isis in early times beneficent a friend of Horus (Pyramid Texts, 141 370 473) and a helper of the dead, became the deadly enemy of Osiris and of Horus the child thu developing into a persistent doer of wickedness to whom were attributed most of the misfortunes and calamities befalling mankind. In late times he was known to the Greeks as Typhon. Malignant spirits, like gods were syncretized and blended and Seth Apop became a composite agent of evil.

In the Book of the Dead the innumerable evil spirits receive much attention. The e being like the ghosts of the dead were recognized in religion and were made

Sethe in ERE vi 647
Muller, op cit, pp 379 380 notes 18 31

7 Ib, p 104

71 Budg op cit, i 109, 324

7 Ib, i 324, ii 245

7 Foucart in ERE iv 585
prominent by many magic practices yet it appears that they were more important in the imagination of the people than in the minds of the priests for they were not officially listed they did not form a fixed caste or develop into a demoniacal hierarchy and there were no such monsters hideous and bloodthirsty as those of Assyria and Babylonia The contest to overcome the malign influence of maleficent print wa constant and it received the earntention of the people but they were not oppressed by such fear a were many of their contemporaries Sêth and his partisans were definite and active spirits creating evil spreading disease madness and all forms of malignity their eyes shed tears that dropping upon the ground made plant poisonou their sweat saliva and blood were deadly and falling upon the earth germinated into scorpions venomous reptiles and strange deadly plant 7 There were print for each mischief of every rank chief and attendant, but all were subject to the higher will of their leaders and of the gods and their ministers who possessed the secret names and words of power

The priesthood

Egypt had numerous temples in the nomes and citie of the Nile valley and a retinue of priests priestesses and lay attendants varying in number according to the importance of the sanctuary was attached to each 7 All were governed by strict rules and traditions and purity in everything connected with the shrine was invariably an essential The priests were divided into classes differing in rank and each having special duties which were exacting and onerous and lay priests served for one fourth of each year The temple duties commenced early

74 M pero op cit , 1 225
75 A M Bl ekm n, Pri st Pri esthood (Egypti n), in ERE , 293 302 l o Bre ted History, p 64
in the morning with the breaking of the clay seals which protected the sacred rooms and with the routine ritual of personal attentions to the deities these consisting of the toilet of the god (washing anointing and perfuming the idol and burning incense before it) chanting hymn bowing in adoration and making acrifice and libations. Then followed numerous rite and ceremonies which continued during the day and often into the night and there were all the special ceremonies of the several festival. The priests cared for the sacred book upheld the supremacy of their local divinity and when possible enhanced their reputation and position by relation with other deities. Sacerdotal schools each known as the house of life (per 'onkh) were conducted in connection with the temples of the greater gods as at Heliopolis Hermopolis Abydos and Thebes (West or Newt). During the New Empire the priesthood and the sacerdotal college growing in wealth acquired great influence and power in matter political so that the Pharaoh consulted the priests in state affair bowing to their dictate while the chief priest of Amon of Thebes was made primate of Egypt.

Religious festivals

Egypt was extremely rich in festival and fasts up to one thousand for all period and place being listed and these formed an important element in the daily and religious life of the people. A large number were in honor of the god while others were to celebrate important events such as the seasons the arrival of the river or the opening of the canals. Festivals were held to ex

7 A M Blackman, Worship (Egyptian) in ERE v1 776 782
87 Moore op cit, p 156
7 Breton Dev op t, p 363
6 Foucart, 'F riv ls and Fa t (Egyptian) in ERE v 853 857
10 P tre, in ERE v 238 ff
change visits between the divinities of different cities a
between Horus of Edfu and Hat hór of Dendera, long reti
nue of priests and attendant accompanying the deities
and during the ceremonies sacred dramas were per-
formed based upon some legendary incident in the lives
of the gods as at the festival of Horus at Edfu and in
celebration of the mysteries of Osiris at Abydos. The
fe tivals of the divinities of the dead were of a funerary
character and those of Osiris were fused with those of
the cycle of the cult of Ptah Sokar Osiris. Festivals lasted
for days weeks and even a month and were occa sions
for general rejoicings with music dancing and often
noisy licentious gaiety.

*Egyptian magic*

Like peoples of other races the Egyptian sought to
better their condition and destiny by enlisting the aid of
upernatural force to modify the natural order and
acting upon their belief that the god and variou spirits
had the requisite power they entered into dealings with
them by method known as *hike*, the best Engli h equiv-
lent for which is magical power. An essential element in
all such dealings was mystery and they had the clear im-
plication of demand upon the unseen for the exercise of
upernatural miraculous power for the benefit of the
living action which when analyzed are found to be
magical leaving little that may be described a religion.
Hence it is claimed that from the Egyptian point of view
there was only *hike*, but no such thing a religion which
would be considered in the tripartite division of a active
aspect into the worship of the gods cult of th dead and
magic. In the estimation of the people *hike* was effica

---

0 Moret *Myst' re egypti ns*, pp 15 ff. *Idem*, My teri (Egypti n) in *ERE* 74.77
1 A H G rdnner "Magic (Egyptian) " in *ERE* VIII 262 269 10
Er n *Die Agyptisch R ligion*, 2d ed., chapters 1 vi
ciou and was consequently held in high esteem. Magic was an essential element of the so-called religion. It was applied in religion and ritual, and ceremonies were full of it. There was even a deified concept of 'hike', a special divinity (who may have been a form of Thoth) - the god of magic. The Magic Formulas, who in the Pyramid Texts were represented as sphinx, were a scourge, a shepherd, and the scepter of venerability or life. Physicians of the Old Kingdom were priests of Hike, and several well-known divinities Thoth, Isis, Re, and Seth were called great of the magic formula.

**Divine magic**

The magic of the gods differed from that of man only in its superior power. Possession of the secret names of deity gave dominance over demons and over all evil spirit, enabling the magician to compel divinities of inferior rank to that of the deity whom he invoked and whose true name he knew to do his will. Hence both god and men sought diligently to obtain the secret name of the mightiest divinity. The mere possession was sufficient, the name was seldom pronounced and the few secret names that are mentioned in the text appear to be cabbalistic gibberish. It is related that Isis, ro e from a lowly rank in the house of Re and became the great enchantress of Egypt by her guile, tricking the 'un god into yielding up his true name to her.'

Budg *op cit*, 1 33
Wiedmann *Magie und Zaubere im alten Agypte*, p 23
*M. Nett*, *Les Muses* b s d v' ci en p r, p 96
G. Räin r, in *EB* 1 56
Muller *op cit*, pp 200 201 also Wi. *deman* *op cit*, pp 143 145

Budg *op cit*, 1 360 f nd for th yth r lat d in v r
Mull *op cit*, pp 80 83
The healing gods

In order to approach the supernatural agencies by usefulnessful magic it was necessary to break down the mystical barrier through the medium of the ritual consecrated word formula and act homage and sacrifice and purity in all things was a prerequisite for receiving benefit. The priests were ed in secret lore and adepts in all the practices had exclusive charge of the divine books including those of the double house of life and magic in the hands of the proper person the theologian became religion. The ibh headed moon god Thoth was the chief magician and Isis was his counterpart. He knew the mystic name, the mighty hidden word of power the secrets of the gods and hence he was master of them all having authority over heaven earth and the Underworld. He knew the prayer, the ceremonial and the formulas for all occasions using them in the correct voice and with the proper gesture while magicians educated at his school at Hermopolis had powers which approximated his own.

Examples of magic

The power of Egyptian magic was boundless and the oldest Pyramid Text described the wonders performed by magician usually the lector priests (kher hab) Devil were cast out the sick were healed life was restored the

Müller op cit, p 198
Budg op cit, 408 Isom p ro op cit, 1, 246
corruptible body was transformed into the incorruptible human being soumed other human and his
t transformed into the incorruptible human being. The power of nature was under the control of the magician. Wind, ram, river, and
water were obeyed and then returned to their normal state. The power of nature was under the control of the magician. Wind, ram, river, and
core of their being and all the mysteries of life, death, and the future belonged to him who possessed the lore of the book of the
double house of life. The Westcar Papyrus of about 1500 B.C. tells of many feats performed by the chief
lector in the reign of King Cheop (Khufu) of the Fourth Dynasty. Tet, a magician, demonstrated before the Pharaoh his power of revivification by cutting off the
head of a goose and a bull after which at his command each head moved forward and joined its respective body, thus restoring life. Again when one of
the royal rowers lost her jewel in the lake, a magician was commanded to secure it, which he did by separating the water, piling them on either side, walking between on dry
ground, picking up the jewel and returning it to its owner. The same papyrus contains an account of another magician who fashioned a wax crocodile which placed in
the river devoured an adulterer when he came to bathe. At a much later date, Moses, who was learned in all the
wisdom of the Egyptians and like her magicians was mighty in word and deed, performed things which they also did as well as other things which exceeded their
power.

Papyrus Westcar, p. 21

Ermann, Altagyptische Sagen und Marchen, p. 24

Budg. Magic, pp. 18-19, 10, 67, 9

Mero, Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt, pp. 33, 34, 28, 30, 24-27

Exodus vii, 10, 11, 20, 22, viii, 5, 7, 18, Acts vii, 22
In common with other peoples of the ancient Orient the Egyptians resorted to divination to learn the future and the disposition of the gods toward them. The earlier mantic processes depending upon the interpretation of dreams upon the readings of the stars and upon the mates of their position and influence (little used in healing practice) as well as upon the direct manifestation of the divine will by the deities themselves appear to have been simpler than those of their contemporaries which however were introduced in the late period under Asiatic and Hellenic influences.

The most characteristic Egyptian mean of learning the divine will and of securing benefits was by direct appeal to the image of the deity; the response being made by seeing the person chosen as in the selection of a king or by acquiescing in the prayer by gestures that being accompanied in some instance by the spoken word a father to a son. Such consultations were made according to an established etiquette at certain time and place when the priest approaching the statue began the invocation (āšḥ) in court language a king if it were convenient for it to listen to such and such an affair. According to the records the chief of the temple had a consultation of the god and this was done orally by prayer or by reducing the question to writing after carefully arranged formula and depositing them under seal before the image of the deity the petition usually beginning as follows 'O God of Goodness my Lord or Lord may we lay before thee a certain affair' and then stating the case. The reply often came in sealed writing but in certain instances the response proceeded directly from the statue of the divinity if it remained motionless the request was refused.

G Fouc rt Divination (Egyptian) n ERE iv 792 7 6
but if the deity consented to listen and to acquiesce it performed hanu (making some movement of the head or arm) twice with declaration or poke words the decree (utu) being recorded sometime on the wall of the temple as the word of the god himelf. Numerous examples of such responses may be found in the cult of Amon Re of Karnak of Khnum of the Theban of II of Koptos (Kebtoyew) and of the Ethiopian Amon of Napta. Divination like exorcism, as the potion of the amuletic sa was the exclusive privilege of the ential statue although it had the ability of transmitting its magic power to one of its images when the statue of Khnum made four paces of it magic fluid.

Dreams and oracles

The origin and extent of the use of dreams and of the dream oracle in Egypt are obscure but the power to dream or to cause others to dream was prized and encouraged and sleeping in the temple to obtain a magical response and a remedy (incubation) was a current practice among princes and private individuals. Diodorus (i. 28) that in Egypt dreams were regarded with religious reverence and that the prayer of the devout are often rewarded by the gods with an indication of the remedy which their suffering required but this and magical (Wisdom of Solomon, xvii 78) were only the last resource when the skill of the physician had been exhausted and when all hope of recovery was gone. A similar feeling toward the god induced them to offer ex votos in the temple for the same purpose (Clemens apud Origenes viii 41).

4 Fouque, in ERE iv 793 794
Id., ‘Dream and Sleep (Egyptian)’ in ERE v 34 37 al o Wilkinson on Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, ii, 356 462 ff.
The healing gods

Appeal were made to the divinities to hear the prayer and to reveal themselves ‘Turn thy face toward me. Tis thou who dost accomplish a miracle and art benevolent in all thy doings tis thou who givest children to him that hath none, ’ or Tis thou who canst grant me the means of saving all The invocation having been made in the temple the response was awaited in sleep In the invocation the god N [or some one in his name] pake to him aying  The divinity begins by identifying the person addressed Art thou not such an one, son [father, wife etc ] of so and so? ’ The god then tells the suppliant what place when morning come a ealed naos, or box will be found containing a certain book which must be copied and replaced The direction to be followed by a certain result, were in direct language requiring no interpretation and it is believed that in the Pharaonic period there were no group of official interpreter * In the later epoch the interpretation of vion especially the one of a symbolic character was a signed to the Master of the Secret Thing or to the Learned Men of the Magic Library who early in the Christian era formed guild at the Serapeum in Memphis In the sanctuary of Ptah Sotmu t Memphis oracles were given during the Pharaonic period to sufferers who consulted it and the demotic inscription of Nubia mention other deities who during long centuries had been sending dreams to reveal remedies to place on sleeping in their temple a well a the oracle of I at Philae (Pilak) and Thoth at Pnubs Il these being purely Egyptian in character without for

* N d NN r conv n tional indication that prop r i to b uppli d accord ing to circunn anc nd ro f t n expre d by th phr uch n on
Fou rt ERE v, 36
L tronn ‘Notic t text d p pyru gree du Mu du Louvr t d l Bibliothequ i p ri l, in NMBIF, pp 321
eign elements Deitie who manifested them selves a hearer of petition \(^{10}\) were represented having a large number of ears. One deity was alleged to have 77 eyes and a many ears (Harris Magic Papyrus vii 6) \(^{11}\) and a king who was regarded as equal to the god was endowed with innumerable ears (Anastasi Papyrus, II vi 3 ff IV v 6 ff).

**Early Egyptian healing**

The art of healing in Egypt emerged from the midst of prehistoric times as the gift of the god to men. The earliest definite knowledge of Egyptian therapeutic custom \(^{1}\) obtained from the several medical papyri that have been discovered the oldest coming from the Twelfth Dynasty about 2000 BC. Later texts have parts common to the older documents evidently being compilations from more ancient writing and the fact together with the grammar and the language tend to confirm the most ancient traditions which attribute a large share of the essential content of these papyri to the early king. It was the duty of the Pharaoh to maintain the healing of their subjects. From Menna (apud Africanus Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum, ed Muller ii 511 ff.) we learn that King Athot of the First Dynasty of the Thinite practiced healing and wrote anatomical work. The kings of the Third Memphite Dynasty were sons and representatives of the gods and in their capacity of chief priests would naturally be acquainted with the method of healing of their time and would apply them among their people. King Toorthros (Zoer) in particular fostering...
the healing art in the person of one of his wisest adviser. I m hotep, who was deified in Ptolemaic time. The invention of medical science was constantly ascribed to Thoth the ibis headed moon god the originator of all médecine and legend for the use of the dead engraved on lapis la uh supposedly in the fifth millennium c run follow I am Thoth the inventor and founder of medicine and letters come to me though there and r the earth r1 up to me thou great pīrīt Ptah nd the demigod I m hotep performed mir cīle of cure nd m later times were extolled as the inventor of the healing but Thoth who in the Gr co Roman period w confounded with Herme Tri megj to lw y held the first place in the mind of the Egyptians

Local healing deities

Th deities of Egypt especially the local divinities were beneficent and watchful over the welfare of their people. They were the sole defense against the misfortune of their enemies and by reason of superior knowledge had devised means by which evil spirits were exorcised and the sick were healed. The method having been taught by (or stolen from) the gods for the service of mankind and their application having been entrusted to the priesthood. A permanent and precious gift, the accredited revelation must be jealously guarded and transmitted and往后 implicit faith in their divinities the efficacy of such therapeutic method w never doubted by the people so that they became an integral part of the common religion. Very many of the minor deities of the Nile valley practiced healing and some gained repute a

Foucart in ERE iv 751
10 Boug M gc p 43
1 Griffith Stom s of th Hgh Priests of Memphis, p 58
10 Fouc rt, 1 ERE iv, 750
he ler while occa ionally one of them wa a oci ted with the greater god at their celebr ted nctuarne

Temple of healing

There were many healing temple in the Valley but ev ntu lly all the great medic l center were located at th chief c pital along the Nile and large number of people m ny tr velling long dist nce nd other m king nnu l pilgrim ge ought the curative beneficence of their f vorite divinute The remain of the temple t Phil and of Khon u t Karnak fford mple te mony of the beauty nd extent of uch hrnse nd re evi dences of the honor and re pect paid to the deitie pre id ing over th m The great anctury of Thoth t Hermopo l where clinic for the god wa held during the long battle between Horu nd Sêth for the ucce ion w renowned nd others of prominence were those of Neith of N khabet of Ptah of I m hotep and of Mm at P nopo l (Epu) while ththough I is had little part in the politic of Egypt her temple t Kopto wa perhaps the mo t popul r of all

Medical libraries

The e healing shrine were reputed to be the depo l ior of medical lore and the ancient tradition are confirmed by list of di ea e and their cures and by recently di covered evidence from the library ( hall of roll ) at Heliopolis pre criptions found in the temple of Pt h nd in criptions of the library of the temple at Edfu mentioning books which it contained for the turn ing a ide of the c u e of disea e (Clemens Alexandrinu Stromata, vi 4) Clement (ibid) fully in accord with ancient traditional belief also refers to forty two her

10 Budg, God, t 489, l o Wiedem mn, M gre und Zauber v, p 19
17 Wilkin n, op t, 11 355 358 also Foucart in ERE iv, 751
metic book in the temple at Hermopolis of which (xxxvii xli) were medical representing Thoth as the inventor of formula for giving remedies. On the walls of sanctuaries were inscriptions and votive tablets in commemoration of miraculous cure and round about within the sacred precincts were tele and statues erected by former patients in grateful recognition of cure effected by the divinity. Here in the house of life (per ‘onkh) priests and lay brethren who were to practice healing pursued their studies and took their oath (Harris Magic Papyrus, vi 10) while a physician was enabled to restore the per ‘onkh at Sais because his majesty knew the value of this [medical] art.

Preparation of the papyri

It was the duty of ruler to continue the work of the good gods who had founded Egypt (Manetho apud Eusebius), and since healing had been devised by the divinity it was not subject to improvement by man. The medical papyri, the divine book, were therefore prepared with meticulous care and old manuscripts were copied by the Scribe of the Double House of life, or by the Learned Men of the Magic Library for preservation of their lore and for use at other sanctuaries but no change from the original were allowed only notation or glosses in rubrics were made generally on the margins or back relating case of some god or divinity had been cured by certain remedy or prescriptions (Ebers Papyrus, lxiv 4 lxvi 15).

The medical papyri

The chief papyri which are known as medical and that are now available for study and reference are as follows:

10 G rdin r in ERE viii 268
10 Fouc rt in ERE iv 751
11 Ib, p 750 L o Er Lif i A c t Egypt, p 359
1. The Kahun Papyrus, the oldest text containing only three columns which treat of the symptom diagnosis, and therapeutic of gynecology and veterinary medicine. It contains no magic or incantation and the fact has led a few writers to assume that the practice of its period was empirical and free from magic element but once it is incomplete too much reliance should not be placed upon such an omission which may pertain only to this part of the document. It is interesting to note that the text gives directions for determining the sex of the unborn babe.

Prescription No XXXI. Another time if thou seest her face green but in the green (?) thou findest things upon her like [she will bring forth a male (?)(child)] but if thou seest that thing upon her eyes she will not bear ever.

2. The Edwin Smith Papyrus recently announced an unequal value to the Ebers Papyrus which it probably exceeds somewhat in age since it dates from about 1600 B.C. and possibly from the eighteenth century B.C. So far as known it is the oldest nucleus of really scientific knowledge in the world and contains incomparably the most important body of medical knowledge which has survived to us from ancient Egypt or, for that matter from the ancient Orient anywhere. It is a roll 184 1/2 inches long by 13 inches wide with twenty-two columns of writing or five hundred lines. On the face of this papyrus which deals with surgery and internal medicine are seventeen columns describing forty-eight cases of injury of the upper half of the body (head, neck, thorax, and spine) with a discussion of the examination of patient diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment with explanation.

1 1 Th Petr Papyrus, Hier tic papyrus fro Kaha d Gorob, d F Ll Griffith, p 10
11 J H Breasted. Th Edwin Smith Papyrus, NYHSQB, April, 1922
tory gloe after which it end abruptly. On the back are five pages of magic incantation. It appears that all was written by the same hand but that the sources from which the recto and verso were taken were different. Only a preliminary examination of the papyrus has as yet been made and the contents have not thus far been critically studied and interpreted.

3 The Hearst Medical Papyrus, which is acribed to a period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties, and which is somewhat earlier than the Eber Papyrus, consists of eighteen pages. The least part of which came from the same source as the Ebers. Since about one half is similar to the text though not duplicating it, this papyrus contains reference to illness of the skin and prescriptions for treatment. Enchantment to be repeated over the sick when taking remedies.

4 The Berlin Papyrus 3033, the West car or, a sometime called the Leber Berlin Papyrus, and presumed to be of about 1600 BC, consists of twelve pages containing wonder storie of the performances of magicians and orcerers.

5 The Eber Papyrus, the most important except possibly the new Edwin Smith Papyrus, was probably written about 1552 BC and consists of 110 pages in crible in different dialect. Coming from Thebes, it shows more of a riper knowledge and a more systematic arrangement than other and it gives evidence of having been copied from a collection of document combining several small writings in one. It deals both with medicine and sur

11 J. H. Breasted, The Edwin Smith Papyrus in REMC, P 1922 pp 393-394
11 R. T. Hearst Medical Papyrus, Leipzig 1905
11 Eber, Papyrus Ebers Der Maae und das Kptel uber die Auge kr khenten Leipzig 1889 1 o Joachim Papyrus Ebers, Berlin 1890
gery and contain prayers for various deities with incantation and enchantment.

6 The Berlin Papyrus 3038\(^{11}\) the Greater Berlin or the Bruges Papyrus which is of later date and is believed to have been inscribed about 1350 BC contains of twenty-three pages treating of twenty-five different medical subjects in much the same manner as the Eber Papyrus. Very curious is the amuletic or practically similar text for female fertility contained in this papyrus. It found in the article on this subject (πρὸ φ'ρυ) in the "Corpus Hypocratricum".

7 The London Medical Papyrus (British Museum No. 10059)\(^{11}\) of the most recent date and supposed to have been written about 1000 BC. It consists of nineteen columns largely medical but with a generous commingling of magic suggestive of an increased tendency to a reliance on the magical arts which is aid to have characteristic of that period. This papyrus in a poor state of preservation.

Other papyri

Other texts known as the Leyden Papyrus\(^{11}\), Turin Papyrus\(^{11}\), Harris Magic Papyrus\(^{11}\), Louvre Papyrus\(^{11}\), Boulaq Papyrus\(^{11}\), Vatican Magic I Papyrus\(^{11}\), and


\(^{1}\) Akmar, "Les Papyrus grecques," vol. 1, 1875, 1871

\(^{1}\) M. Perrot, "Mémoires sur quelques papyrus du Louvre," Paris, 1875

\(^{1}\) M. Perrot, "Les Papyrus égyptiens," vol. 1, 1875

\(^{1}\) A. Erman, "Der Zauberpapyrus," in "ZA," 1893
The Healing Gods

Mother and Child Papyrus (Berlin Papyrus 3027) contains occasional reference to medical magic subject.

Papyri not canonical

While no definite statement is possible it appears improbable that any of the documents formed part of the hermetic book mentioned by Clement although the latter are believed to have been written at a much later date. It is known that Egyptian practitioners obtained from papyri not canonical reference to medical magic subject.

Descriptions of disease in the papyri

It is of interest to note that however crude and erroneous their healing practice may appear to modern minds the ancient Egyptians made such careful observation and gave such clear descriptions that about 250 different diseases may be distinguished and many can be identified for example: stomach, bowel and bladder complaints; asthma; angina pectoris; anemia; hematuria; skin disease; smallpox; pyorrhea alveolaris; cancerous.

1 A. Ern 'Zubruch fur Mutter und Kind' in APAW, Berlin 1901.

2 In addition to the technical work of various medical journals there is a number of medical texts from the physical point of view. C. H. von Krieger, Th Medicinal Features of the Egyptian Papyrus in JAMA, 1905, xlv, 1928-1935. J. D. Comrie, 'Medicine among the Assyrians and Egyptians in 1500 B.C.' in EMJ, 1909, xi, 101-129. J. Offord, 'A New Egyptian Medical Papyrus' in PSM, 1912-1913, vi, 97-102. J. Finley, 'Ancient Egyptian Medicine' in EMJ, 1893, i, 748-752, 1014-1016, 1061-1064. B. Holmes and P. G. Rittmeyer, 'Medical in Ancient Egypt,' in CLC, 1913, cix, 566-570, 590-603, 624-629.
tumor, menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea, metritis, conjunctivitis, ectropion, typhus, and purulent ophthalmia.

**Causes of Disease**

The Egyptian did not deal in theoreti and their literature afford little information concerning their view of disease but they never resigned them selves to the idea that death was natural and inevitable. Life once begun should continue indefinitely. The people had the same belief in the malignant activity of piranths toward mankind as their contemporaries. Demons prowled around all the time and when disease and death overtook a person, it was the result of curse or attack from an enemy visible or invisible. A man with an evil eye, an animal or reptile, a malevolent spirit or ghost of the dead, or even an animate object and death was practically regarded as an assassination or murder. The malevolent being gained entrance to the body by supernatural means in an unguarded moment through the eye, ears, mouth, or nose and then made a vicious attack breaking bones, puckering the marrow, drinking the blood, gnawing the intestine, heart, or lungs, and devouring the vital substance. Death ensued unless the intruder was driven out before irreparable damage had been done. There were unlucky days and certain days of the year were particularly dangerous. The intercalary or epagomenal days being fraught with exceptional risks. On them evil piranths had greater power. Numerous harmful germs penetrate the clothing, and especial care must be taken lest infection step in and causes death. People born on such days were particularly liable to die of certain maladies and the

1. Fouquet, in *ERE* iv 749
2. Mama, *History*, i, 152 ff. 308
3. Fouquet, in *ERE* iv 750 752
THE HEALING GODS

injunction was given to go not forth from thy house from
ny ide of it, whosoever is born on this day shall die of
the disease aat Diseases of animals were caused by
imilar attacks of evil spirits and were cured by the same
methods as were used for men. The Egyptian in com-
mon with other primitive peoples believed that the great
scourges or epidemic (ratu), were sent by the god but
it seems to have been foreign to their views that deities
inflicted disease upon individuals in punishment of sin
though it was recognized that such visitation were made
in reentiment for a personal offence or a penity for
indignity toward a divinity.

Prophylaxis

Although Egypt was considered a salubrious country
the people took studiou precautions to preserve their
health. Electing their diet with care and for three suc-
cessive days each month taking purges emetic and cly-
ter to guard against bowel troubles (Herodotos ii 77)
They were cleanly bathed frequently and wore white
linen garments admirably adapted to the climate Osiris
set an example it was a source of great joy that he had
the power to love himself and both he and his ka wa hed
before sitting down to break bread together (cf Pyra-
mid Texts, 564 1537) Familiarity with the names of the
epagomenal days was a safe method of protecting oneself
against their peril (Leyden Papyrus, 346 2 6) All the
people wore about the neck amulets charm and talis-
mans of stone or knot of cloth on which magic word of
power had been imprinted or over which priest had re-
cited magic text the eye of Horus the intact eye

131 Budg M gre, p 227
1 M sprro Life i A e n t Egypt and Assyria, p 118
1 Budg Gods, ii 118
1 E N vill Ch nd Amul t (Egyptian) in ERE iii 430
433
(uzart) which gave health and soundness of sight being the most popular protection against illness \(^1\). If the books in the library of Edfu for turning aside the causes of disease referred to prophylaxis these customs may easily have been a part of the religious instruction.

**Gods suffered from disease**

Gods suffered from maladies in the same manner as men and when ill they applied to their fellow divinities for help, as Horus and Sêth at Heliopolis (Ebers Papyrus, \(136\) Hearst Medical Papyrus, 70 V 9 12 15) Re had sudden diseases of the eye (as assumed to have been symbolic of eclipses) together with other ailments and came near death when a scorpion stung his heel \(^{13}\). Isis was afflicted with an abscess of the breast following the birth of Horus and Horus suffered from headache and internal pains \(^{13}\) and not only had dysentery and an anal weakness but would have lost his life from a scorpion sting had it not been for the prompt help of Isis and Thoth \(^1\). The liability of gods to disease was officially recognized and in many temples were prescriptions both for divinities and for men one of which had been composed by the invalid Re (Ebers Papyrus, xlv). The deity defended themselves more effectively than man because of their superior ability to concentrate their energies against their enemies but the methods of cure were identical \(^1\).

**Physicians**

The chief physicians (sunu oru) of the Pharaohs from

\(^{13}\) Muller, op cit, p 91

\(^{13}\) Budge op cit, ii 372 ff ii 214

\(^1\) Leyde P pyrus, d Pl yt 1 o N ville Etudes dédiées a Lee, s. pp 75 ff

\(^{13}\) Budge op cit, ii, 208 ff 1 o H Brug ch Ein g ogr phi ch Studi,” in ZA, 1879 xvii 1 ff
the Memphite Dynasties to the Ptolemies were high ecclesiastic. The physician (sunu) who might be a layman or chanced to the temple was not the same as the magician who was a priest. The former healed mechanically and by book, the priest on the other hand was acting through his own religious feeling. Herodotos (ii 84) described the physician as a specialist, each one taking care of a certain class of diseases and some were concerned with only one malady, but having been instructed in the divine methods, they had no personal choice in treatment and were obliged under risk of severe penalties even of death to follow the prescribed rule which finally became canonical (Diodoro i 82) although Aristotle (Politeia, iii 5) thought no improvement was noted after four days of treatment. However, the practice of healing at least under the native Egyptian régime was essentially the monopoly of those who possessed a higher deeper knowledge of the secret nature of things and had the power to control mysterious forces and to ward off invisible peril. The magician priest especially the scribe priest (her her) (Brugsch Papyrus, vii 10) since they had discovered incantations (shn) and were endowed with the gift of prophecy (London Medical Papyrus viii 12).

*Healing methods*

The acerdtal methods of healing consisted in magical religious rites (hakhet) ceremonies and formulas which brought forth the mysterious miraculous power of deities and other supernatural beings and which centered about the idea of exorcism of expelling the unseen malady.

---

1 Fouc r't, in *ERE* iv, 752
140 G rdn r in *ERE* viii, 268
141 o Wilkin on, *op cit*, i, 354 358
142 Boyd, *op cit* p 124
ciou pirit which cau ed disease Appeal to the god for the cure of disease were made orally or in writing. The magician priest approached the patient in formal manner de hi examination of the indication of disease and followed with the ceremonial form for diagnosis. If thou say a sufferer with (naming the disease) after which he classified the case according to his prognosis. I will treat an ailment I will contend with or an ailment I will not treat.

Then came the treatment which consisted of incantation, prayers, and sacrifice and possibly the giving of some remedy, with the aid of all the devices and access of magic oral and manual command conjuration threats, coaxing, aspersion, pells, and fumigations. The incantation and gestures being repeated four times.

All these formulas and acts of the magician were supposed to have some mystical or symbolic meaning, which however well understood by the priest served to impress the people. It was deemed advisable if not essential for the magician to know the name of the demon concerned in each case. When known, it was called by name and upon the authority of deity or (generally) deity of superior power whose names the magician claimed to know it was commanded or persuaded to come forth and depart and to be exorcised. The specialization in vogue among the Egyptian asumed that the body was divided into thirty parts, each of which was in charge of a certain god.

(There is no limb of his without a god) Leyden Papyrus, 348 verso 6 2) and so invoking the e they heal the diseases of the limbs (Origenes contra Celsum vii, 58) their responsibility of the god continuing in the after.

---

14 Brat d in NYHSQB, p 15. o Gardiner in ERE viii 267
Erman, Lafe n A at Egypt, p 358
1 Muller op c t, p 199
life. On occasion the magician would put on a disguise and would appear as the god himself imitating him in voice and gesture and employing his relics and charms to deceive the demon and to cause him to depart. Such deception like the use of the secret names of the deities whether obtained properly or by theft was not considered an impiety or an offence against the divinity.

**Remedies**

Remedies (pakhrêt) were commonly employed to assist the magic formulas for exorcism and for the cure of disease and in many cults they were revealed by the gods in dreams, such visions being regarded with religious reverence. The gods had devised some of these remedies for themselves or for other deities (Hearst Medical Papyrus, pp. 9-10, V 7 9 10, 12 15) Drugs of many kinds were used vegetable, mineral and animal, and while some were loathsome, as the urine of animals the greater number were wholesome time having proved the value of a goodly number of those then employed such a castor oil aloes mint myrrh copper lead, salt goose oil and fats opium coriander, turpentine cedar hyoscyamus and others that are still used in pharmacy. The magic with which they were given did not hide their intrinsic healing properties from physicians who were also acquainted with panaceas (Ebers Papyrus, xlv x xlvii) a true remedy on many occasions (Leyden Papyrus 347 xiii 2 3) Drugs were given internally or were applied externally usually in combination numbers being
believed to increase their potency and there were many long pre-epigraphs. All these were prepared in conformity with traditional formula to the accompaniment of prayer and incantation word to be aid in the preparation of medicine for all part of the body of the patient (Ebers Papyrus, p 1)\textsuperscript{14} and there were long incantations of the medicine when taking it to measure pre-epigraph (Hearst Medical Papyrus, p 12 XIII 12 17) a well a for oil (ib, XIV 4) be ide chapter for drinking remedies (Brugsch Papyrus, p 20 line 9)\textsuperscript{1} and for applying them externally (Ebers Papyrus, I 1 11) Remedies without magic were valueless or failed of their full effect and the incantations were frequently written down washed off and drunk\textsuperscript{11} Healing had developed with magic it was inseparably connected with it and all evidence indicates that it was never emaciated from it\textsuperscript{1}

\textit{Medical incantations}

The function of the medical papyri is stated in the opening paragraph of the Ebers Papyrus This is a book for healing all disease and the two incantations following are examples found in that document

\textit{Formula for drinking a remedy} Welcome remedy welcome which de troy e the trouble in th my heart nd in the e my limb The magic (hike) of Horus victorous in the remedy (recto page 2 line 1 2)

\textit{Another remedy for driving away the cataract in the eyes} Come verdigris ointment Come verdigris ointment Come thou verdant one Come afflux from the eye of Horus Come thou effu

\textsuperscript{14} Jo chm op cit, p 1
\textsuperscript{10} F J Chaba, La M'd cine de anciens Egyptien ' in ME, I r, 1862 p 67
\textsuperscript{11} Müller, op cit, pp 83 199
\textsuperscript{1} Foucart, in ERE iv, 750
ION from the eye of the god Turu. Come ye tuff, ye who proceed from O HRI. Come to him [the patient] and take from him th water the pu the blood the pain in the eye the chemo the blindne the flow of matter which are worked there by the god of inflammation, of each kind of death of each kind of p in nd of all the evil thing which are found in the eye o many of them there re too So it 1 to be recited over the verdigrin ointment di olved in beetle honey with which we hould mix Cy peru which should then be laid upon the eye m the p eified f hion 1

The next incantation are found in the Brugsch Papyru 14

Incantation for the quaffing of a remedy Thou w ken t beautiful enduring unto eternity m that every pam that 1 before thee 1 di pelled Thy mouth 1 opened by Ptah thy mouth 1 unclo ed by Sokari with thi iron hook of hi

O thou remedy that do t loo the that do t di pel weak n the hrj h t 1 loo ed by that which the divine I 1 hath done the 5 of th d ad which 1 in the limb of [NN] born of [NN] 1 di pelled by the inc nt ton of Nephthy They re serviceabl to him li th t which 1 in the parrow h wk as wh n th hj bird 1 truck when the ea he r the voice of Set

I am Horu who pendeth the night who pendeth th d y m Abydo my taff doth afford protection Pr 1 e be unto th thou proper taff that do t protect the limb thou wand of th aced acaci The 7 Hat hør who the limb o th t my limb are healthy ju t as Re appear unto the arth [My] protection 1 in my hand [t e the m gic wand] it 1 th great I 1 who doth complete the works of Re [by means of] the phy 1ean Ntr htp

1 Eb r op cit, p 0
14 Wren kis Der grosse eduische Papy s des Brh r Mu- s u s, t t pp 43 44 tr pp 102 103 t xt p 44 tr pp 103 105
The following incantation for the protection and cure of a child are found in another papyrus.

Protective charm for the protection of the body to be recited over a child when the unri e
Thou do t ri e Re
Thou do t ri e

She [the dead one] will not take her on upon her lap
Thou do t ve me my lord Re
Say [NN] (fem) born of [NN]
I do not surrender thee
I do not give [my] burden to the robber and the female robber of the realm of the dead
My hand lie upon thee
My eal thy protection
Re doth ri e
Extend O thou protection

[Extract] My hand lie upon the child and the hand of I i he upon him a he lay her hand upon her on Horu
[Extract] To drive way the nsow from all the limb of child
Thou art Horu and thou halt wake Horu Thou rt th living Horu I drive way the malady that in thy body nd th mal dy (?) th t in thy limb [etc.]

The Hearst Medical Papyrus contain incantation for broken bones. A prescription for uniting a broken bone the first day and the following incantation from the London Medical Papyrus believed to have been designed for wounds.

O Horu O Re O Shu O Qèb O O iri O Hek w O Nut pr i be unto you, ye great god who hav brought the heav nly one (?)

1 Erman in APAW, pp 43 44 ver o 3 h 8 to p g 4 lin 2, p 15, recto 2 lin s 6 10 p 19, recto 2, h e 10 to p g 5 lin 7
2 Riner, H rst M dac P pyrus, p 12 XIV 13 14 15
3 7 Wr 1 hi Der Lo doner medmu sch P pyru und d r P pyru He rst, pp 148, 187, r e 8 lin 1 7
to the underworld ye who go not that he wander to this region y who conduct Re when he eend out of the horizon y who ride long in the evening bark nd pa along in the morning bark. Come ye unto me ri unto me unite your elve with me for all of evil hath befallen me ll of evil ill of evil ill of evil all of evil which are in the body [of mine] nd in all the limb of mine

Tests for sterility

The Bruch or Berlin Papyrus 3038 contain two for mula for determining whether or not a woman is sterile. The first (verso p 1 lines 3 4 section 193) follows:

To drink h a woman who will be a child from a woman who will not be a child. Watermelon pounded, to be ated thoroughly with the milk of a mother of boy and to be md into a drink. To be eaten by the woman. If he vomit he will be a child if he has flatu he will never bear a child.

This same prescription in slightly different form is found in the treatise On Sterility in the Corpus Hippocraticum, of nearly a thousand years later and Diogene L rtios (viii 87) offers the explanation that Eudoxo a Knidian physician and mathematician spent fifteen months with the Egyptian priest at Heliopolis during the reign of Nektanebos (384 362 BC). The Greek text (ed Kuhn) mentions two ingredients which should be used with the milk one σικύα a cucumber or gourd like plant the other βούτυρον He ychios explains the latter component as a plant (βοτάνης 's) in view of

15 Wre in ki D r grosse medizinsche Papyrs de Berl er M seu s, text p 45, tr p 106

1 Strabo state (XVII 1 29 p 805 C) that Eudoxo w r put d to hve om to Egypt with Plato and to hve lved at H liopolis for thirte n y a nd Plutarch (de Isid t Osir de, 6 10) r f rs to book th t he wrot
p age of Athen ios (ix 395 A) it inferred that it wa odoriferous.¹

The second formula (ver o p 2 line 25 section 199) run thu.¹²

Another te t whether a wom n will bear a child [or] will not bear child Wheat and pelt which woman d ily wet with her urine like date nd like the baked food t m two ck If both of them grow he will bear child if the wheat grow it will b a boy if the pelt grow it will b girl if th y do not grow h will not bear child

General remarks

During the last millennium b c following the decline of the New Empire and during the Saite régime when at tempts were being made to stem the course of the rapid disintegration of ancient Egyptian civilization by re vival of primitive traditions and cu tom in their original purity¹ the native healing practices present no new features except a corresponding decline in confidence in

¹⁰⁰ The tur of the plant i not cl arly t forth Ch ba i ME, I r 1862 pp 9 ff giv s it a bat t , or Bull batatu, Brug ch (Notice r iso née d\'un traste médic e d t t du XIVm siècle avant outre re , L ipzig 1863 p 17) write H rb Boudodou ka,” etc (s e not ), and referred to it in AMWL, 1853, pp 44 45 R nouf (‘Not on th m dical p pyru of Berlin ’ in ZA, 1873 1 123 ff ) claim that th ch ract rs e n qu lly well be r d buteru, nd tri to conn ct thi with β ‘r ρ of Hippokrat s while Wrezinski tr late it as ‘Wassermelonen’ (waterm lon ), and for an ancient Egyp tian picture of the veget ble Wiedemann Das alte Agypten, p 278 Littr’ (Œuvres complètes d\'Hippocr te, vu, 415) construe β ν ρ s butter which R nouf r gard a an rro Not In commenting on this ubj ct Dr William F Egeiton (in person l communication) ay ‘It would eem that the last part k = (‘ka according to Brugsch yst m) meaning ‘of bulls, bull , was not an essenti l part of th noun May one not suppose the bull melon meant ‘big melon

¹¹ Wrezinski, op cit. , text, p 47 tr p 110

¹² Bre ted, op cit , p 365
old methods and a like tendency to decadence. Traditionally the Egyptian avoided the use of the customs of other peoples (Herodotos ii 91) but the invasions from Asia and Greece with incidental foreign rule forced many changes, and these are doubtless reflected in the writings of classical authors who were unable to gain a clear insight into their more ancient native methods of religion therapeutics. Ptolemy Soter in sympathy with Hellenic influences reorganized religion and introduced the adoration of Serapis in the place of that of Osiris Apis (Osor hap). Although coldly received his worship through its association with that of Isis and under official pressure, made rapid headway in the North and in healing cult gained popularity especially among foreigners through the prominence given his dream oracle with interpretations of visions by priests in which appeared intimations of what are now known as hypnotism and suggestive therapeutics. In these Ptolemaic times foreign influences were dominant and the old Egyptian art of divine healing which had been declining for several centuries now passed into oblivion leaving no definite information for contemporaries and for modern investigators only vague and imperfect records which have recently been discovered.

*Profane Egyptian medicine*

Turning aside for a moment to the more practical profane side of the native medical practice which is beyond the scope of this study it is of interest to consider that Egyptian medicine was at its best in diagnosis and in its physiological speculations the *materia medica*, on the other hand remained permanently under the influence of magical conception. The Egyptian practiced sur

1 Hamilton *Incubatio*, p. 105
2 *Joachim, op cit*, pp. 99, 100, 103
3 O. Gardiner, in *EBE* viii 268
surgery performing operation with flint knife a ven- 
ection circumcision\(^1\) c tration and lithotomy\(^1\) Like 
all primitive people their civil ation wa permeated 
gross and childish beliefs side by side with their 
noblest highe t conception of ethics and religion They 
studied nature laws but they did not theorize or at 
tempt to deduce general principle from observed facts 
and were content with a traditional conservative em- 
piricism\(^1\) Their facts intermingled with the my terie 
of their faith were not divulged to their contemporane 
and the writings of clas ic a author of the Græco Roman 
period bear testimony of failure fully to comprehend 
what they observed and were told The Egyptian did 
however succeed in laying broad foundation for future 
medicine from observed facts and while their visitor 
gained only a superficial understanding of their attain 
ments they proved in reality a mine from which the 
ancients borrowed freely copying and adapting too often 
without credit to the originator and teacher Plato \(^1\) 
aid by Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata, i 15) to have 
remarked concerning the Greeks that Whatever we re 
ceiv from the barbarian we improve and perfect and 
it t believed that they were indeed indebted to Egyptian 
physician for many valuable medical ugge tion

**The old priest physician**

The priest physicians of ancient Egypt were per on 
of education and of social standing famed throughout the 
Orient from earlie t historic time Homer bear te ti 
mony for his own day in aying (Odyssey, iv 231 232) of 
Egypt There each physician is skilled above all other

\(^1\) G Foucart “Cir- 

\(^1\) Budg, Gods, i 119, Wilkin *op cit*, iii, 385 386

\(^2\) Budg, *The Syriac Book*, i cxxxiv al o Muller ‘Surgery in 

\(^2\) Sctnider Kultur und Denken der ten Aegypter, pp 17 ff
men for truly he 1 of the race of Paian. The repute of the kill of the priest phyician was spread along the caravan routes farther ea t (Herodote in 1) and Egyptian prescriptions have been found in the archive of Nineveh. The general testimony of writers of the la t centuries b.c is rather specific that the physician of the Nile valley of whom a fine portrait 1 drawn for us by Chairemon (Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum, ed Muller in 497 Strabo XVII i 29 805 C) still stood forth a noble and beneficent figures of Egyptian civil i

tion

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

Few of the many gods of ancient Egypt were prominent a healers Doub tle s a large number of deities practiced the cur tive art as a part of their general protective beneficence of which little or nothing is recorded but much of the information which has come down to us is only vague and suggestive. It is impossible to make a list of the healing divinities which may be regarded a even approximately complete and the deities who are here discu sed some of them the chief gods of the pan theon and with other perhaps more important function are set forth on the hypothesis that the practices in their cults represent the religious healing customs of ancient Egypt.

Anuqet Neith
Apis Nekhbet
Be , or Besa Nephthys or Nebt hot
Êpet or Uêret Ptah
Hat hôr Sekhmet
Horus Hor or Horu Serapis or Osor hap
Im hotep Thoth, Thout, or Tahuti
Isis or Eset Ubastet or Bastet
Khonsu or Khon Uzoit Uazit or Buto (Uto)
Minor divinities of Childbirth and Nursing

Heqet
Renenutet or Rannu
Meskhenet

ANUQET

ANUQET, a goddess of the South of the region of the cataracts and apparently of Nubian origin was the third of the triad of Elephantine (Abu) Khnûmu and Satet being the other members. She was a deity of fertility and like Heqet (the later consort of Khnûmu) was a goddess of child birth while at Dakkeh (Per Selket), the Greek Pselchis she was represented as the nurse of a king and was a giver of life and of all health and of all joy of the heart. She was one of the goddesses of an island near the First Cataract on which was her temple the center of her worship whence she was called Anuqet the lady of Satet (i.e., the Island of Seheil). She had the same attributes as her sister goddess Satet who was worshipped with her and he wore a feather crown of unusual form arranged in a circle suggestive of her foreign origin. Anuqet was equated with Nephthys (Nebt hôt) and the Greeks identified her with Hestia.

APIS

APIS (pronounced Hap) the great god of Memphû and one of the deities of Egypt from early dynastic times was worshipped in the form of a bull, this being the incarnation of Osiris, the beautiful image of the soul of Osiris (Plutarch op cit, 30) the son of Ptah and later the living replica of Ptah. The animal repre

---

1 Wilki son op cit, p 181
1 Budge Gods, n 57 58
17 Muller op cit, p 131
171 Ib, p 1 2
enting the god was carefully chosen being recognized by characteristic black and white pott a triangle or square on the forehead an eagle on the back or a crescent on the flank (Phny *Historia Naturalis*, viii. 71) and double hair on the tail (Aelian *Historia Animalium* xi 10 Herodotos iii 28) When he had been found he was escorted to Memphis where with much pomp he was installed in his temple the Apisum a the holy god the living Apis 17 and when he died his mummified body was buried with elaborate ceremonies in the Serapeum or in a rock tomb near the pyramid of Sakkara 17 Osiris was blended with the hawk Sokar a deity of the dead related to Apis and later with Ptah a Osiris Apis (O or Hap) who became Serapis in the Greek period 17 The bull Apis was consulted for divination and Phny (*loc cit*) and Ammianus Marcellinus (xx 14) relate that the omen was good or bad according to Apis accepted or refused the food offered by worshippers 175 Apis was a healing divinity one to whom the origin of medicine was ascribed (Eusebios *Præparatio Evangelica*, X, vi) Pausania (VII xxii 3 4) says that the manner of consulting the god was the same in Egypt as in Greece the lamp was filled with oil money was placed on the altar 17 and with his mouth to the bull's ear the supplicant who pered his request drawing his answer from the first word of the first person whom he met

Although Apis was usually depicted as a bull he was also represented with a human body and the head of

---

17 Mull *loc cit*
17 Budg *op cit*, p 350 1 o Str bo XVII 1 33 p 807 C
174 Mull *op cit*, p 8
17 Fouc rt, 1 *ERE* iv 7 3
17 Se nfr, p g 332 Th e ugu r r f r p c l l y to th e 1 l p r iod Egypt h d no in g until ft r h had been conquer d by P r 1 (525 c)
bull wearing a globe symbolizing the moon between the horn. BES OR BEISA

B, though originally a foreign deity either from Arabia or more probably from Central Africa and deriving his myth from Nubia, had been adopted into the pantheon from early dynastic time. The first mention of him being in the Pyramid Text (no 1786) Recent studies tend to the view that he was a purely human god of negro or negroid character and that he was originally a person of magic power, perfumed a divinity and introduced into the pantheon to execute special dances designed for protection and to remove bad influence of evil genii and monsters of all sorts. Thu he appears as a deity of pleasure, mirth, laughter, music and dancing amusing while protecting children and their nurses. He trangled or devoured serpents and caught dangerous animals while his image was placed above the doors of sleeping rooms to keep away noxious beasts and evil spirits. The most ancient image of the divinity which date from the Middle Empire often represent him as holding a serpent in each hand in the role of protecting infant. He became a companion of Ipet (Uéret) as a protector of child birth and children and is frequently portrayed with her in the birth chamber of princesses as in a painting dating from about 1500 B.C found at Deir el Bahri.

During the Saite epoch the image of the deity multiplied and they became more varied receiving a number of accessories, many of which were symbolic of other divinities and which were a sumed to augment his mysterious power. At Thebes he was represented as wear

177 Budg, op. cit., ii, 346 351;iso Wilkin on, op. cit., iii, 86 89
17 Budg, op. cit., ii, 284 288; lo Wilkin on, op. cit., iii, 148 150
17 Budg, op. cit., ii, 285
10 G. J. Quir, “Naturale origine du dieu B s. in RTPA, 1915
xxxvii, 114 118
THE HEALING GODS

Emblems of war, but although this has been construed indicating that he was a god of slaughter, it is probable that these arms were for protection or for attack on animals rather than for aggression. Armed with sword and shield and wearing a panther's skin, he performed dances which were like the warrior dances of equatorial Africa. Represented with full face as an ugly dwarf with goggle eyes, flat nose, thick lips, protruding tongue, beard, haggard brows, short bent legs, and the grotesque figure of a mountebank, Bes, like other dwarfs of Egypt, has been regarded by writers on medical iconography as an example of achondroplasia. The Metternich stele gives proof that the head of Bes was a mask.

Although widely worshipped among the lower classes, Bes is not mentioned in inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman epoch. He was associated with magic and with its crude appearance in the late period he became so prominent that he appears to have ousted Serapis from the temple at Abydos where an oracle flourished until it was suppressed by Constantine II. While in Roman times he was worshipped at the Serapeum at Memphis where divination by incubation for healing was practiced, Bes was placed among the stars corresponding with the serpent-trangling constellation Ophiouchos (Serpentarius) of the classical world.

ÉPET OR UÈRET

Épet, a strange goddess of foreign importation probably from Central Africa, appears in a picture from the temple of King Sethos I of a constellation near Ursa Major the old name being Ox Leg or Club or Striker. She is portrayed as a composite being standing upright, sometimes crowned with plume or wearing the diadem.

\(^1\) J. G. Millin, "Græco-Egyptian Religion," in *ERE* v1 333

\(^2\) Muller *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff.
tween two horn and a having element which belong to the crocodile the lion, and to man a much a to the hip popotamou with a strong pointed head a straight mouth and a double row of small, sharp teeth human breast the enormous body of a hippopotamou (perhaps pregnant) and the paw of a hon She wa a creation of a magic order with a terrifying aspect to frighten away hostile and malevolent spirit and he like Be had the duty of protecting children from the moment of birth through their early defense year Monument show that there were a dozen Ḥpet each preceding over a month It is believed that at one time he was widely worshipped since the month Epiph was named for her whence her name Uêret which appear in Greek a Thouérí (the Great One) and she is imitated with many divinities. She was a benevolent deity the mother of talismans helpful in parturition and a protectress from illness and she appear each morning at the birth of the sun at noon in the evening at his death while in a Pyramid Text she is represented a divine nurse Be who became her companion, was sometime regarded as her husband and in a picture from the temple of Dir el Bahri he is shown standing with him beside the couch at the supposed birth of the daughter to the queen of Thutmo

HAT HÔR

HAT HÔR (House of Horus i.e., where the sun lives in the sky) one of the most ancient divinities of the Egyptian pantheon was first a goddess of the Eastern Sky and then

1 G Jéquier, "Thou´ri in RTRA, 1915 vii 118 120
2 G Dressy, Thou´ri et M khenti" in ib., 1912 xxxiv 18 193
3 4 Oft n spell d To ri
4 Mull, op c.t., pp 59 62 lo Budg, op c.t., n 235 35
of the whole heaven finally being numbered among the cosmic deities. She was the Mistress of Heaven, the counterpart of Re and more frequently the consort of Horus the Elder. As the Mistress of Heaven she sat beside the Per-ea tree, the celestial tree sacred to her. And as a goddess of the Underworld, she received the dead bestowed new life upon them, and from the fruit of the tree gave them drink and heavenly food. She was the deity of love, the patroness of women, joy, and music and was not only equated with Astarte and Aphrodite but was also identified with all other female deities especially with Nekhbet, Uzot Ubastet, and Neith who were sometime referred to as goddesses of childbirth. Thus, she was a protectress of the parturient and of motherhood and represented all that was beautiful in women—a daughter, wife, and mother. While he was even multiplied into seven, Hat hōr was foretold the future of every child at birth.

Hat hōr was accorded the most extravagant titles such as mother of the world and creator of the heavens of the earth and of everything in them. The most laudatory salutation were used in paying homage to her in worship and every attribute he was worshipped throughout Egypt under many titles or names of other deities. At Panopolis and Neith at Sai, though her home and the center of her worship were at Dendera in Upper Egypt, the cow was accredited to her and he was represented as a cow or a having a human body and the head of a cow with a globe (the solar disk) between her horns.

HORUS, HOR OR HORU

Horus was a generic term for very many deities of the Egyptian pantheon, all of whom were variants of essen...
Horu the Elder was the son of Re and Hat hōr or of Qēb and Nut and was the brother of Osiris I is, Sēth and Nephthys born on the second of the five intercalary days. An old hymn copied on a papyrus about 310 c containing the following line:

Qēb and Nut begat O in Horu (the one before the eyele) (?) Sēth I is and Nephthys from one womb
One of them after the other

He was a solarized divinity connected with the theology of Heliopolis Horus of the Horizon (H r akhti) who prepared the way for the sun god Re the falcon who symbol the winged disk was seen in the sky Horus the face of the heavens by day as contrasted with Sēth the face of the heavens by night was one of the very old deities of the pantheon and his ancient and principal seat of worship in Lower Egypt was at Edfu though it is quite probable that the earlier and perhaps original center of his cult was at Hierakonpolis (Nekken) the City of Hawks in the South At Ombo (Ombite) he was the chief of a triad

Horus the Younger or Horus the Child was the posthumous son of Osiris by Isis the reincarnation of Osiris the third member of the Osirian triad and one of the principal divinities of the Osirian circle of the Underworld superseding Anubis as the conductor of souls although by a confusion he was also referred to as a solar deity the

1 Frazer The Sc pego t, pp 340 ff
1 Muller op cit, p 69
1 Brea History, p 36 Budg, op cit, 467
1 Müllner op cit, pp 27 101 102
1 P tri, in ERE v 245
The Healing Gods

Rising Sun, to whom were given the two eyes of Re. In the late dynastic period, when the worship of Osiris and Isis had become dominant, Horus absorbed the attribute of all Horuses and in him was finally blended every variant personality from Horus the Elder to the least significant. Beginning with the New Empire, Horus became more and more important and though mentioned by different names, he was identified and worshipped with all the deities of the pantheon while the Greek equated him with Apollo.

Harpokrates, the Greek name of a variant of Horus the Child, was a late development who with Serapis and Isis was the third member of the divine triad at Alexandria. Phil and Fayum and was worshipped with Isis at Ptolemaic times. Assumed the attributes of the local deities with whom Amon Re had been identified and even those of this deity at the center of his worship at Thebes. Without temple, he was worshipped as a deity of the lower classes and of the home and was often represented as a young boy standing between I and Nephthys or a child seated on a lout flower with a lock of hair on the right side of his head and holding his finger to his lips. This figure has been misconstrued as commanding the faithful to be silent concerning the mysteries of their religion and was interpreted by the Greeks who some time called the deity Sigalos equating him with Akesi Telesphoros and Euamerion of the retinue of Asklepio (Plutarch op cit, 19 68).

The mother of Horus taught him the arts of magic the

---

2 Muller op cit, p 83
1 Budg, op cit, 1 486
Milne in ERE vi, 379
1 Muller op cit, p 243
17 Wilkin on op cit, m, 129 132
maladies of mankind and their cure and he rendered signal service in healing by his oracle (Diodoros 1 25). Horus of Letopolis (Khem) was the chief physician in the house of Re (Turin Papyrus, 124 5) and one of the most important sanctuary of healing was situated there other well known temples being at Edfu Tanis (Zanet) Philæ and Abydos while he was especially venerated at Heliopolis.

Horus the Child was the subject of some of the most venerated and popular myths of Egypt. As the son of Osiris and Isis his life was sought by Seth, his father, bitter enemy and murderer, and Isis saved him only by hiding in the papyrus wamp near Buto where he was born. While in the ruins he was bitten by a scorpion and was in extremis when found by Isis who called upon Re in the heavens to save him whereupon leaving his Boat of Millions of Years in mid sky he sent Thoth who with his magic words of power restored the child to life. When Horus had grown to manhood undertaking to be avenged on the murderer of his father and to establish his own legitimacy he engaged in a three days battle with Seth who was defeated and lost his virility while Horus himself was deprived of an eye which however was restored when Thoth spat upon the wound and healed it. Seth was in danger of forfeiting his life but was saved by the interference of Isis upon whom Horus turned in anger and cut off her head which Thoth replaced with the head of a cow or according to Plutarch (op cit, 19) removed from it the symbols of her authority. Later when Osiris was vindicated of the charges made by Seth before the great tribunal of the gods at Heliopolis Horus

1 Budge M ge, pp 133 136 al o for t xt in par llel id, Gods, i
233 ff
1 Bred Ted Develop ent, pp 29 31
0 Mull r op cit, p 126, I o Budge op cit, i 48 1 212
succeeded to the inheritance and the throne of his father receiving overeighty over the whole world.

Horus was one of the most universally recognized, beloved, and worshipped deities of the pantheon. The hawk was sacred to him, and he was usually represented with a human body and the head of a falcon being called the hawk-headed Horus, or he was pictured as a child in the arms of Isis or some other goddess and occasionally a boy (Harpokrates) standing by her side.

I M HOTEP

I M HOTEP, the architect of King Toorthros (Zoer) of the Third Dynasty (circa 2900 BC) the builder of the Sakkara Pyramid and a trologer of the priest of Re and a distinguished leech was renowned for his wise saying and became a patron of learning of scholars and especially of physicians. After the New Kingdom (1580 BC) writers made libation to him and gradually losing humanity he was deified after the Persian period (525 BC) and elevated to the rank of a healing divinity. In his divine character he was the Son of Ptah and of Sekhmet and having placed their son Neferterr he made the third member of the great Memphite triad. Related to Thoth in function I M hotep occasionally absorbed his funerary duties and as a scribe of the god he was the author of words of power which protected the dead. He was also closely related to the deified ages Amon hotep and Teo who were associated with healing.

I M HOTEP He who cometh in peace owed his fame and

\(^2\) Budge op cit., pp 33, 37
\(^3\) Budge op cit., 1, 4, 6, 49
\(^4\) Stimson ERE vi, 650, 651
\(^5\) Budge op cit., 1, 522
\(^6\) Boylan op cit., pp 16, 16

the healing gods

62 THE HEALING GODS
power to his skill in the healing art. He was the good physician both of deities and of men—the god who sent sleep to those who were suffering and in pain, and those who were afflicted with any kind of disease formed his especial care. He was the divinity of physician and of all those who were occupied with the mingled science of medicine and magic. His suppliants usually received information of the curative remedy in dream by incubation as shown by epigraphs and related in tales (Diodoro 1.25) and in the vision the deity usually began by identifying the suppliants and then revealed the directions for treatment. Satni relates that his wife Mahituaskhit appealed to the god for relief from sterility. Prayed and slept in his temple and dreamed that he told her to pull living colocasia plant leaves and all and making a potion to give it to her husband. Thus she did and he conceived at once. Another case of sterility cured by a remedy similarly revealed in a dream during temple sleep is recorded on the Memphite Stele of Psherenptah of the Augustan period.

The cult of Imhotep was originally attached to his tomb near the Pyramid of Sakkara and his earliest monument was erected near the Serapeum close to Memphis. After the New Empire was established, his worship grew rapidly in popularity and importance, and during the Saite period and the later Ptolemaic age he was greatly honored. He was revered and adored in his own city as well as at Thebes, Edfu, and elsewhere. He was prominent in the temple of Kasr el Agûz erected to Teos, a sage or god similar to Thoth, while the Ptolemies built a small but beautiful temple to him on the island of

Budg., op cit., 1, 523
07 Fouc rt, in ERE v, 35 3
Ma pro Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt, pp 146 147
Fouc rt in ERE v 35
Phil upon which was placed the following inscription:

Great one Son of Ptah the creative god  the god of divine forms in temple  who giveth life unto all men the mighty one of wonder the master of times who cometh unto him thence lieth upon him wheresoever he may be who giveth sons to the childless, the chief lector priest (kher hab, i.e., wisest and most learned one) the image and likeness of Thoth the wise one.

The bronze figures of this hero god in the museum are all of the Twenty-second Dynasty and represent him a bald man sometimes wearing a cap seated with a book or roll of papyrus on his knee and without any of the customary ornamentation of Egyptian deities Imhotep was called Imuthe by the Greeks who identified him with their A klepio (Stobaios Eclogae, I xli 44) and his temples were termed A klepion.

ISIS OR ÉSET

Isis, one of the very ancient goddesses of Egypt the most beloved and generally worshipped as a protective deity held in place in the affections of the people bove that of all other female deities. Born on the fourth epagomenal day, she was the daughter of Qeb and Nut the sister of Osiris Horus the Elder Seth and Nephthys the wife of Osiris and the mother of the Child Horus. Becoming the consort and mother of the solar god, with the solaration of Osiris he was identified with all other celestial gods and was most intimately as imitated with Hat hör while he was one of the chief divinities of the

---

10 Budge *op cit.*, 1 523
11 E. Agyptische Religion, p 174
1 Müll *op cit.*, p 171 for further detail see Müller *op cit.*
2 Müller *op cit.*, RHR, 1903, xlviii, 362 371 K. St th Imhotep péd à aegypt r 1 UGAA, 1902 u, ff
1 Mull *p cit.*, p
Underworld the Kingdom of the Dead and the con sort of Osiris appears with him in the judgment scene represented by Maat and receive the title Goddess of the Wt a ult of her identification with Hathor. In her origin character she was the rich black oil of Egypt fertilized by the Nile but later she was conceived the goddess of fertility and love the close friend and protector of women in all the vicinity of their lv and worshiped with Astarte Aphrodite Demeter and Persephone. Originally independent politically, she united with Osiris but was the more popular of the two and more a divinity of the home and person than of the temple and priest. Until the Twenty-sixth Dynasty she was seldom hewn as a nursing mother but thereafter the worship of the mother and child became increasingly general and during the Roman period was widely spread.

In the Book of the Dead and in the Pyramid Texts Isis is associated with many of the most important myths of Egyptian religion. As the faithful wife of Osiris he ought and found the body of her husband which had been dispersed and scattered by Seth his murderer being into his mouth he restored him and receiving his seed he ecreted him in the papyrus, and in the further enmity of Seth and there aided by Thoth and attended by her sister Nephthys and by other goddesses of child birth he brought forth Horus nourishing him among the re. He gave her unusual power as a magician by means of stratagem through which he learned the secret name of the supreme god Re when he was old and feeble. Originally a humble member of his household he mixed hi

1 Maspéro, History, p 132
2 Petrie in ERE v 246
3 Budg, op cit, p 233 ff. Also Muller, op cit, p 116
pittle with earth and created a corpion which wa placed in the path until Re should walk forth, when it tung him on the heel. Not knowing what the trouble was and feeling himself dying he called loudly for help where upon Isis, among others, came with profuse protestation of sympathy. During his extreme suffering she begged Re to disclose to her his secret name that he might use it for his cure, but he long demurred saying that his father had locked the name in his breast in order that no god should have power over him and declaring that it could be obtained only by a surgical operation Re finally yielded however and Isis performed the operation secured the name cured the god and thus became the supreme enchantress of Egypt a sorceress often referred to as Weret hiky she who is great of magic (Turin Papyrus, 131 133).

Isis a healing divinity of the first rank (Diodoro 1 25) cared for the health of her people and was especially killed in the treatment of children having gained her knowledge by devising charms and remedies for her infant on (Turin Papyrus, xxxi lxxvii 6 Ebers Papyrus i xi). To the suffering he came bringing with her word of magical power and her mouth was full of the breath of life for her talisman vanquished the pain of ickness and her word make to live again the throat of the one who was dead. In the preparation of remedies he was appealed to by incantation in the following from the Eber Papyrus

My I i he 1 me h he led her on Horu f ll th p m which hi brother S th brought on him when he lew hi f ther

17 Budg op c t., 1 372 387 giv th tory in p r ll l text
1 K Sethe Zur It gyptisch n S g vo Sonnen ug da in d r Fr md w r ' in UGAA, 1912, v, 128 l o Budg Magic, pp 137 141 G rdin r, in ERE vuu 26
1 B dg op c t., p 139
O iri O I r. Thou great enchantre, he I me ave me from ill evil thing of darkne from the epidemic and deadly di ease and infection of all orts that prng upon me thou ha taved and freed thy on Horu, for I have pa ed through fire and m come out of the water May I not light upon that day when I hall ay I am of no account and pitiable O Re who ha t poken for thy body O O iri who pr ye t for thy manifestion Re peak for the body, O iri pr y for the manifestion Fr e me from ll po ible evil hurtful thing of darkne from epidemic and de dly fever of every kind

To tho e who ought her aid in illnes he disclosed her remedies through dreams by incubation, more e pecially in the later period when she was a ociated with Serapi at Alexandria and at Phil 0 and her temples notably tho e at Kopto and at Panopolis were depository of ancient medical lore She was also a child birth godde s and in thi function she was asociated with other divini ties as Nephthys Heqet and Meskhenet

Isis of 'ten thousand names was venerated nd wor shipped throughout the whole of the known Nile valley From the period of the New Kingdom she wa similated with practically every goddess in Egypt, ab orbing their attributes over hadowing them nd being wor Hipp d in very many aspects in the hrine of other godde e either under their name and attributes or under com pound names, such a Isis Hat h or Isis Neith Th orignmal seat of her cult appears to have been at Per ehibet near the city of Buto and she had other temples in dif ferent part of the country, one of the mo t beautiful being that erected under the Ptolemies on the aced

0 R’villout in PSBA, 1887, x 58
1 Erm Du Marche des P pyr s We tc r, pp 60 ff 1 o M
pr Pop l r Stor es, pp 36 ff Wi dem nn Alt gypt ch S g
d Marchen, pp 1 24
Müll r op cat., p 99
THE HEALING GODS

1 land of Phil the remains of which are till of great architectural interest

In the reorganization of religion under Ptolemy Soter Isis was as ocated with the new god Serapis at Alexan
dria where she was the second member of the triad, and the new cult gaining in popularity especially among foreigners soon spread to Greece Rome and its province, although in Rome it was long discredited because of cultic abuses. After it had been suppressed elsewhere in the general movement against pagani m the worship of Isis continued in Egypt even to the middle of the fifth century AD owing to the faithful support given it by the Nubians.

KHONSU, OR KHONS

During the Early Empire Khonsu the son of Amon and Mut and the third member of the Theban triad appear to have been a travelling deity a messenger of the god in the form of the moon and with the role of the Theban Empire and the advancement of Amon to supremacy as a national divinity he was recognized as an ancient form of the moon god, and the son of Amon Re. The earliest certain mention of Khonsu is of his close association with Thoth as a moon god and before the Middle Kingdom he seems to have been little known, especially outside of Upper Egypt. In his development he was associated with Horus as Khonsu Horu, and at a late date with Re as Khonsu Re. During the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties he came into notice more and more frequently and thereafter he became an important deity his healing cult developed rapidly and he was widely renowned for his miraculous cures but there are no legends.


* Mull r op cit, p 140. Wilki on op cit, iii 484513.
of him before the Ptolemaic period. He was greatly honored at Thebes and Ramses III (1200-1100 BC) erected a large and beautiful temple for him at Karnak on the east bank of the Nile within the precincts of the great temple of Amon. There were three shrines: the House of Khonsu, the beautiful resting one; the House of Khonsu in Thebes; Nefer hotep and the sanctuary of Khonsu, the god who carried out his plans in Thebes. The divinity was also worshiped outside the temple. The deity was often associated with Thoth as Khonsu Tahuti, but the chief interest attaches to his form as Khonsu Nefer hotep who ruled over the moon, the great god who driveth away devils of sea, earth and sky which are hostile to man and which attack him causing pains, sickness, madness, decay, and death. Khonsu made women and cattle become fertile.

A the god in activity, the divinity cured Ptolemy Philadelphus of a dangerous disease and in gratitude the monarch erected in honor of the deity a statue, joining his sanctuary, the ba of which is until preserved.

The image of Khonsu contained the soul of the god and it announced his will by hanu, movement of the head. Khonsu Nefer hotep was credited with the ability to effect cures by substitution loaning the healing force from his own soul energy to an image or double, 'bestowing upon it [by the nape of the neck] a protective fluid at four intervals. The true name thus conveyed gave the statue power to cast out demons and to cure disease. But the best of the divine substance was always kept at Thebes. An instance of the efficacy of this...


W. D. Mann, Magie und Ziberet, pp 1-21.
tran mitted power 1 related on the o called Bakhtan
tele now in Pari 7 The father in law of Ramese II
a powerful prince of Mesopotamia reque ted him to send
one of Egypt sage to heal his daughter, who wa
afflicted with 2 di ea e which had re 1sted all effort at
cure and Rame e accordingly deputed a man wise of
heart and cunning of finger 6 but when he reached hi
de tination he found him elf helpless to aid the prince
since he w po essed of a demon (or a ghost or spirit
of the dead) of superior rank A econd appeal was made
to Rame e who then consulted Khon u whereupon the
god nodded firmly twice thu consenting that one of
hi double to whom he tran mitted hi healing force m
fourfold mea ure should be sent to Bakhtan. Upon the
rrival of the deity the evil spirit at once recognized hi
ma ter, made submission, and offered to return to hi
own place but begged that fir t a fea t hould be held t
court at which he might be present Thi reque t wa
granted and when the god the prince and the demon had
pent a pleasant day together the evil spirit went to hi
home and the princess was cured while Khonsu w
thereafter highly honor ed at Bakhtan where he remained
for more than three years Recent critics declare that the
stele 1 of late Greek origin and that the tory was prob-
ably invented to enhance the waning influence of the deity
Khonsu was vario ly represented with the figure of
m n nd the head of hawk or a human head, ur
mounted by a lunar or solar di k and with the crescent
or ur u he i also depicted as a child bearing a rela-
tion to the god imilar to that of Harpokrate to Horus

7 Budge Magic, pp 206 213 o Gods, n 38 41, Ma pero, op
cit, pp 175 179
I e, rakhkh t, " know of th g (Eb rs Papyrus, I ix)
Müll r op cit, p 140 Budg, op cit, n 33 41 Wilkin on op
cit, n 174 17
but the most characteristic form was that of a young prince with a side lock of hair clothed in antiquated royal apparel with the insignia of royalty the whip and crook

NEITH

Neith one of the most ancient deities of the pantheon and probably of Libyan origin adopted during the First Dynasty had as symbol the hiltle and bow and arrows whence it would appear that he was a divinity of weaving (perhaps of handicrafts) and of the cheese though in her later aspect he was regarded as a form of Hat-hor and a kingly goddes. Presiding over the city of Sais in the Delta he was frequently referred to under that name and being associated with the theology of Atum Re at Heliopolis the father god he was called the 'mother goddes' Neith the mighty mother who gave birth to Re the great lady the lady of heaven and the queen of the gods while the term elf born or elf produced was applied to her and he was aid to have brought forth Re without the aid of husband.

Although a prominent and highly respected member of the pantheon he was always surrounded with an ir of mystery the many texts concerning her have not been harmonized and her composite complex character has not been clearly interpreted. She was also allied with Isis as a protector of Horus and a form of the magic power of these deities and with Sekhmet Mut Uba tet and Uzot deities having childbirth functions her symbol being the vulture indicative of maternity and of an obstetric function. She was also a healing deity her temple at Sais being celebrated as a

---

0 Blackman, in JEA, 1916 m, p 247
1 Budg op cit, 1 475
Ib, 1 459
healing nctuary and having attached to it medical school which was restored (by direction of Darîu) during the Persian occupation.

The Greek who equated the goddess with Athena attributed to her remarkable powers and a statue of Neith which is supposed to have symbolized Truth and of which much has been written bore an inscription given by Plutarch (op cit., ix) which he assumed to refer to Iś and which read I m all that hath been and that shall be, and my veil none hath uncovered (or revealed).

The worship of Neith was widely extended throughout Egypt the chief seat in the South being at Elephantine where she was the consort of Khnhmû and at Letopolis (Tel snet) and her annual Festival of Lamp at Siwa famous (Herodoto hi 59 62).

NEKHBET

N KHBET, the tutelary goddess of the city of Eileithyia polis (Nekhab), the modern El Kab and Hierakonpolis the White City of hawks was the best known divinity of child birth in the pantheon while in the early period he was one of the two mistresses of the prehistoric kingdoms into which the country was then divided Nekhbet ruling the South while her sister, Uoit of Buto reigned over the North.

Although he is described on monuments as a deity of child birth he is more commonly referred to as a nurse who protected kings as in the instance of Pepi whom he

3 Gardiner in ERE viii, 268
4 Wilkinson on op cit., ii 42
Budge, op cit., i, 458
5 Ib., i 450 465, also Wilkinson on op cit., iii, 39 44
7 Wilkinson op cit., iii 380
Muller op cit., pp 101 142 143
uckled. The vulture who e hieroglyph was used for mother (Aihano _op cit_, p 22) was her emblem and was very commonly shown with out pread wing while Nekhbet herself was represented with a human figure and the head of a vulture or sometimes of an ape with the head of a woman wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt with a cap and the two ostrich feathers of Upper Egypt occasionally with the globe of Hat-hor, a ky goddess.

Nekhbet in the myths a one of the em at tendance upon Hor at the birth of Hor and she was intimately associated with the other divinitie of parturition especially with Uzoi Uba tet and Hat-hor a well a with Mekhenet (or Rannu) who was more definitely a nurse of the North Uat or Uati modern Uman of one name ordinarly called Buto (more accurately Uto) who was also protectre of Monarch nd who was likewise represented in the form of vulture and worshiped with the am honor at Thebe but who was placed in opposition as having a contrary character. The Greek equated Nekhbet with Eileithyia nd the Romans with Lucin and the city of Nekhbeyet was called Civita Lucinae.

NEPHTHYS OR NEBT HOT

Nephtys, the Mistress of the temple and an ancient deity of the Osiran cycle was in general character the goddess of death whence she was called Mistress of the

Br t d _op cit_, p 130

4 Wilkin _op cit_, u 194 200

1 Budg _op cit_, 1 438 441
West yet her personality was essentially passive and he appear a complementary to Isis. Born on the fifth epagomenal day he was the daughter of Qēb and Nut and the sister of Osiris Sēth Horus the Elder and Isis but though he was the wife of Sēth he was an attendant upon Osiris in the judgment cene and a faithful friend to Isis. She aided her sister in searching for and collecting the remain of Osiris and in carrying them to Abydos for interment and he watched over Isis in the swamp while awaiting the birth of Horus, afterward being one of the child's nursing mothers. She was intimately associated with Nekhbet and Uzit Heqet and Me khenet and co-operated with them a deity connected with child birth (Westcar Papyrus, pl 9 1 21 ff)

Like Isis Nephthys was skilled in magic mighty in words of power and a healing divinity while with Osiris and Isis she was one of the great overseigns of Mendes in the Delta. She had numerous titles of which the most common were lady of heaven, mistress of the god, and great goddess lady of life and he was worshipped in many places especially with Isis at her great temple at Per eḥbet (Plutarch op cit, xxxviii lxxii)

PTAH

Ptah one of the primeval deities called the very great god represented wisdom and was a cosmic divinity the creator of the gods and of the world a fellow worker with Khenīmu in the creation of the universe molding the solar and lunar eggs on the potter's wheel and executing the commands of Thoth and of the Seven Wise One of the goddes Meh urt who planned the world. As a

Muller, op cit, p 110 Budg op cit, n 254 260 P tri in ERE v 246

Budg op cit, 1, 501
Müller, op cit, pp 144 145

* Budge op cit, 1 516
creator he was Ptah Tetenen and an architect a divine
rtṣ t in tone and metal who formed works of art
hi high priest being the chief artificer Ptah par
took of the nature of Thoth and was called lord of Maat
at Memphis which was named Hat ka Ptah Place of the
Soul of Ptah and in which he had been adored from
archaic time a the greatest of all divinities.

Ptah the god of the propitiatory face was the chief
of the Memphite triad his wife Sekhmet and his on
Nefer têm (or later I m hotep who displaced Nefer têm)
completing the group He was identified with many
other deities whose power he was supposed to possess
but more closely with Apep and Osiris than with other
Apis was regarded as the incarnation of the soul of Ptah
and in dying became Sokar a who was a divinity of a
place near Memphis and who was transformed into a god
of the earth and of the dead when this became a necropolis
Ptah was then blended with Sokar and later, when ab-
Orbed by Osiris as Osiris Apep they became Osiris Apis
the Serapis of Ptolemaic time.

Ptah was a therapeutic divinity of great renown and
his temple at Memphis was celebrated for the marvellous
cure which he effected. It appears that from early time
the remedy for the healing of diseases were revealed to
uppliants at hi hrime in dream during sleep in hi
anctuary A an incubation deity he received the epithet
Sotmu, and it was chiefly in his aspect a Ptah Sotmu
that he was adored to ‘hear the prayer’ and when morn-
ing came the response when made was interpreted by

4 Breasted, op cit, pp 45 4
47 Müller op cit, pp 144 145 220 222
Budg, op cit, 1, 520
4 Maspéro History, 1, 163
Müller op cit, pp 98, 149 162
1 Sotmu me ming ar or hi ming Ptah Sotmu 1 con tru d a Pt h
wh h r, Fouc r t in ERE v 36
the Learned Men of the Magic Library or was found in a sealed box containing a book with direct instruction to be copied and followed.

The carabeus was the sacred emblem of the deity although he was occasionally represented as the frog. He was commonly depicted as a bearded man with close-fitting garments and a cap without ornament seated and holding in his hands the emblems of life and stability but occasionally he wore the ostrich feathers of Osiris and held his staff. The Greek equated him with their Hephaestus.

SEKHMET

Sekhmet was the second member of the Memphite triad, the consort and female counterpart of Ptah, and her name assumed to have been derived from sekhem (strong) corresponded to her personality which was strong, mighty, and violent. She represented fire and the intense destroying heat of the sun and was at times an avenging deity. The Lady of Silence. Re employed her to destroy the wicked but she became so fond of the blood of man and carried her destruction so far that he was alarmed for the human race and seeking to restrain her caused to be made a mixture of blood and mandrake which the goddess drank with such avidity that becoming intoxicated she forgot to slay.

Sekhmet was another protective divinity and was associated with Ptah at his healing shrines, her priests being celebrated in the curative art and reputed to have unusual skill in bone setting. She overplayed the part of protecting the good and annihilating the wicked and bore many titles as greatly beloved of Ptah or lady of

Budge, op cit, 1, 515 Gardin r in ERE vu 264
Muller op cit, pp 73-75 Maspéro op cit, 1, 234 ff

*M p r o op cit, 1, 30*
heaven mistress of two land. Though her most common epithet was the Lady of Flame she was imitated with Mut and Neith and both she and her sister Ubastet were identified with form of Hat-hor while in dynastic times she was blended with Re and Ubastet being called Sekhmet Ubastet Re. She was ordinarily confused with Ubastet and Uoit Her close relation in religion with Amon and Mut at Thebes have been shown in modern excavation at Karnak by the finding of more than one hundred and eighty statues of her in her heroic size bordering the avenue leading to the temple of Amon. The goddess was represented with the head of a lioness usually ur mounted by a solar disk with the uræu.

**SERAPIS OR OSOR HAP**

Serapis was introduced into the Egyptian pantheon by Ptolemy I with the intention of establishing a god in whose worship the Greek could join at a common shrine and who would be distinctive of his reign. Finally in dream he was told to bring to Alexandria (Plutarch, op. cit., xxviii, xxix) and after a search the image found at Sinope in Pontus, was obtained with some difficulty and taken to the capital where it was set up with great pomp and ceremony the temple of Osiris Apis being rebuilt and the large celebrated Serapeum of Alexandria becoming the center of the divinity's cultic worship. The Egyptians were told that the god was a fusion of Osiris and Apis of Memphis and they discerned in him...

Many of the statues have been removed to museums of the world.

Budge, *op. cit.*, 1, 514-520

Ib., 11, 195

Bouché, *Histoire d'Égypte depuis la conquête*, 1, 199.
The Healing Gods

O Iris Apis (their own wesjr hapi, i.e., the dead Apis the blended O or hap) but the deity was received with coolness and never become popular although, as a result of official pressure his cult was widespread especially throughout Lower Egypt. Serapis assumed the title of O iri as the Nile god the god of the Underworld and the judge of the dead and absorbed all his functions although the ceremonial rites were changed and I 1 was associated with him in cultic worship. The Egyptian origin of the name is preferred by good authority but many opinions have been expressed concerning the antecedents of the divinity that he was the Baal or Belzipur of Babylon who was equated with Zeus or more probably that he was the great Babylonian healing deity Ea of Eridu under his common title Sarapis. King of the Watery Deep with his dream oracle while Bouché-Leclercq remark that under hi [Serapi] name were collected the debris of numerous divine personalities worn out by time.

Serapis was a complex character but he was a healing divinity par excellence, an instromantic deity working with the dream oracle and other forms of divination with incubation magic and like mystic practices. The old Egyptian ritual was superseded and the compulsory interpretation of dreams by priests, who thus controlled the oracle gave rise to many abuses. A Louvre papyrus of late date contain a journal of a Greek attendant at the Serapeum at Memphis of about A.D. 164 which suggests that the writer belonged to a guild of professional me.

E Thiamer, 'Health and Gods of Healing (Greek and Roman),' in ERE vi, 542, 549

Wilkinson op cit, iii 95 98

F K Lehmann Haupt in Rosch r 1910, iv 340 Müller op cit, pp 8 389

Bouché Leclercq op cit, i, 78
diurns who incubated for suppliant and who were called by the Greek name *katochoi,* \(^3\) such priests being supposed to be inspired by a divinity and to act as the mouth piece of the oracle of the god.

The great Serapeum at Alexandria was always the chief seat of the worship of Serapis and Isis in the Ptolemaic age and it was adorned by a statue of the deity a colossal work of art by the famous sculptor Bryaxis (Tacitus *Historia*, iv 83) contemporary of Skopa. \(^4\) The two other centers of his worship were at Memphis where he displaced Apis and at Abydos where he took over the temple of O in. Another Serapeum which was renowned and held in great veneration was situated at Canopus where suppliants incubated for themselves or others did for them and marvellous cures were reported (Strabo XVII 1 17 p 800 C) The cult acquiring renown spread to Greece where it proved a powerful rival to that of Akeleio and it also found its way to Rome and its provinces until it was forbidden and the Serapeum at Alexandria with all its accumulations of Oriental literature, was destroyed shortly after the edict of Theodosius which finally suppressed paganism.

**THOTH THOUT OR TAHUTI**

Thoth, the Egyptian moon god installed by Re personified the intellect of the lunar deity as well as his creative and directing power and he was the orderer of the cosmos speaking the words which resulted in the creation. He was the divinity of wisdom through whom all mental gifts were imparted to man and was the possessor of every kind of knowledge and of everything that

\(^{\text{Milton, } op \ cit., \text{ p } 105}\)
\(^{\text{Cumont, } Th \text{ Or nt l Rel igions in Roman Pag nism, } \text{ p } 76}\)
\(^{\text{Budge, } op \ cit., \text{ p } 195 \text{ 201. Also Milne, in } ERE vi 376 378}\)
\(^{\text{Muller, } op \ cit., \text{ pp } 84 \text{ 85}}\)
contributed to civilization and refinement whence he was the inventor of letters, language and numbers and of the art and sciences including astronomy, architecture, medicine and botany. He was the founder of the social order the author of the institutions of temple worship and the builder of shrines 7 besides being the Lord of the Divine words who devised the sacred ritual for proper approach to deity with prayers and sacrifices. He was, moreover, the Lord of Law, the master of law in its physical and moral conceptions the knowing one who looketh through bodies and testeth hearts and accordingly he became the divine arbiter to whom appeal was made for assistance in important matters under dispute. He was also great in magic, the mightiest of all magicians and the god Hike of the Old Kingdom was possibly a form of Thoth 6 while he was regarded as the personification of the intelligence of Ptah. Thoth thus appear as above the ordinary Egyptian divinity a god whose mind is all penetrating and all comprehending the Mysterious the Unknown. The character of Thoth is a lofty and beautiful conception and is perhaps the highest idea of deity ever fashioned in the Egyptian mind 7.

Thoth was intimately associated with the myths of the Osirian cycle. In the Underworld he was a divinity of Maat (Justice) who in the judgment scene stood by the Great Balance and determined the weight of the human hearts against the ostrich feather and he was the recording deity the scribe of the gods who reported the results to Osiris and his assessors who replied, saying, That which cometh from thy mouth is true and the de

7 Boylan, op cit, pp 88 89 93 101 103
6 Ib, p 125
6 Ib, p 102
6 Budge, op cit, p 415
He outwitted Re by creating the intercalary day, thus enabling Nut to give birth to Osiris Horu the Elder Seth Isi and Nephthys, and the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* are declared to have been composed by him. He put together the scattered member of the murdered Osiris (*Pyramid Texts*, 639 747 830) he provided the magic words by which I 1 revived Osiris that he might receive his seed and conceive Horu and Re chose him to go with mighty word of power which cured the dying Horu of the stinging.

Thoth was a protector against evil and especially against illness delivering man from the perils that threatened him as well as from the evil demons that beset him. My god Thoth is a shield round about me* (Anastasi Papyrus, I viii 3) The essential of medicine consisted in the rites and formula by which unseen malicious beings which caused disease were exorcised and expelled from the bodies of victims and hence were magical so that a magician he was a powerful patron of physician who beought him to give skill to those who know things to physician who are in his tram (*Hearst Medical Papyrus*, vi 10) An enormous number of amulets in the form of figurines of the god have been found in all parts of Egypt and are supposed to refer to his functions as magician and healer, while according to the old text he played the part of the physician of the eye of Horu (*Hearst Medical Papyrus*, xiv 9) healing the eye of the un when he restored the eye of Horu after his fight with Seth and he was especially efficacious against the attacks of scorpions With his spittle he healed the wound.

---

7 Budge *op cit*, i, 408
7 Fraer, *op cit*, p 341
7 Boyl *op cit*, p 131
74 Mull *op cit*, p 32
of his own arm received while endeavoring to compose the Horus Séth struggle (Pyramid Texts, 535 2055) and in invocations he was reminded of his own physical trouble possibly of the incident O Thoth heal me a thou did t heal thy elf (Book of the Dead, 71 6)

A period of exceptionally intense veneration for the divinity began with the Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Græco Roman epoch his popularity had a rapid growth his shrines existed everywhere and he appeared definitely at Phil and in the Nubian temple at Dendur the Egyptian A klepios holding the serpent encircled staff while his epithet 'Išn connects him with I m hotep at Phil a

He who comes to him that calls him In the late period the name of Thoth Stm became familiar Stm being regarded as an appellation of the oracle as well as of the healing god Thoth and at the shrine at Medinet Habu (Djeme) he was sometimes confused with Teos (Dhr) divinity of healing who it is conjectured was a deified priest of Memphis In the text of the dedication of this sanctuary it is said that Thoth (nd possibly Teo ) was accustomed to descend on the temple each evening in the form of an ibis going forth every morning and it is therefore asumed that the fane was regarded a the focus for oracle received through incubation

Thoth had a primitive shrine at Hierakonpoli where standards show the sacred ibis but the first trace of a cultic center was at his sanctuary in Hermopolis which became probably the greatest healing temple of ancient Egypt A medical school and library were connected with it and Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata, vi 4) describes forty two hermetic book book of Thoth which were discovered there six of which numbered from thirty

Boylan, op cit, pp 89 1 131 132, 159 166 168
7 S the m ERE vi 651
77 Boyl n, op cit, p 1 1 Iso M illet, Kasr l Agouz, pp 99 101
even to forty two were medical Pre umably a an a 1 tant Safekht (or Sekhauit) was attached to the library being the lady of letter mistres of the house of books At the temple of Philæ Thoth was especially venerated and received the title of Lord of Philæ Lord of Eshmunein Thoth of the Abaton and 'Thoth of Pnubs His cult was fostered in Nubia his chief sanctuary there being at Dakkeh and another was at Dendur but in both he appeared in the form of Shu Thoth was especially venerated at the temple of Hermopolis confirmed by numerou texts and there are many suggestion that it was in use at the other shrines 

At his own city of Hermopolis Thoth was the chief of company (paut) consisting of an ogdoad of four pair of male and female deities his own feminine counterpart and consort being the godde Maat In the most ancient text an ibis on a perch the symbol of the god and he was usually represented with a human body and an ibis head occasionally unmounted by a feather crown though he also depicted a an ape or dog he ded baboon The Greek equated him with Hermes a Psychopompo

UBASTET OR BASTET

UBASTET the Lady of the West of the Delta and one of the most prominent of the ancient deities of the pantheon was primarily like her sister Sekhmet a god

7 Wilkinson op cit, ii 171
7 Muller, op cit, pp 52 53 200 l o Petri in ERE v 249, Budg op cit, 1 424
6 The name p nbs or pr bs 1 con trued Hou of the Sye m re (Boylan op cit, p 169)
1 Foucart, in ERE v, 35
2 Hopfner Der Taerkult der alten Agypt r, pp 2 32
Boyl n op cit, pp 136 ff al o Budg, op cit, 1 400 415
4 Mull r, op cit, p 150
de of fire but expressed the idea of the milder heat of the sun the warmth which germinates the seed and encourage vegetation. She was sometimes represented as a huntress and was also a healing divinity to whom the origin of the medical art was ascribed a goddess of the birth chamber and a protectress of children. The center of her worship was at Bubastet (Per Baste) and her temple and festivals were among the most interesting in Egypt (Herodotos ii 59 60 137 138 Diodoros, xvi 51 Pliny op cit, v 9 Strabo XVII i 27 28 pp 805 806 C) Identified with most of the well-known feminine deities of the Nile valley and worshipped under their names she was known at Thebes as Mut Ubastet and was depicted as Isi while at Memphis she had a temple where she was identified with her sister Sekhmet and where they both represented the devouring destructive heat of the sun (Herodotos, ii 156) Her association with Khonsu at Thebes had led to the surmise that she was a moon goddess. The cat was sacred to her and being depicted with the head of that animal he was called the cat-headed goddess but in the later period he was regarded as a variant of Sekhmet and then had the head of a lioness surmounted by the uræus. The Greek equated her with Artemis (Herodotos loc cit)

UZOIT UAZIT OR BUTO (UTO)

Uzoi was one of the old divinities of the pantheon, the goddess of the North who with her sister Nekhbet at their respective ancient capitals of Lower and Upper Egypt Buto in the Delta and El Kâb in the South ruled over these prehistoric kingdoms and they were called

Budg op cit, i 444-450
Br a t d op cit, p 130
erpent goddesses since they often symbolized the two Egyptians in this form. 

Like her sister Nekhbet, Uaôt was a deity of childbirth and was also a celebrated magician frequently identified with ÊÊÊ. She assisted Nephthys in hiding Isis and in caring for her in the papyrus wamp with Nekhbet and other goddesses she superintended the birth of Horus subsequently acting one of his nurturing mothers. Her own city, the chief seat of her worship, was at Buto, and here in her great temple Pe Dep she conducted a renowned healing oracle (Herodotus ii, 83–84). During Ptolemaic times, the pr mst, birth house, also called the ht 'bw, house of purification in which women are supposed to have remained fourteen days after delivery, was attached to the temple of goddess Uaôt, who was called mistress of all the gods or Uaôt Ldy of heaven and was assimilated with Hat hör Nekhbet and Isis. Her symbol was the uræus and he wore the a p on her headress being called the Uræu Goddess. The Greek identified her with Leto.

Minor deities of Childbirth and Nursing

In addition to the two principal deities of childbirth, Nekhbet and Uaôt, there were several minor goddesses connected with the lying in chamber who gave every birth and cared for the child, but whose personalities were not clearly developed and defined. Among the more notable of these were Heqet, the later consort of Khnumu, a birth deity and goddess of the cradle. Meskhenet (birthplace) who though associated with the dead is more frequently mentioned in connection with the birth.

27 Muller op cit, pp 132–361
Budg. op cit, i, 441
Ib., i 438 n 285 441 444
2 Muller op cit, p 52
THE HEALING GODS

chamber and with the care of children and who was ometime regarded as a feminine deity of fate ¹ and Renenutet a divinity of nursing who was identical with the asp headed Rannu and who was called a divine nurse of princes Me khenet the name of the brick or couple of bricks on which women crouched in giving birth was symbolic goddes personified under a sign on the head interpreted as a bicornate uterus (?) In the text he coupled with Khnumu or with Renenutet ²

²¹ Muller op cit, pp 52 95, 137 l o Budg, op cit, ii 144, 359 M pero Popular Stones, p 36 id, Études égyptiennes, i 27
Muller, op cit, pp 6 116
Wilkin on op cit, iii 213 214 Note Other mention of ancient Egyptian lit tur but they do not sufficiently defined to be included here Se A M Blackman Som Rork on n Emble pon th h ad of an Ancient Egyptian Birth Godd in JEA, 191 iii 199 206
Spigel Aegyptologisch Randglossen zu Alten Testa e t, pp 1 25
CHAPTER TWO

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN GODS
CHAPTER TWO

THE HEALING GODS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The people of Babylonia and Assyria believed that disease was of supernatural origin and that it was due to the activities of unseen enemies, particularly to the presence of some spirit such as a ghost or demon in the body of the sufferer. Often it was induced by a deity or by a human sorcerer and cure was dependent upon the dislodgment and expulsion of the evil being by some higher divine power. The treatment of disease was, therefore, a matter which pertained to religion and which was under the direction of the priests.

General views of the people

The ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, which flourished in pomp and grandeur and power in the valley of the Tigris and of the Euphrates and which included the surrounding countries, extending their control to the Mediterranean and into Egypt, referred every phenomenon of nature to supernatural causes, believing that all nature was controlled by superhuman or divine beings or spirits who might be either good or evil in intent. Man sought to obtain the blessings which nature provided and to escape the misfortune of life which malicious beings of the spirit world brought upon him and to this end he invoked the god who were his natural friends and protectors and who were generally more powerful than the
being of evil Supplications were made to them to thwart the evil design of the enemy spirits and, expelling those who already possessed the ick and suffering to grant the bles ing of health and of pro perity These appeal were supported by religious ceremonies which included prayers incantation for exorcism sacrifice symbolic mag ic occult practices and mysterious pseudo science in all of which the priest were adepts Such beliefs and u ages were an integral part of the accepted religion and instructions derived from magic practices and from occult learning trn mitted through the priests were the voice of their honored deities by which their daily live were guided both in per sonal and in national affair

*Ancient records*

The Old Te tament and the ancient hi torians includ ing the Babyloman Beros os fragments of whose work hav been preserved to us, furnish scant information con cerning the e great nations and the inter t which they h v alw y arou ed has been only partially atisfied by further detail of their hi tory and civih ation disclosed by ancient records found in modern excav tions The t blets of clay engraved in cuneiform characters, many of them from the great library of Assurbanipal at Nine veh generally date from about the seventh century bc , although it ha been determined that many are copie of much older documents While the cuneiform source do not begin until bout 3000 bc , there are evidences th t the people of Sumer occupied the southern Euphrate valley as early as 5000 bc , and even 8000 bc is men tioned The most ancien records of the valley yet dis covered (legends ritual texts hymns, contracts, and word lists) re in the Sumerian tongue which wa for many centurie the classic scientfic language of th

$^1$ H Zimm mn 'B byloman nd A yri n in ERE ui 309
inv der from the north and they ugge t th t th Sumerian had attained a higher type of civilisation th n that which was po se sed by their Semitic conqueror. The Semites of Akkad who are uppo ed to have m de their appear nce in the land not later than bout 4000 c., grew in trength until about 2300 B.C., when the Sumerian state were tran formed into a collection of Sumero-Akkadian state and Semitic speech serving with Sumerian a the official language during the third millennium became predomi nt both for popular nd for official use after about 2000 c., when the Semites gained full control of the valley. Many of the e record re broken and imperfect very many others are yet unde ciphered but although our information is till fragmen tary sufficient i known to con truct a fairly accurate picture of many of their cu tom as well a of their reh gion belief and practice.

The respective civilisations

The closely related civilisation of Babylonian and Assyrian were very much the same but Babylonian cultivated literature nd the art and gave thought to religion to a larger extent while Assyria dominated rather by the spirit of conquest manife ted greater material m with stronger undercurrent of animism in her religion cult. Whatever individuality was hown in Assyrian belief and cu toms they were ever influenced and tinctured by the higher and more vigorous culture of the Babylonian from whom they borrowed much.

The religion

The religion of the Babylonian and Assyrians never

T. G. Pinch, ‘Sumer Akkadian’ in ERE xi 43 of 1
Winckler Die Volker Vorder sin , p 5
J. tr w The C v is two of B by o d A syr , pp 120 ff.
ro e far above a relatively primitive stage of development its dominating feature being polyd mom m m which were a multitude of divinities. This seems to have superseded earlier animistic beliefs which were till powerful underlying element in the imagination of the people and its survival appeared in all the popular form of religious observances, that a subjective religion apparently existed side by side with yet apart from the official creed which was diligently followed by the who e thought never attained the higher level of peculion

_The pantheon._

The many deity of Babylonia and Ass were for the most part ancient gods of local origin identified with the sever l state and citie though other had been brought in from neighboring state after inv ion and domination nd h d been accepted a member of th pantheon The old Sumerian and Semitic divinitie with their consorts had been acknowledged and as imitated but the Sumerian name greatly exceeded those of Semitic origin and everything goe to show that the Sumerian elements in the population had the same preponderating influence in religious matter that they enjoyed in literature and in art. There were cosmic and national deity each city had it chief divinity around each great god were grouped lesser deities demigod and those of a till lower order and these were subdivided some being good nd one being evil spirits hostile to man and pos ed of power to do him injury The good spirits were guardians of mankind and one was supposed to be assigned to each person for guidance and for protection while the

*L B P to 'Beel Bel in ERE ii 295
Jastrow The Religion of B bylon and Assyria, pp 116 ff 180 ff
Pinche in ERE xi 42
god were patron and defenders of their respective citie and people. A few of the older deities were credited with cosmic function and their deeds in bringing order out of chaos and in developing the heaven, the atmosphere and the earth re related in the religious tradition and myth. The more important divinities were grouped in triads the first of which consisted of Anu the great god of the heaven supreme over all who e chief eat wa. Uruk Enlil the deity of the atmosphere and of the earth whose abode was at Nippur and Ea the divinity of the waters whose city was Eridu. A second triad was composed of Shamash the sun god, Sin the moon god and Ishtar the goddess of love and fertility, and there were many other divinities having various functions such as Nusku and Gibil or Giru deities of fire and Nimbu a divinity of war.

The rank of deities

The fortunes of all deities varied with the changing circumstance of their devotees with the favor and power of ruler and particularly with the activity and influence of the several priesthood in the development of their favorite divinities. Local gods gained popularity and prestige and were accepted and worshipped in other citie their authority extended with the increasing power of their peoples. Some were thus raised to a high rank and prestige and some received national recognition and power while others were displaced their attributes and rites were absorbed and they receded to subordinate rank though frequently retaining the love and respect of their local worshippers and still enjoying a limited influence. Marduk the national god of Babylonian the most striking example of rise in fortune from

---

J. Trouw op cit., pp. 107-108
insignificant local divinity of the city of Babylon he became more and more prominent as the city increased in power until finally he attained uppremacy over all other divine beings of Babylonia and secured recognition of his might in several neighboring states. He absorbed the attributes function and honors of other deities, reduced them to a secondary place and finally contested though unsuccessfully the independence of Assur the national god of Assyria. Even the traditional myth were altered to glorify him and he received credit for the cosmic deed of other divinities.

**Temples**

The deities were worshipped with much formality and pomp. El bor te ritu l and complicated symbolic ceremonies were handed down by tradition for these functions and great feasts lasting for day were held in honor of certain divinities at stated time of the year. Numerous temples were erected for the patron deity of a city and on of the acquired high renown. E Ap u the temple of Ea of Eridu and E Sagila the great sanctuary of Marduk at Babylon while god of lesser rank were honored with fane of their own or were received in the great temple where they were assigned private shrines according to their importance.

**The priesthood**

Priests and occasionally priestesses were attached to the sanctuary and were trained in the special duties pertaining to their clas. One group supervised sacrifices and offerings another attended to hymns, prayer, and lamentation, another which included physician...
ducted the rites of incantation which expelled evil spirit. Exorcised demon of disease purified the unclean and thwarted witch and practitioner of black magic while still another group directed oracles, divination, interpretation of dreams and omens from the movement of the heavenly bodies in which the priests particularly the Chaldean were adept. The priesthood had great prestige and influence both in religious and in political affairs and guided the destinies of their patron deity, holding practical control of all learning culture and the arts and conducting school in the temple where priests, physicians and priests were educated.

Religious Literature

An examination of the religious composition of Babylon and Assyria discloses the fact that their religion was based upon fear of demons and upon belief in the power of the gods over them rather than upon ethical considerations, which came only as a much later development. As used in the great majority of the texts the term sickness and possession by evil spirit were synonymous and indicated merely the physical condition of an evil state of the body from which relief was sought. Misery, sorrow and contrition were frequently expressed often with great feeling, but in the penitence there was seldom even a suggestion of moral wrong. The appeals to the deities and the religious practices by which it was hoped to obtain release from misfortune after overcoming or exorcising the demons must be termed for the most part according to modern views, magic in character being formulated on the theory that

the priests were thus enabled to exercise control over unseen supernatural powers whether of good or of evil. Magic and magic practices accordingly permeated all the religious thought of Mesopotamia and dominated it ceremoniously.

The afterlife

The hereafter engaged the attention of the people, but their ideas of immortality remained vague. Death was unmitigated evil to the end and its occurrence was timorous without mercy for though the future did not involve extinction of conscious vitality yet it was gloomy. Assyrian Babylonian belief pictured the deceased as huddled together deep in the bowels of the earth in a place called Aralû over which presided the goddess Allatu and her consort Nergal whose subject were doomed to perpetual inactivity in a realm of neglect and decay. There was an absence of all ethical considerations in the allotment of the abode of the dead, and no theories of rewards and punishments were associated with their fate. In a fashion they were associated with the gods, and some of them were regarded as heroes but all interest centered in the present life, and the deities were not concerned for those who had departed from the earth but who nevertheless had an undefined influence over the affairs of mankind and at times exercised malign power upon them. They were the source of occasional oracles which were believed to have divine action and which are well illustrated by the Old Testament example of Saul calling upon the dead Samuel through the medium of the sorceress to declare what the outcome of a battle was to be.

1 Zimmer in ERE ii, 316-317, L W King Magic (B) by Ionian in ERE viii 253-255
14 J. Jow Royalty, pp 559-560
1 I Samuel viii 1
Belief in demonology

Belief in the existence of evil spirits and demon worship was central to the lives of the people of Mesopotamia. Demons were believed to be bitter and oppressing their daily lives with fear. All evil, misery, and mishaps that befell mankind were due to them. Such demons were inflicted by offended divinities and even then, the demon was used by the god in trumps of punishment. Malevolent spirits and demons mimicked to man existed on every side, ever ready to assail him and to do him all possible injury. Often, their attacks came in groups of even or of twice even and many having special function or bringing certain diseases and misfortune. In the later period, the deities were credited with greater control over the spirits of evil. So that it then came to be believed that the demon was able to effect their malevolent designs upon man only if they were given license by the god. 1

The demons

The invisible evil spirits, devil, and demon were divided into three general classes: (a) disembodied spirit of the dead ghost or edimmu, (b) unhumannatural being differing from the god by being of a lower order and named in groups such as utukku, the rabasu, and the gallû, or the triad labartu, labasu, and ahhazu, and others. And (c) half-human half-supernatural beings born of human and ghostly parentage awful monsters and also named in groups as lîlû, lîîtû, and ardat lîtî. There were besides many other especially the labbu, a fabulous lion-like raging monster allied to the mythical sea serpent and a bitter enemy of man. 17

1 J. Trow op cit., pp 260 ff

17 R. C. Bell, The Demon and Spirit World (Ayro B by loni n) 1 ERE iv 568 571 1 o Zimm 315
Attitude of the deities

The gods were regarded as the champion, protector, and defender of man and since except by virtue of their intervention he had no adequate defense against the attack of his enemies the deities were invoked for help through the medium of the priests as representing divinity. The religious ritual form and ceremonies by which the god were approached for release from all malign influence were systematized by the priesthood, who alone knew the method which propitiated and appeased the divinities. The deities gained their favor, averted misfortune, exorcised demon of disease, and secured protection and guidance for the future. Soothayers and exorcists were therefore held in high esteem by the people.

Rituals

All ritual and ceremonies were essentially twofold: (1) appeal to the deities for assistance, particularly for the exorcising of demon, and (2) divination to learn the disposition and the will of the gods. Entreaty to the divinities took the shape of hymns of praise and of prayers introductory to incantations, or shiptu, all of which partook of the nature of a curative remedy for present misfortune, sickness, and suffering. The form of these hymns, prayers, and incantation were built up by the priests from age to age until they became rigid traditional formula of approved ritual invocation arranged for all occasion and to be followed without variation. In the library of A surbampal have been found elaborate series of incantation text which were to be uttered in connection with certain sympathetic and symbolic magic rites. The sole object of all the prepared magic text and of the ceremonies accompanying their

recitation being to combat the demon to exorcise and drive them away or to transfer them to substitute victims. If recognized the particular malevolent being concerned was addressed by name but if he was unknown a long list of ghosts and evil spirits any one of whom might be the active agent was enumerated with a command to depart.

Purification

Purification was regarded as of essential importance and water and fire both having a sacred significance were the chief elements used for the purpose in connection with sympathetic and symbolic magic rites. Particularly in the cults of the healing divinities for purifying the sick, The god Ea of Eridu supervised the ritual use of water usually by sprinkling or pouring and apples were made to the deity Gibil (or Giru) or Nku in the fire rite. Sickness was an uncleanness and purification of the person and of the house in which he had lain was necessary especially after recovery while in the case of the king the use of torches and of cerer was mentioned. In the performance of these rites the exorcist was known as the asipu priest and the purifier was termed the mashmashu.

Divination

Every effort was put forth to penetrate the veil of the future for divine help and guidance. Special priests (the bâru, or diviner) were assigned to the study and the interpretation of signs and omens and the omen text how that Shamash the sun god and Adad the storm god were addressed as the gods of divination. The liver

---

1 Ja'frow Religion, pp. 252 ff.
0 Zimm 'm, in ERE ii 317 31
J 'frow Aspects, pp. 312 ff. 318
1 L W King, 'Divination (A syro B bylomi n) in ERE iv 7
THE HEALING GODS

wa regarded a the chief organ of life a the eat of lif in fact and its conformation and markings were assumed to be true indication of the disposition of the divinity toward the affairs of man so that examination of the livers of acrificial animal (hepatoscopy) particularly of the sheep was re orted to for guidance in matters of public welfare and especially for official decision. The sign of the heavens (astrology) the movements of the sun moon and planet and of the many signs of nature the condition of the atmosphere the abnormalities of infant at birth "omens from animals" and from oil and water and dreams 7 all gave more or less important indications of the divine will for the future chiefly for the use of rulers in national affairs. The application of astrology for personal interests had scant development in Mesopotamia since the reading of the heavens for the individual horoscope came only later being engrained upon astrology with Greek astronomy and applied in Greece and Rome."

Dreams and oracles

Oneiromancy the art of divination by dreams was recognized as a means of involuntary divination and had an important place in the beliefs and practice of the people of Mesopotamia. The god it was held revealed them else and their will to favored ones in dream which were a regular medium of communication between

"J trow op cit, pp 148 ff
and Assyria n, n, 23 215
Id, Relig on, pp 356 ff and Die Religion, n, 415 748

"J trow op cit, n 836 46
Ib, n 775 836
Ib, n 749 775

7 Ib, n, 946 ff
Id, Asp cts, pp 243 244
Id, Religio, pp 402 ff and Aspect, pp 204 ff
deities and men and which were supposed to be ent by some divinity usually when the soul was unamumbled by the burden of terrestrial sense. Thus the deity Nin格尔 was red to Gud of Lagash in a vision and declared that a temple should be erected in his honor according to specified plans. It is being interpreted to him by his godmother Nina. 

Supplications were made to the divinities for helpful dreams, of which the following is an example:

O god of the new moon unriviled might who counsel no n c e n g r p
I hav poured for thee the libation of the night I h v off r d thee a pure drink
I bow down to thee I stand before thee I seek thee
Direct thought of favor nd jujice toward me
That my god and my godd who once many d y h v b en
ngry towards me
M y be reconciled in right nd jujice that my path m y b
fortune me my road traight
And that he m y end Zakar the god of dreams in the middle
of the night to rele [forgive] my m

Affairs of state were frequently directed by dreams. I h t r as the godde of war appeared to Asurbanipal in a vision and directed the march of his army to victory, and again when he was disheartened she promised to dreams to give him her aid and to enable him to overcome his enemies in battle.

Dream Deities

The importance of dreams developed divinities who

H F Lut An O en Text Referring to the Action of Dreams in AJSL, 1919 xxv 145, al o A H S ye Dr m nd Sl p (B byloman) in ERE v, 33

Zakar the envoy of the moon god
Jastrow, op cit, p 335

Lutz loc cit
pre ided over them such as Makhir (Mamú) a godde who had a mall hrine at Balawat and there were al o Mamu da ge Zakar and Zakar măš gê The e were not independent deities however mce Shamash as bêl buri the lord of visions outshone them all, and they became subject to him as his court attendants These divine being were addres ed in penitential prayers of which the following is a specimen

Reveal thy elf unto me nd let me ee a favorable dream
May the dream that I dream be favorable
May the dream that I dream be true
May Mamú, the godde of dreams tand t my head
Let me enter E Sagila the temple of the god the hou e of life

*Temple sleep or incubation*

It w s behelved that answer to prayer and divine guud nce could best be obtained in acred places and that inspired dreams were induced by the pre ence of deity Suppliant therefore visited the temple where after offering prayer and acrifice they slept in the hope of having a vi ion from the god which would carry super natural directions for relief of pre ent misfortune nd uffering and for avoidance of future ill Such dream were more apt to come toward morning and all vision were interpreted by the sha’īlu, or bārû priest the n wer of such a priest or prie te being the tērtu, th divine decision, or oracle of the god Temple sleep (incu bation) for inspired dreams wa resorted to for all emergencies especially for the cure of di ease and wa y tematized as a recognized religous procedure by th priest, who became professional dreamers for suppliant as well as interpreters of their vi ons while relative

*Lut, op c t p 146
Ja trow Civilization, pp 272 273 274*
and friend of the e unable to attend the temple often incubated for them. It is related (Arrianos de Expeditione Alexandri VII xxvi) that during the fatal illness of Alexander the Great at Babylon his general left for him in E Sagil the temple of Marduk in the hope of receiving a revelation by which he might be cured. The use of the dream oracle was a common practice throughout the Orient in Western Asia in Egypt and in Greece. The origin of the custom has been the subject of several studies of the ancient currents of religious and civilizing influence between Oriental nations but positive proof are thus far lacking and the matter is still undetermined. Though it would appear that temple sleep for inspired dream had an earlier and possibly a more authoritative development in the religions of the Euphrate and Tigris valleys particularly in the cult of E of Erdu than elsewhere.

Causes of disease

Disease was ascribed to the open attack of a demon to the possession by some evil spirit to the breach of a tabu to the evil eye to the machinations of an orcerer or to the attack of an enemy through the aid of wizard or witch practitioner of black magic or it might be due to such influence initiated and directed by some offended deity. If the person was smitten in the neck it was the hand of Adad if in the neck and breast it was the hand of Gauthi.

7 For further details concerning the history of incubation the reader is referred to the work of Hamilton Bouchler and Deubner in the General Bibliography.

8 Jastrow Religion, pp 260 ff; Aspits, pp 31 ff.
Ishtar and if in the temples a ghost had seized him
Evil spirits of all kinds fiends devils and demons had
special powers and caused particular diseases. The
utukku were extremely vicious and with several attend-
ant fever demons they assailed the throat alu attacked
the chest gallû, the hand rabsû, the skin labartu, a
horrible monster caused nightmare and ills of women
labasu brought epilepsy and lilû and lilîtu were the
source of infirmity of the night (probably excessive
pollutiones nocturnae) ashakku caused wasting ick
in e fever and consumption t'nu brought headache
with fever and other fiends were equally capable of
cau ing dread m ladie Namtar the messenger of All tu
the queen of the Underworld, who ent sixty di ea e
and Ura a form of Nergal of the Underworld wer
definie of pestilence as wa Nergal himself 4 whil
witches were uppo ed to make men impotent and to rob
women of the fruit of the womb. It was believed that the
demons of disease gained entrance through some natural
but unguarded opening of the body as the mouth no e
ears or eye and sickness thus became a struggle be-
tween the patient and the demons in which the aid of the
gods was sought the cure being effected when the spirit
cau ing the malady had left the body.

Physicians and physician priests

Herodotos (1 197 cf Strabo XVI 1 20 p 745 C)
declared that in Babylon the ick were brought into the
public squares that they might seek counsel concerning
their disease from tho e who had been similarly afflicted
and he attributed this custom to the lack of physician

⁴⁰ R C Thomp o 'Di as d M d i m (A yro B byloni n)
in ERE iv, 741 746 al o Ja trow, Cuvius tion, p 456, nd The Medi-
cen of th Babylon n nd th Assyri n in PRSM, 1913 1914 vn
114
in the city. Information derived from texts lead to the conclusion that this statement was incorrect for the sufferers were probably desirous of aid rather than of counsel and his error seems to have arisen from overlooking the relation between religion, the priest, and disease. For the most part, certain priests acted as physicians and the old Sumerian name for a medical man, A Su, or asu, one who knows water passed into the Semitic language. Physicists and surgeons are frequently mentioned in the medical texts which give the rigid law governing their practice, more particularly that of the urgen and which prescribe their fee and penalties according to the Code of Hammurabi (circa 2200 B.C.). They also refer to the use of bronze knives for injuries and lists of herbs and other remedies are recorded in addition to letters of advice from doctors to their patients. A one from Aia Nana to the king son. Physicians appear to have been a well organized body, but it is believed that those who were not priests were held in comparatively small esteem by the general public since magic with religious ceremonies in connection with the administration of drugs, a performed by the ašpu priests were very generally preferred being more efficacious.

**Medical texts and ašpu priests**

The medical tablets in the Shurpu and Makhirere which come chiefly from Assyrian sources give numerous illustrations of the practice of the time. Of approximately 30,000 fragments of clay document from the library of

---

41 M. Jastrow, “B bylom n Assyrian M di m,” in *AMH*, 1917 i 33
4 Th. Lw of H mur bi Ki g of B byl,’ in *RP*, 1903 ii 4 85
4 J. Strow, *AMH*, 1917 i 239 252 ff
4 I.d., *PESM*, 1913 1914, vii 149 ff
A. urbanipal not less than 800 re medical but com par tively few h ve yet been deciphered and many of the text are copie of originals from the libraries of Chal dæa or of tablets of ancient Sumer and Akkad. From these documents much information is drawn concerning magico religious practices and drugs used for the cure of the ick demon trating the prevalent belief that m la. die being superna natural in origin could be ucce sfuully combated only by the aid of powers more than human and howing that healing without magic and occult m wa practically unknown. The demons of di ease mu t be driven out and water and fire were the sacred element most prominently mentioned in the texts for exorcism. The ašipu was the priest whose function it wa to di lodge the e fiends.He was learned in the traditions of maladies and their causes, and wa an adept in the ritual of prayers incantations rite of purification, and all formula for expelling malevolent beings with magic orcery and material remedies for ridding the sick of the demons which posses ed them. The mysteriou art of the ašipu pre ts were jealou ly guarded, and being pre erved in f milie, they were transmitted from father to on. There were school where medicine wa taught one of which celebrated for its instruction wa situated at Borsippa acro the river from Babylon. There were librarie containing ritu l and incantations for all occa 1on and the e were augm nted by borrowing text and formula which had proved effeciou. The great deitie h d sufficient power over all ill, mental and priritual a well a physical and the ašipu pre t acted a the inter mediary in approaching the god and in securing the

J trow op c t, pp 110 111
W br D o Beschwor g b d B by o r und A sy r r, pp 45
Th p on in ERE iv 743
It was customary for him to inquire whether or not the sick person had been guilty of some misdeed that was the cause of the malady, not for the purpose of penance or reparation but rather to determine if possible the reason for his suffering under the ban and to enable him to differentiate and to elect the appropriate ceremonies and formulas for each case. In ancient magical texts, divine aid was considered necessary to be acquainted with the appellation of the evil spirit concerned and to require exorcism in person. A departure Namtar black demon I am the beloved of Bel, depart from me. If the name was not known, the priest would recite a long list of malevolent beings of various kinds ending with the command: Whatever be thy name depart. The role of exorcism occupied an important position in the ritual.

Formulas for exorcism

The medical text gives many formulas for exorcism when ghosts are present, the following being one of the more common: In the name of the great god E whose servant I am, By the name of the great god or By Heaven be ye exorcised, By Earth be ye exorcised. It was considered very necessary to be acquainted with the appellation of the evil spirit concerned and to require exorcism in person. Depart Namtar black demon I am the beloved of Bel, depart from me. If the name was not known, the priest would recite a long list of malevolent beings of various kinds ending with the command: Whatever be thy name depart. The role of exorcism occupied an important position in the ritual.
and Ea and Marduk were the chief deities of the healing cult. In an incantation text the exorciser asks Marduk to

\[
\text{Expel the di ea e of the sick man}
\]

\[
\text{The pl gue the w tng di ea e}
\]

The tamarisk (or some similar tree) was held aloft during the act of expulsion by the priest the following being a form of such an incantation.

The man of Ea am I the man of Damkina am I the me enger of M rdukt m I my pell 1 the pell of Ea my incantation i th incantation of Marduk The ban of Ea 1 in my hand th t mar i k the powerful weapon of Anu m my hand I hold th d te path (?) mighty m dec i on m my h d I hold

Another rather similar charm reads

The man of Ea am I the man of Damkin am I the me enger of Marduk am I The great god Ea hath ent me to reviv the ick man he hath added hi pure spell to mine he h th dded hi pure voice to mine he hath added hi pure pittle to mine he hath added hi pure prayer to mine the de troyer( ) of the limb, which are in the body of the ick man th th power to de troy the limb by the magic word of E may the evil one be put to flight.

The following is an incantation for unknownpirit in which the exorcist calls upon several deities to support his demand.

When [I] enter the hou e Shama h i befor me Sin i behind [me] Nerg l i at [my] right hand Nimb i t my left hand when I draw near unto the ick man when I ly my hand on the head of the ick man may kindlypirit m y kindly guardian angel stand at my ide Whether thou art n evilpirit r n vil demon or an evil gho t or an evil devil or n vil

J trow R gion, p 308
Thomp o 1 ERE iv, 743
Marduk, w the on of Ea and acting a mediator between the sick man and the supreme healer he ought the advice of hi father the following being an ex mple of uch con ultation

M rdruk hath een him [the ick man] and h th ntered th hou e of hi father Ea and hath aid F ther headache fro the under world h th gone forth Twice he h th aid unto him Wh t thu man h th done he knoweth not whereby hall h be rehaved

Ea preserving the dignity of Marduk and giving him credit for equ l knowledge with himself suggested th cure replying

O my on, what do t thou not know what more can I giv thee O M rdruk what do t thou not know what can I add to thy knowledge What I know thou know t al o Go my on M r duk To the hou e of purification bring him [i.e., the ick p r on] bre k the ban Rel e him from the cur e

Purification and exorcism

If a god was to be appea ed emphasi was given to hymns of praise penitential pravers confession lamen tations purifications and sacrifices Purification was effected by the symbolic use of water oil or fire and these were connected with the rituals of Ea and of the fire gods Nusku Gibil and Giru the sick person being sprinkled or bathed with sacred water usually that from

1 Thompso Devils nd Evil Spirits of Babyloma 1 15
Id., in ERE iv, 742 al o Ja trw Apects, p 93
the Euphrate or the Tigris or being rubbed with oil. The following are examples of such text:

Glittering water pure water
Holy water splendid water
The water twice even time may he bring
May he make pure may he make splendid
May he bet he him elf out ide
May the protecting shedu, the protecting massu
Settle upon his body
Spirit of heaven, be thou invoked
Spirit of earth be thou invoked

A simpler water ritual run thus

All that evil [which exist in the body] of N [may it be carried off] with the water of his body the washing from his hands and may the river carry it away down the river

In another incantation while rubbing the patient with oil the priest recite the following formula appealing to Ea

Pure oil hming oil brilliant oil
Oil which make th god hine
Oil which mollifie the muscle of man
The oil of Ea incantation, with the oil of Mrduk incantation
I pour over thee with the healing oil
Granted by Ea for a mg [pain] I rub thee
Oil of life I give thee
Through the incantation of Ea the lord of Eredu
I will drive the ickne with which thou art afflicted out of thee

In the use of fire an image of the demon wizard or witch was made of wax or other inflammable materi

J trow op cit, pp 289 290
Thompson in ERE iv 742
J trow Cuneiform, p 253
nd with hymns, sacrifices and elaborate ceremonies the gods of fire usually Gibil and Nu ku were invoked to con ume it. When it had disappeared the sufferer was supposed to be purified and to be relieved of the demonical possession. The following is an example of such a hymn addressed to the fire god and his reply:

Nu ku, great offspring of Anu
The likeness of his father, the firstborn of Bel.
The product of the deep prung from Ea
I r i the torch to illumine thee ye thee
[reer or cere ch rrerr witche who h d bewitched th ick man]
The e who h ve m de image of me reproducing my fur
Who h ve taken aw y my bre th torn my h ir
Who have r nt my clothe h ve hindered my feet from tr di th du t
May the fire god the strong one break their charm

Immediately following come an incantation directed
in t the demon

I rai e the torch their im ge I burn
Of the utukku, the shedu the rabsu, th ekimmu,
The labartu, the l basi, the akhkh u,
Of lulu and lhtu and ardat luh,
And v r y evil that eize hold of m n
Tremble melt way and di ppear
May your mole ri e to heaven
May Shama h destroy your limb
M y the on of Ea [i e, may the fir god]
The great magician re train your trength (')

Substitute victims

Under certain circumstances it was customary to offer
the demon a substitute victim for the ick person gener-
ally kid or a sucking pig the sacrificial animal being
killed and the carca being laid beside the inv lid while

J trow Religion, pp 286 287
the exorcist transferred the evil spirit to it. In the following text, Ea, the supreme healer and lord of incantation, how the method of treatment and placing the victim before Marduk he say:

Th' kid 1 the obitute for mankind
He giv th' kid for hi' life
He giveth the head of the kid for the head of the man
He giveth the neck of the kid for the neck of the man

Sacrifices

In addition, the god received offerings of various kinds such as a bullock, a sheep, or a goat or usually kids or a lamb or for bloodletting sacrifices oil, date, fig incense bread, grain, or honey.

Drugs

While reciting such incantations in appeal to the deity, the priest usually performed manual magic by gesture and gesture and administered various remedies alone or in combination with suggestion of their magical value. The ritual texts enumerate many remedies used by the 'asipu priest in connection with incantation, these including herbs, roots, and other drugs such as onion, dates, palm blossom, and palm seeds, milk, butter, cream, honey, wine, oil, meat, flour, and the juices and seeds of various trees and plants. Many substances that were foul and ill-smelling, dung, urine of animals and decaying matter were administered apparently with the intention of disgusting the demon and of making him stay o disagreeable that he would depart.

7 Thompon *Dev Is, ii, 21*

Zimmrn *Beitrage zur Kenntniss der b by onischen Religion*, pp 98 ff

*Ja trow in PRSM, 1913 1914* vu 116 117 and in *AMH, 1917* 1 240 248
Prophylaxis

Prognosis in daily ease and guidance in life to foretell and to avoid the misfortune of illness and death were sought by the interpretation of dreams and omens by the reading of stars and planets and by help to copy and other form of divination. Charms and amulets made of knot of cord pierced with hell bronze or tumbled tatuette and band of cloth in cribed with magic word were very commonly worn as being potent in warding off the evil eye and the enchantment of the black art as well as averting disease and other misfortune while for similar purposes word of power were engraved on cylinder of tone on hematite agate rock crystal onyx lapis lazuli or Jasper and were worn on the head, neck limbs or hand and feet. The demon Labartu, who lived on the mountain and in the cane brake of the reeds was greatly feared for young children and protection gained by her they hung round their neck with the following inscription: By the great god my you be exorcised with the bird of heaven my you fly away. Pregnant women in his fashion were accustomed to wear band with incription clarifying the protection of some deity such as I'm the servant of Adad the champion of the god the favorite of Bel.

Appeals to the demons

In addition to the entreaties addressed to the deity for assistance in overcoming the activities of the evil spirits and frequently instead of making such an appeal these malevolent ones were approached directly through the medium of a magician, and various methods were used to divert them from their purpose or to appease and

° R C Thompson, Charms and Amulets (Assyro-Babylonian) in ERE iii 409-411
to propitiate them and thus gaining their favor enable them to depart. Such practice and ceremonies were similar to those of medicine men among savage tribes and consisted of imitating wild dancing, shouting, beating of drum, and asserting that the demon or devil had been removed from the sick man and had been transferred to an animal or to the medicine man or had been driven away. In certain dances the spirit of the invalid was assumed to have been carried off and the medicine man would be sent often long distances to recover it and bring it back to its owner.

Uniformity of belief in Mesopotamia

The standard of religious belief that they pertained to disease and treatment appear to be known as having been practically the same throughout Mesopotamia and the neighboring non Indo-Iranian tribes and nations.

A pious sufferer

The following excerpts are from texts on tablets expressing the lament and observation of the suffering and despair of a man who seems to have been a ruler of Nippur who trove and failed to understand the mysterious way of the god. Having been faithful in the performance of his duties to the deities he is not conscious of guilt while he is stricken with disease and cannot find help or consolation until at the last extremity a high divinity intervenes and he recovers. His poem gives many details of his disease and suffering; but the principal facts illustrative of current beliefs as discussed above are given in the following extract.

(My eye is cured bolting them a with) lock
(My eye he bolted) like those of devil per on
A king I have been changed into a
A madman (my) companion is the to me
I chorded and plotted time of life
Whither o'er I turned vile upon vile
Merry had increased jetic was gone
I cried unto my god but he did not how me cleanse
time of life
I prayed to my god but he did not raise her head
The diviner priest could not determine the future by an in petition
Then cromancer did not through an offering justify my utter
The zakiku priest I appeal to but he revealed nothing
The chief xorcist did not by (hi) rite release him from the bond
The like of this had never been seen
Whither o'er I turned troubled within puruit

A though I had not always et a ride the portion for the god
And had not invoked the god at the meal
Had not bowed my face and brought my tribute
A though I were on whom mouth supplication and pray
without consent

I taught my country to guard them of the god
To honor the name of the god I customed my people
The glorification of the king I made like unto that of god
And in the fever of the people I instructed the people
I thought that such thing were pleasing to god

Despite his devotion he was mitten with dislike and indulged in gloomy thought depairs of pleading the gods recount his sufferings and tell how the demon have laid him low

An evil demon came out of him (lair)
From yellow he the neck became white
It truck my neck and cursed my back
It bent my high stature like popular
Like a plant of the mire I was uprooted thrown on my back
Food became bitter and putrid
The malady dragged on it course
I took to my bed un ble to le ve the couch
Th hou e bec me my pri on
A fett r for my body my hand w r powerle
A pinion for my per on my feet were tretched out
My di comfiture wa p inful the p m evere
Th di ea e of my joint b filled th chief exorc er
And my omen were ob cure to the diviner
Th exorc r could not interpret the char ct r of my di e
And the limit of my malady the diviner could not fix
No god c me to my aid t king me by the h nd
No godde h d comp ion for m coming to my ide
The gr v wa open my buri l prepared
Though not yet dead the lamentation w over
The people of my land h d lre dy aid la over me
My nemy heard it nd hi face hon
A th joyful tiding were announced to him hi liver rejoic d
I knew it w th d y when my whole f mily
Re tung under the protection of their deity would b in di tr

Another tablet continues the plaint and pa es on to n
account of a dream sent to the sufferer in which Ur Bau
a strong hero decked with a crown appear bring ing a me sage from Marduk th t the patient will b
released from hi suffering

He nt a mighty torm to the foundation of he ven
To the depth of the e rth he drove it
He drov back the evil demon into the by
The namele Utukku he drove int hi mountain house
H confounded Labartu forcing him b ck into the mount in
On th tide of the ea he wept way the gu
H tore out the root of my di like pl nt

My ears which had been clo ed and bolted tho e of a de f
per on
He removed their deafne and opened their hearing
My no e which through the force of the fever w choked up
He healed the hurt o that I could breathe ag in
THE BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN DEITIES

My lip which had been closed through xhud strength
He reduced their welling (?) nd loosed the r bond
My entire body he restored
He wiped away the blemish making it re plend
Th oppre ed tature re anne it plendor
On the bank of the stream where judgment is held ov r men
The brand of lavery w removed the fetter t ken off

The patient then close with the advice never to de pair
Let him who gain t E gl let him l rn from me
Into the jaw of th lion about to devour me M rduk in rted bit
Marduk hid the nar (?) of my pur uer h e comp d
hi l ir

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

During the many centuries of the existence of the great Empire of Mesopotamia many changes occurred in the tatus rank and influence of their various divinitie and there appears to have been strong tendency tow rd
centration of religiou control in the hand of a few great god particularly re pect to political affair Th function of deity they per med to per onal relation with th people t lea t o far a they may now be determined were of a general r ther than of a peciah ed character the particular trait and power that characterize the healer are recog ni ed in but few and the uce s of uch divinitie in th exerci e of their curative a pect cau ed them to be known a great phsician Others exerci ed their therapeutic power a a minor function and till oth r re mentioned in the incantation text in a manner that ugge ts the lower and dependent rank of attendant and

1 J trow, C vuhs ti, pp 477 4
aid to the greater god. For the present the list of therapeutic deities must remain indefinite and imperfect and the few here named are mentioned in the text in connection with healing although not all of them may be classified as strictly healing gods. Those who appear most prominently are

Alltu or Ihtur Nu ku
Ere Hkig l

Ea Marduk Sarpânitum
Gâbil or Giru Nabû or Nebo Shmû
gûlû Bû or
Nûkûrkû Nûmû or Ninûrût Sin

ALLATU, OR ERESHKIGAL

ALLATU (Godde) or Ere Hkigil (Queen of the Lower World) the chief godde of the Underworld and the consort of Nergal was a healing deity in a limited sense being especially mentioned in connection with the cure of fever. In the nether world he was reputed to have spring (the water of life) the water of which did way with pain and brought the dead to life.

EA

EA (House of Water) the third member of the first triad of cosmic gods and one of the chief deities of the Babylonian pantheon was a personification of the myth of the Babylonic cosmogony and the division of the Universe with the deities Anû and Enlil he became the King of the World Deep the god of the Persian Gulf of the ocean and spring and of the water. He appears syncretic in the identification with one of the older gods and is expected Sumerian deities. Enki lord of the land who mountain
Ea the old water god was adopted by the Babylonians becoming the patron god of the city of Erech on the Euphrate. His temple was located in a human and semi-pine covered with cane. Ea was conceived in a universal and his form became from very ancient times a friend and protector of the hum race. He was the inventor of writing, the prince of wisdom and the teacher who instructed the people in the arts of civilization, literature, and all culture. He was the source of general beneficence and as the king of nature He was the lord of meation knowing the power of magic which protected evil thwarted the design of evil spirits. When he opened his mouth decisions were announced with the sound of his voice. He was the one who conducted school and was adept in the ritual of medicine and in the magical art of divination and astrology. He interpreted all omens and港口 while the highest culture of Babylonian came from his temple in Erech.

Ea represented the healing quality of prayer, the supreme god of heaven and the protector of the sick and offering. He was the lord of the mouth and mouth of the temple.

J. Trow, Sumri and Akkadian. vi w. B. Am. J. of Assyria, 111, vi 2. 7. 2. 4. 295. and in AMH, 1917. 234


Id., 2. g. o., pp. 275. 27

Id., C. s. t. o., p. 211
him by sacrifices prayers hymn and incantation and his ritual revolved about the use of water and oil especially the former. The body of the sufferer was sprinkled or bathed with the water of the Euphrates or of the Tigris or with those of some sacred stream or spring to the accompaniment of incantation for purification and for exorcism the image of the demon of disease being plunged in water and symbolically drowned or being placed in a boat which was blown away or carried Ea was credited with the power of raising the dead and Damkin his consort was sometimes appealed to by the sick being mentioned in several incantation texts. After the rite of Marduk who was accepted as the son of Ea he became the intermediary through whom invocation were made to Ea. Marduk was adored but he was supposed to consult with Ea and to receive instructions concerning the method for healing. Ea being the source and Marduk the manifestation of the creative power the priest of Ea dressed in robes resembling fish skins a representative of the god recited the ritual of incantation performed the rite of purification and of sacrifice and directed the administration of the various remedies with oral and manual magic. The water expert (the asu, or phyician) being a servant of Ea and knowing how to secure the cooperation of the deity. The cult of Ea extending throughout Babylonian and Assyrian territory remained the repect of the people and continued to exert a strong influence long after the fall of the Mesopotamian Empire.

7 J. Crow Rwyton, p 289 id. Cwv w tro, p 253
Ja crow op cit, p 247
M. J. Crow B byloni, nd A yri History in EB in, 102
7 Zin, in ERE in, 310
71 J. crow, in AMH, 1 17 i 234
71 Id., Cwv lisato, pp 210 211 lo Tho p on in ERE iv 742
71 Zin, in ERE in 310
THE BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN DEITIES 121

GIBIL OR GIRU

Gīl, fire god and he long deity of Babylonia a imitated to Nu ku and sometimes to Nabū" 1 mentioned in the incantation text a directing the fire for purification and in the performance of the rite of symbolic magic by fire which destroyed demon of disease. He also acted as a mediator between the sick andエ。

GULA BAU OR NIN KARRAK

Gula, an early deity of the Aryan origin, appearing Ma Ma' w divinity of fertility the mother of mankind and the consort of Nimb t Nippur and at Calah being honored with him both by the A yrian and by the Babylonian. She was identified with Bu the consort of Ningir u and was celebrated as the guardian of the cure art. She was a great physician and a life giver who preserved health removed disease by the touch of her hand and leads the dead to new life but at times he exercised her divine oppositely power of inflicting evil and misfortune. In portray one of her the dog ppe ρ her emblem.

ISHTAR

Ishtar, the most prominent and most popular god of the Aryan Babylonian pantheon was of Semitic

7 J trow Religion, p 220
74 Id., Civisz. ton, p 226 1 o Zin, in ERE 1 13
7 J trow Religion, p 105
7 Id., Civisz. ton, p 200
77 Jb, p 199
7 Zin in ERE u 312 J trow Religion, p 175
7 J trow, Civisz. ton, p 417
origin and were universally worshiped by that people throughout Mesopotamia, but unlike other con sort of the male divinities who were only pale reflections of their human, he was an independent deity of rank and dignity and was worshiped in splendid style. In Aryan he was Bêlê̄ (Mêtre) the god of battle the god of heaven the Goddes of Totality second only to the national divinity Astarte who was equal in time appeared Astarte a deity of war he manifested herself as a deity of war he was robed in flames armed with quiver a bow and a drawn sword declaring that he would have his word declared to him who marched before Astarte again when the king encouraged him to promise that he would have his strength shall not fail in battle.

In general Ithar was the gracious mother of creation and the goddess of love of fertility of childbirth and of kind. She was the kind sympathetic mother of mankind who listened to the application of inner need he was invoked for relief from pain from suffering and from demons of distress while a goddess of childbirth he received the epithet Mylitta who can to bear it in the Etna legend although appeal was made to Shama for the birth plant which cured happy delivery the imperfect line of the text seems to imply that it was obtained from her.

Ithar adorned the title and function of other divinities in their own right and thus he appeared in different aspect and in different character.

Pton in ERE n 27

*Sy, in ERE v 33

Jtrow op cit, pp 233 30

Ib, p 234

*LBP ton "Ahtart (Ahtor) Art in ERE n 11

Jtrow, Religion, pp 519 523 Ward The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p 142 Zimmer in ERE n 315 TGPinch Birth (Ayro Bvlomi n) in ERE n 644
in various places devoted to her worship. She was the tutelary deity of many of the cities of Babylonia, being known as Nana at Uruk, Baut at Shirpura (Lagash) and Anunitu at Akkad, while in Assyria she appeared as a three goddess at as many seats, being a divinity of Nineveh and Arbela, and a deity of love at Kidmuru Prite. She was attached to her temple and licentious immoral practices were officially recognized as part of her religious rite. While in some places she particularly at Uruk (Herodotus i. 199) prostitution was associated with her worship (Strabo XVI, 1, 20 p. 745 C).

Ihtar was an exacting divinity and visited her wrath upon those who disobeyed her mandate, meting them and inflicting pain as punishment. The lion was her sacred animal and possibly the dove belonged to her. She was equated with Astarte of the Phoenician, with Aphrodite and Eileithyia of the Greek, and with Venus of the Roman.

MARDUK

Marduk, king of the god of glory of Thebe, founder of the odiac and lord of planet, was a solar deity probably of Sumerian origin who enjoyed only a modest rank in the pantheon of Eridu and Babylon until his pid ni to power as the chief divinity of Babylonia through the favor of Hammurabi (circa 2200 B.C.) who effected the union of the Babylonian city-states and used their cult to become national. He finally claimed
to be the supreme god of the Universe and even contended the position of Assur the national deity of Assyria though in this he was frustrated by the prestige and power of the Assyrian priesthood. As he rose to eminence he was held to be the son of Ea of Eridu who conferred equal wisdom upon him and combining in himself the functions of Enlil and of Ea he was recognised not only as the chief of the pantheon but also as a cosmic divinity. He then appropriated the rites, title, attributes, function and powers of all Babylonian deities over-hadowing them and reducing them to subordinate rank in their own cities except in the case of Ea whose preeminence was such that Marduk was content to be adopted as his son and a cosmic deity. He arrogated to himself the great cosmic deed of the older god and many Babylonian myth appear to have been reedited or rewritten to glorify him in the performance of the early cosmic exploits as when in one of the most important texts he displaced Enlil of Nippur the hero who killed the demon Chaos Tiamat in the presence of the god and thus freed mankind.

Next to Ea Marduk was the most prominent deity of Babylonia. He was regarded as the intermediary between man and Ea and had the power of calling not only upon him but also upon other members of the triad of gods Anu and Enlil although Ea was the last resort and the supreme authority in matters therapeutic his preeminence in this domain admitting no rival. Supplications were commonly made to Ea through Marduk who when implored for aid was supposed to confer with his father and to ask what the sick man must do to be healed but in reporting the consultations with Ea the dignity of Marduk was preserved by the specific declaration of the former that his son knows all that he know.

\[ \text{Zc} \]
THE BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN DEITIES

while till giving direction for treatment. In the text he is called Marduk of Ermdu thu uggeh the city of his early residence, well as his close association with Ea and with the temple E A p u th. home of the ritual of exorcism while his own temple at Babylon called E Sagil (Lofty House) enjoyed great renown. In all the text, the method of healing are by purification in connection with exorcism. His consort Sarpānitum is mentioned with him in one text and the dog with his cred mblem.

NABU OR NEBO

Nabû (Proclaimer) an old Sumerian deity presiding over the domains and over all culture was the inventor of the divinity of writing, revelation, and prophecy and was a seer who guided all gods. He was the patron deity of Borippa across the river from Babylon where stood his glorified temple, E Zida (True House) and renowned school which included medicine but his supremacy in his own shrine was usurped by Marduk and his local influence however and was worshipped with Marduk. After the Persian conquest, he received devotion in Aryan where temple munir to the temple of Borippa was dedicated to him at Calah. In mentioning text he invoked as a healer in connection with Ea and other deities and the formula of greeting in letter from a Syrian physician introduce Nabû and Marduk or invoke Nebo and his consort Nana. Nabû was sometimes amalgamated with Nukku and identified with the planet Mercury.

S pag. 109 al oThomp o in ERE iv 742 J trow op c t
pp. 212 217
Nub berg und P 1 oc at
*J trow in AMH. 1917-1, 251, not
Id. Religion, pp. 220 221 459
NINIB OR NINURTA

Nini, an early patron of Nippur but over hadowed and di placed by the cosmic god Enil whose on he be came w a divinity of agriculture a lord of the fields and a god of the chase as well a a lar deity di sip ting darkne while in Assyria he wa wor shipped a a war god mighty in battle He was a benefi cent divinity a renowned healer (especially in B by lonia) and one who di pen ed ju tice and with hi con ort Gula he saved h subject from the clutche of di ea e 'brining back to life tho e who were near de th In Babylonian letter Ninib and Gula were the deitie lway invoked for relief from maladie and they wer affection tely remembered by their people great fe ti v l being held in their honor t certain time of year e peci lly t C l h Ninib had a temple, E hu me du t Nippur nd another t Calah in Assyria.

NUSKU

Nu ku a conqueror of all evil and a promoter of ll good was fire god (origin lly a sun god) a divinity of charm and me enger between Ea nd Marduk well between other deities He wa equated with Gibil their name often appear together as Gibil Nu ku and he wa a oicated with Sin the moon god In incantation text he l invoked to destroy the demon of dise e by fire and in thi s me manner he ymbolically nnih late w1 ard nd witche practitioner of bl ck magic

1 J trow Cv ix tio , p 197
7 Ib , p 1 9
Id, AMH, 1917 1 251
Id, Cv ix t o , pp 19 201
100 Id, Re g t , p 215 Zimm r in ERE u 312 J trow Cw z tio , pp 19 901
11 J trow op ci t , p 247
1 Ib , pp 226 22 411 id, R l g , pp 220 221 Z m r 1 ERE u 31
SARPAŅITUM

Sarpanitum, the consort of Marduk and primarily solar divinity was a godde of the ling who 1 o interceded with Ea for the 1ck for methods of purification and for the exorcism of demon of di ea 1 Her n me (Sarpanitum 'Silvery Bright One') was formed by a false etymology into Zer bantu 'Seed Creature' or Offpring Producing and he was accordingly mlg mated with an ancient godde Eru a (Conception) whilst her special function was believed to be protection of progeny in the mother's womb and he received other name bearing on that function, as Nin dim the lady of procreation, Sa uru the goddes of the fetus and Nin n the lady of birth (?) 14

SHAMASH

Shama h, the un god of Babylonia, the chief of the second tri d of cosmic deities and a son of Sin the lun r divinity was champion of good and an venger of vil reprenting justic and being the upreme judge both in heaven and on earth The king of A yria addres ed him the upreme oracle deity he was known s th lord of divin tion or a the lord of visions 1 nd hi wor hop w wide pre d o that t Lar in the outh and at Nippur in the north temple were dedicated to him both called E babbar (Hou e of Lu tre) Sh m h w likewi e a prominent healing divinity hi n me fre quently appearing in mcntation for the 1ck nd h w invoked to prolong life 1

1 N ub rg r u d P g l oc ext
104 Pinch in ERE u 643 1 o J trow op c t, pp 121 ll 2
10 J trow, Cwills n o , p 225
1 Ib, p 246 1 o Zin r in ERE u 311
Sin, the deity of wisdom, the lord of knowledge and divinity of light, revered throughout Babylonia. He was the ancient Sumerian moon god and a member of the second triad of cosmic deities. He was called the son of Bel (Enlil of Nippur) and the patron of Ur, the mouth of the Euphrates, where he was worshiped. Nannar (Furmher of Light) at his temple Erechurgal (House of Light), although his cult was most celebrated at Harran, where he was termed Bel Harran. He was an oracle god, though second in respect to Shamash and was an ancient divine physician. His name occurring in many incantation texts usually in secondary capacity, supporting other divinities in their demand for exorcism and for the departure of the demon of disease.

107 J.ストロー「Negro」pp 75, 76, 78
1 ニュープラゴン 'oct c t'
CHAPTER THREE

GODS OF THE PAGAN SEMITES
OF THE WEST
CHAPTER THREE

THE HEALING GODS OF THE PAGAN SEMITES
OF THE WEST

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

LITTLE known of the view of the Phoenician and
other Pagan Semite concerning disease and the only survival of their practice of healing re a few general fact which indicate that their method were entirely theurgic in character.

The Semites of the West and their records

Active in manufacture and commerce and bold in ef ring the Phoenicians of whom were least ignorant in the present connection were killed craft men nd their interpretation carrying their were their art nd their science to the furthermost part of the world then known m de them rich nd powerful P cefully inclined however they became prey to other nations who conquered them levied he vy tribute upon them and held them in subjection o th t from preh toric time they were dominated m turn by Egypt A yri Babylonia Peria Greece and Rome All record of th tional life and of their religious beliefs nd cu tom have di ap pe red except the fragment of the writing of Mocho the Sidonian and Sanchuniathon which are regarded apocryphal in their present form¹ and in cription on monuments and tablet which have been found in th ruin of their town nd temple The e remain upple

¹ Cook A T xt Book of North S m tec I script , p vmi n t
ment d by comp rative tudie of imilar neighboring p ople of the me epoch the record of A syro Baby lonia nd Egypt and the comment of the writer of th l ter period of Greece and of Rome form the fragmen t ry nd imperfekt material upon which the existing outlin of Phœncian belief pr ctice and general aví h tion have been con tructed

The Phœncians and their desites

The Phœncians like other member of the Semitic r ce exhibited a trong inclination toward religion. The gods of their pantheon represented the various power of nature th ky the e rth and every import nt object wa numated by a divinity. There were cele tral deities with co me ttribute nd there wer terrestrial tribl dep rtment l nd adopté foreign god to ay nothing of compound deities such a Eshmun Astart or Melqart. Re heph new deités who formed individu l trait. Sheme h was the un god Yerah the lunar deity. Re heph the divinity of lightning nd Anath the god de of wr. Some of the deities had been brought to Phœnecia by the early immigrants but more had been trant eed by their conqueror or had been adopted from other nation they everal exercied domin ing influence on or intermingled with the people among the more prominent of these being Shamash and Nerg l of A syro B bylonia Osiris I i Uba tet and Bes of Egypt nd Aphrodite Dionysos Helio A klepio and Po eidon of Greece. After the conque t of Alexander the Great the relation between Phœnecia nd Greece bec m very clo e and many elements of Hellenic religion lft mingled with those of Phœnecia especially the identifica tion of deities with the adoption of Greek names

The nature of their gods

The generic We t Semitic name for god was el, nd
for godde *elot*, but the ll melu iverse term for natur
pirits wa *ba‘alîm* who repre ented holy tone tree
water and mountains the word *ba‘al* meaning primarily
owner master lord and expre ing the totality of
ch racter and powers posse sed by all deitie Melqart
the great national god of Tyre who was equated with
Herakle bore thm name nd wa known as Ba al Melq rt ( Lord City King ) and kings often had *ba al* a
component of their n me or compounded them with
those of deitie to secure divine protection *E hmun*
a or ( *E hmun* hath helped ), their real name in m ny
in tance being unknown

*Astart*

The chie godde of the pantheon wa B alalath or
A tart the Hebr w Ashtoreth who wa m tre of the
city of Geb l or Byblos and she wa one of the mo t
important deitie of Phœnicia She repre ented love
fertility and the general reproductive power of nature
nd wa a imilated to I htar of Babyl on nd A yri
Kybele of Phrygia and Aphrodite of Greece h ving
numerous temples in Phœnicia and being wor hipped in
it colonie and wherever Phœnician influence extended
Hierodule (*gedheshim*, sacred men and *gedhesôth*,
acred women ) frequented the temple of the godde
and sacred prostitution which wa general in similar
cult throughout We tern Asia wa a prominent feature
of her rites (Herodoto 1 199) women even virgins
acrificing their chastity in honor of the godde and to
gain her favor (Lucian de Dea Syria, 6) Astart doe
not appear as having a definite as oci tion with healing
(unless possibly in her general divine capacity) except
as suggested by the myth that she discovered the meteor

L B Paton, Phœnician in *ERE* ix 889
Frazer *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3d d 1, 17 18 37 70 ff
tone or tone withoul which breathed prophetic
pirit nd cured di ea e

Functions of deity

The Phœnici n deitie were over lord and ruler of
the people nd each town had it own tutelary divinity
a ba' al who wa it owner king lord ruler or protector
nd the source of the fertility of its field and of its pro-
perity The god were conceived and de cribed a good
nd helper who heard knew guarded heltered
judged redeemed and aved their people the e relation
being ba ed upon the general Semitic conception of the
majesty of deity and the subjection of men hence the
people frequently declared them elve a the l ve of
uch and uch a divinity

Shrines and temples

The ituation of hrine nd temple w s determined
by the acred character ttributed to some n tural object
tree pillar tanding tone pring or tre m in
which a ba’ al dwelt and uch a pot wa c led a bama
or high place fenced bout or w lled off a a acr d
enclosure in which wor hip wa performed In e rly
time there wa neither temple nor image merely
vener ted alt r but t a later period idol came into
limited u e In town and citie permanent tructure
roofed nd with a pillared wall t the entrance were
erected to helter the deity nd the trea ure of the anc-
tuary Both prie t (kohānīn) nd prie te e (kohānoth)
had charge of the religiou exerci es and divmer or
sōphe, are al o mentioned a being in ttendance (CIS i
124 6)
Religious rites

Relatively little remains to indicate the character of the worship of the Phoenicians but it is highly probable that their religious ceremonies were in all essential respects to those of other Western Semitic people of the region and genre of civilization. Their rites consisted of prayer, sacrifice, hymn, and votive offering and animals (Philon Byblio 35b especially the first born), were sacrificed a part of the flesh becoming the perquisite of the temple attendant and the remainder being consumed by the worshipper (CIS 1.165 12 166 3.7 167). First fruit (CIS 1.5) were also offered usually with libation and sacrifice of human victim usually of first born children were made in time of great disaster (Philon Byblios 40c) and other than first born or children (Diodorus 22.65).

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

Ba'al marpe

Eshmun

Tanit

BAAL MARP

A divinity, Ba'al marpe (or Ba'al marpe) Lord of Healing (or Healing Lord) is mentioned in a Phoenician inscription from Cyprus (CIS 1.41) although marpe (healing place) or marpah (healer) may have been merely the name of a medicinalpring whence the lord in question would be only local ba'al.

ESHMUN

Eshmun, one of the great deities of the Phoenician pantheon:

Cook p cit., pp 117 121
Paton in ERE ix 8 6
L B to B 1 Beel B 1 in ERE u 289
theon wa the god of healing nd the chief mal divinity of Sidon po sessing ur nic and cosmic pect m addition to hi therapeutic powers A female deity of Sidon Ashma(t) his consort 1 mentioned m in cription though she w superior to him (CIS I iv 5) but it 1 claimed that the goddes wa none other th n A t rt It ha been suggested that E hmun wa origin lly n ture divinity nd po ibly of pring vegetation e pecially if he wa identie l with the B bylomi n T mmu 1 nd th t being f vorite deity of the peopl he w brought with them in their migration to the Mediterr ne n where a the Phoenician developed pro perity and influence he wa advanced m rank from humble pl c until he tood next to B 1 Melqart nd A t rt m the p ntheon Under thi a umption E hmun h been conidered a counterp rt of T mmu of B bylomia nd holding the ame intm te relation with A t rt t Sidon a that deity su tamed toward I htar m Assyria and Babylon 11

By repute E hmun wa the most beautiful of ll gods and a legend run that when the mother godde Astronoe fell in love with him while hunting in the fore t E hmun to e cape her ema culated him elf Afterward Astart tr n ported him to the kie (Dama kios, apud Phot o Bibliotheca, p 573) where he bec me a god of the north rn he vens and the moon deity and anoth r myth give him a celestial aspect related to the t rry phere

The meaning of the word E hmun is by no me n cer

Cf II King vii 30
El len Sido p 127
1 W W B udissin, Dr phoni ech Gott E u ,” in ZDMG, 1905, lx 502 1 o J strow The Religio of Babyloma and Assyri , p 588
11 El el op cit , p 12
t in Damaskios and Philon Byblios regarded him as the Eighth evidently through confusion with Phœnician šymuna (eight). Possibly Eshmun may be cognate with the Hebrew shamen, fat robust and Arabic samma, to be fat whence the name may mean very stout very strong. Following a late tradition Damaskios (ib, 352 b) makes Ešmun the eighth son of Sydyk while Philon Byblios states (36 a) that seven of Sydyk's sons were the Kabeiroi and that one of the Titanide bore him a the eighth Asklepios (i.e., Ešmun). On the authority of Sanchuniathon Philon further writes From Sydyk came the Dioskouroi: the Kabeiroi or Korybante or Samothrake who were the first to invent a ship From them have pruned other who divided herbs and healing of venomous bite and charm. These things did the even sons of Sydyk the Kabeiroi and Asklepios their brother the eighth son first of all write down in the record as the god Tauut (i.e., Thoth or Thout) had enjoined them and to whom he did clothe the cogomony which they passed on.

The name of the divinity first appears in Asyro-Bonianian treaty between Arhaddon and the King of Tyr (eventh century c) in the form Taumunu and later in SMN conventionally pronounced Eshmun. Although the god is vaguely portrayed in the myth and scanty record of Phœnicia he emerges from antiquity through the medium of inscriptions and the writing of classical author with a more distinct personality.
more clearly defined character than any other Phœnician deity except Baal Melqart and Astarte. He appears as a having characteristically possessed by no other god while his special function of healing is a sort of by all classical authors who refer to him, and by comparison made in bilingual incription in which he is mentioned. Recognising him from early time as the counterpart of their therapeutic deity, the Egyptian equated him with Thoth (Tauth or Thout) Ptah and Imhotep and adjacent inscriptions made similar simulation. The Greeks identified him with Aklepio, shown both by literature (Philon Bybho v 8 Damkos apud Photios Biblio theca, p 573) and in inscription, this equation being further supported by abundant evidence in bilingual incription while a votive tablet on which the name A klepio was inscribed was uncovered in excavating the temple at Sidon. A Phœnician com found at Sidon bears the image of Asklepios, a Roman com from Berytos, the youthful figure of Eshmun of the type adopted by K lam for his statue of Aklepio at Sikyon rather than the more usual one resembling Zeus and com of Septimus Severus how the Romano-Punic imitations of Eshmun and Asklepios youthful and bearded supported by two serpents and with a baton in his hand, type derived from the Greek Phœnician period. The earliest evidence for the identification of Eshmun with Aklepio is given by two com of Marathus and by one of Ptolemais Akka (about the third century BC) if the eye be regarded Greek tran form tional of the niv

1 Budi in op cit, pp 221 238 I o Ei I n op cit, p 135

17 W von L und u Vorl ufig Nachrichten ub r di im Ehmunt p 1 1 Sidon g fund n n phon i ch Alt rthumer in MVG, 1904 28

1 A oym u Th Figur f AE ul pu An int Art I L cot, 1904 u 13 13
E ḫmun ¹ A river near Sidon was named Asklepios and a grove between Sidon and Berytos called Asklepios' grove (Strabo XVI 11 22 p 756 C).

The clearest and most direct evidence of the equation of the two deities in the character of healer come from trilinguial inscription on the base of a bronze altar dedicated to them about 180 BCE, and found near a thermal spring in Sardinia (CIS i 143) ⁰. The text is written in Phoenician, Greek and Latin and mentions E ḫmun, Asclepios, and Æ culapiu each being given the ob cure epithet Merre, the meaning of which is not clear though it has been interpreted a life giving, life prolonging, or protector of wayfarers etc. The Latin version which almost exactly follows the Greek runs Cleon alari [u ] oc[œ]rorum] s[ervus] Æescolapio Merre donum dedit lubens merito merente Partem phœniciam 1c verte Domino Esmuno Merre Altare æreum ponderis hibrarum centum c quod vowed Cleon [servus oœ]orum] qui in re alari audīt vocem ejus s navit eum Anno suffetum Himilc ti et Abdeœmuni fili Himilci. The translation of the Punic text reads To the lord Eshmun Merre the alt of bronze in weight 100 pound which Cleon of HSGM who 1 vowed he heard his voice [and] healed him In the year of the Suff te Himilkath and Abd e ḫmun son of Himilk.

To ummarit although neither Philo nor Dam ⁴ refer to E ḫmun as a healing deity and his relation to medicine is therefore traditional E ḫmun and Asklepios were regarded a identical. At Sidon in the Phoenician motherland and if we may believe D ma ⁴ at Berytos they were probably equated with Marathos, Ptolemais Akka on the land of Ruad nd at Duma near Byblos probably ⁴ t Oia in Africa Proconularis, and

¹ Baudi ¹ op cit, p 221
² Cok ² p cit, pp 10 110
in the Spanish and Sicilian settlements of the Carthaginians and certainly so at Carthage and in Numidia Mauretania and Sardinia.

That the worship of Ehmun was general is shown by the remains of sanctuaries dedicated to him in Phoenicia and many of its colonies Eshmun azar King of Sidon and his mother erected a temple in honor of the divinity at Sidon south of the river Nahr al Auwal and Bod. A tart either completed it or built another to the god (CIS 1, 3 17). Excavations in 1900 at the site of the shrine revealed its ruins and an inscription running as follows: King Bod Astart King of the Sidonian grandson of King Eshmun a ar King of the Sidonians [reigning] in Sidon by the sea Sh min Ram' in the land of Reshaphum Sidon of Mashal SBIN and Sidon on the plain the whole (?) of the temple built to his god Ehmun Prince of Qadeh Eshmun also had a temple at Beryto (Dama kios loc cit.) several sanctuaries dedicated to him have been discovered near spring and the mound of a shrine at Cherchell in Algeria. Supposed to have been for Eshmun were found to contain a rough, crude image of the god about a metre in height. Of all the temple of Punic Carthage the only one whose site appears fixed both by ancient texts and by modern discoveries is that which was situated on the summit of the citadel dedicated to Ehmun destroyed in the siege of 146 BC Carthage which called the City of the King of Health and the god was termed Ehmun.

Budi, op. cit., p. 230
Cook, op. cit., pp. 401-403, cf. Eilen, op. cit., pp. 143 ff C. C. Torry, A Punic Royal Inscription in Carthage, JAOS, 10, in
156 ff

A tart \((CIL\ i\ 245\ 3\ 4)\) as association which may receive support in the collocation of \(\text{Æ}e\) culapiu (E h mun) and De Cele ti (A tart) in a Latin inscription from Afric Proconsulari and another from Dacia \((CIL\ \text{viii}\ \text{uppl} 16417\ m 1993\ \text{cf}\ \text{Tertullian Apologeticus xxiii})\) A nactuary to E hmun Melqart tood on low hill c lled Bat alo in the alt lagoons near the ite of Kition in Cyprus \((CIS\ i\ 16)\) nd excavation in 1894 reve led the foundations of a mall building prob bly the hrme of the deity a portion of the e rum being placed in the A hmolean Mu eum at Oxford

Beyond the assimilations mentioned the evidence t hand give no indication of the nature and character of the deity as conceived by the Phœncians No object refer ring to him s a healer was found at the temple at Sidon nd nothing is known of his worship or of the ther practic e of hi wor hip, although it is umed that they were imilar to tho e of other Semitic healing cult of th ame period

It would eem on the whole th t E hmun wa pri marily deity of the renewal of life in the changing e on of the year Accordingly he w a oci ted with A t rt the godde of reproductive nature and with Melq rt the revivifying divinity and wa perhap iden tifi d with the Greek Diony os a the god who gain w ken the force of life and certainly with Asklepio granting the new life of health

**TANIT**

Tanit, an important godde s of Carthage but unknown out ide that city and it dependencies in North Africa

*Id., Adoms, p 282

Such i the conventional pronunciation of TNT, who e r 1\(\text{g}\) fic ti n rt 1
wa probably a native possibly a pre-Carthaginian deity who in the process of religious syncretism of Semitic genuine was identified with various goddesses according to circumstance with Astarte with Demeter and with Artemis.

Her temple stood on the Byrsa of Carthage near that of Eshmun and a large number of inscriptions to her have been found at Carthage many addressing her the Lady of Tanit of Pene al (CIS 1 181) and the great mother Tanit (ib, 195 380) She may have been regarded as a daughter of Astarte but almost nothing is really known of her although her identification with Juno Diana and Venus has led to the belief that she was also a healing deity as well as a protectress of childbirth and of children.

Note It is highly probable that the great fertility god of the Phoenicians but likely such divinity which has survived in Yarhibol (moon B 1) lunar god who prided over the dead P Imyr B eth B tr g z r s ti ch Re g o sges chcht, p 87

*Cook op cit, p 132

For the various interpretations of the phrase (literally ‘of the B 1) cf P Berg r T nit Pene B 1 in JA, VII 1877 ix 147 160 Cook op cit, p 132 P ton i ERE 1 92

B ud 1, op cit, p 27

*Wi w R gro nd Ku tu d r Ro r, p 373
CHAPTER FOUR
INDIAN GODS
CHAPTER FOUR

THE ALING GODS OF ANCIENT INDIA

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The Aryans and disease

Among the Aryans of Ancient India it was considered a manifestation of the will or power of some supernatural being. It might be from the god in punishment for a sin, or due to a mere caprice of a malevolent deity. From the earliest time all morbid condition of the mind and body except such were regarded divine vengeance were believed to result from attacks or possession of evil spirit which surrounded man on every side. A cure could be effected only by propitiating or expelling them, and the god was appealed to for it through the use of Vedic hymns or prayer and sacrifice. Often the god was vague and uncertain, and the people believed that magic acts and words had power to compel the god to perform the will of man mingled the art of magic and orcery with their religious rituals and practices.

The Vedas

These beliefs were a part of the religion of the ancient Aryans of India as contained in their oldest record, the Vedas (knowledge) the ancient sacred literature of India. Of the e the Rigveda the earliest, though oftencribed to the early date of 2000-3000 BC, is now generally supposed to have been begun about 1500 BC.
part are believed to have originated a late a 300 B.C. The Veda also contained the germs of many of the most important and time honored myths and legend of the Indian and these were closely interwoven with their religious beliefs. They taught the worship of the chief energies of nature which are represented as superior and supernatural beings personified and ranked as the greater gods. There were inferior deities representing the more routine phenomena of nature and other function in a descending scale besides a host of other spirits and demons greater and lesser but below the rank of god who e activities more nearly concerned the common people and their affairs for weal or woe. These received scant consideration in the more strictly religious literature and are treated with much more detail in the myth and legend of the Sanskrit epic and in classic Indian literature.¹

The pantheon

The great god who e noble and miraculous deeds had brought all the benefit of nature to men were celebrated in the Vedic hymns of praise. However real and active they were in the beginning the result of their beneficence had long been in the possession of the people. Although they were anthropomorphic they were not sympathetic. They concerned themselves lesser and with the affairs of men and finally became ab traction increasingly di tant and more vague. Thus the religion of the Rigveda which found expression in hymn of praise and adoration intermingled in its later portion with naive speculations of things divine and human and with mythic tale gradually faded a a vital force. It gave place to ect characters ed by lofty conception philo sophical peculation metaphysical abstr ction.

¹ A A M ed. n l "V die Religion" in ERE xu 601 1
refinements of the Unknowable belief o b tract that they esc pe the gra p of the most peculative intelect From it inception Brahmansm inherited the myths legend and gods of the old Vedic literature The great gods were theoretically the same but a the Brahman priests gained control of the sacrificial intere t the ancient deitie lo t their prine dignity and while till con idered powerful their share in the popular worship became les By the ame influence the lesser deitie faded and cea ed to appeal trongly to the people Their apect changed Some were regarded as separate from the Vedic divinitie or became demigod and godhng M ny of the older deitie were forgotten or survived only in n me and their culs were absorbed by later ectrarian god one of them were adopted from the borigine whom the Aryan had conquered Thu th place of the ancient divinitie were taken by new one a ho t of minor deities nd departmental god of tribes and village who became anthropomorphic through the hand of the poet of the epics Polytheism became ectrarian and more xtensive The later Buddhists made the polytheitic Brahm n pantheon nucleu and created new deitie repre enting the force of nature and ab tract concep tion of religion incorporated the pantheon out ide of India and formed the basi for the exten 1on of a world religion

_The early Hindu period_

The higher cla e of the priesthood and of the l ty devoted themselves to lofty metaphysical peculation dealing with the prospects of happiness in the future life nd with ab traction of higher truth . The common peo ple on the other hand were personally engaged in coun ter cting the machinations of the host of evil spirit who infe ted their live and threatened them on every ide with misfortune, famine epidemics individual disease
and of whom they lived in daily dread. Such spirits opposed to the gods were often merely non-god (a suras). Spirit once benignant became malevolent and separated them elve from the gods. The worship of ninety per cent of the mass was one of fear, and nothing being feared from the good spirits adoration was paid to a black god or demon. The deities waged incessantly against the demon and were victorious because of their superiority but it was immortality and where immortality and where one group of fiends was routed another took its place and the attack was renewed. The older Vedic gods were enfeebled their opponents had become stronger. The enemies of the divinities the asuras, the daityas, the danavas, the rak sasas and the pishachas organized attacked in compact bodies and fought more successfully. Some of them lived in magnificent mansion in the Underworld. They had stronghold in the depth of Patala and three fortresses: one of iron, one of silver and one of gold in the heaven.

The folk belief

Throughout and underlying the great religion Veda Brahmanism Buddhism Jainism and Muhammadanism and unaffected by war and political change the real faith of the common people of India was the deep-seated belief in the vast number of mischievous harmful spirits who fill the sky, clouds, earth, tree, water and beast and to whom was ascribed the inception of magical practices. Magic was closely allied with religion and witchcraft was blended with the holiest rites. These convictions of the people were recognized in religious observances and penetrated to the higher religion of the Brahman priests.

Fau boll, Indian Mythology, p 3
Old nb rg Di Religion de V da, pp 39 ff
The principal myths of India of its gods and their deeds form an integral part of the religion and are related in the Rigveda and especially in the Brahmanas, the epics, and the Puranas. They are largely of Indo Aryan origin, and the later myths are tinted with the same poetic spirit. The mythology of India claims unique interest because of its unparalleled length of life. During 3,500 years, it had had a constant and organic development. Other mythologies have perished before the onslaught of loftier faiths and survive in little more than folklore. In India, on the contrary, though foreign invasion has often wept over the northwest of the land, though Islam has annexed souls as well as territorial though Christianity (especially in the south) has contributed elements to the faith of the people, till it remains true that the religion and the mythology of the land are genuinely their own and for this reason have in them elves the constant potency of free growth. Underlying the mythology of the epics, the idea is clear that the gods themselves are no longer independent eternal entities but however glorious and however honored, they are like men subject to a stronger power. Indeed, in the epic, the gods are chiefly conspicuous by reason of their impotence to intervene in the affairs of men with the exception of Viṣṇu, who can merely applaud the combatant and cannot aid or succor them in strange contrast with the gods of Homer. There are other gods, however, as well as a phantom. Such in essence is the attitude of the epic to the Vedic god who appear as feeble creatures unable to overpower the asuras or to effect their purpose of winning immortality by the use of the amṛta (ambrosia) until aided by Śiva and Viṣṇu.

K 11th Indi n Mythology, p 5
Ib, pp 105 107
THE HEALING GODS

Disease in Vedic literature

Reference to disease in origin and treatment to the rite of sacrifice to induce the god to protect the body and in everal part to cure sickness and to bestow health and long life are found scattered through Vedic literature. Those contained in the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, and the Atharvaveda are representative of the chief source of information for the study of the ancient Indian view of disease and method of healing but pa
age in the Brahmanas, the Upamahads, the Sutras, and the epic furnish many instructive example.

Disease in the Rigveda

In the Rigveda there is little mention of disease such. Several diseases are named yaksma (di e e in gener 1 or phthi 1 ) in X lxxv 31 97, hrtyota (heart disease) in 1 xxiv 8, vandana (exanthema) in VII 1, 2, apva (dysentry) in X cu 12, and harman (one disease and heart disease) in 1 11 12. The acts of the god phy are related and freedom from disease to invocations are granted the ease sometime being the result of actions committed (I xxiv 9). The healing power of water is emphasized (I xxi 16 24) and the use of amulet and charm to relieve the sick (X clxi X lxv lx X lxii) and ag in the pot on (VII 1) are described.

Disease in the Yajurveda

In the Vajasaneyi Samhita text of the Yajurveda a few other diseases are mentioned arsas (hemorrhoid) in xi 97, arman (disease of the eye) in xxx 11, kin (disease of the eye) in xxx 20, and kilasa (leprosy) in xxx 17. The gods hold the relation to illness as those referred to in the Rigveda their healing acts are noted and collection of mantras for ceremonies connected with disease are given.
Disease in the Atharvaveda

The principal source of our knowledge of ancient Indian medicine is the fourth Ved, the Atharvaveda, here the earliest medical book of India. Here the ancient anatomy is given. Many diseases are named and among them jalodara (drop y) referred to in I x VI xxii xxiv xcvi apachit (ore or pustule) in VI xxv aksata (tumor) in VI xxv, lvii VII lxxiv 1 2 takman (fever) in I xxv V xxii VI xx vidradha (bone) in VI cxxvi pak sahata (paralytic) in Kauśika Sutra, xxxi 18 kas or kasa (cough) in I xii 3 V xxii 10 12 balasa (conjunction) in VI xiv 2 IV ix 8 VI cxxvi XIX xxxiv 10 and apasmara (epilepsy) in Kauś, xxvi 14 21. Diseases are popularly attributed to one supernatural power generally to one of the hosts of demons by which man believed he was surrounded. Method of treatment by remedies with herbs especially and magical incantation remedial magic formulas and charms given with much detail in the Atharvaveda Samhitas. The practice with which the remedies are to be accompanied are found in the bhanasagya chapter (xxv xxxii) of the Kauśika Sutra. The difference between the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda is not of time or medical progress but rather the attitude of the priest or physician in liberality in the use of the resources of the other. The more practical and literal medicine was supernaturally revealed by Brahma and Indra (see Dh nvant ri) Th. I found in

S for gen r l urv y of di ea d m d i in th V di period Zm r Alt dish s Leb, pp 374-39 nd for th wh I ubjt t J Jolly M diein in GPA, III 1901

7 S in gen r l M Bloomfield Th Ath rv v d 1 b, III B 18 pp 5 83
the Charaka Samhita, alleged to have been written by Charaka the Hindu Hippokrates (first century AD) under inspiration and the Yajurvedas after Veda (upavedas) of the Atharvaveda composed by Susrut (not later than the fourth century AD) from divin dictation.

Ancient Indian views on disease

Disease was therefore in the view of the ancient Indian the result of an attack or of possession direct or indirect by an evil spirit or demon or a puniment for in Indirectly it might come from the curse of an enemy the evil eye or in gie practice or by transference from another person or sorcerer After the Hindu had accepted the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and infirmities were traced to sins or offense committed in previous existence by a ripening of deed (karma vipaka) (Visnu Sutra, xlv) The demon of disease is generally vague in outline and indefinite in number and re known a raksas (injurer) atrin (eater) pisachas kanva (the latter two of unknown meaning) and the lik T kman (fever) a demon king of disease wa tteringly implored to leave the body and was threatened with annihilation if he should not choose to do so Sitala (the Cool Lady with a euphemistic allusion to the burning fever) was smallpox man a possion by bhutas, or gho ts and epilepsy wa the result of possession by dog demon Convulsion were due to Grahi he demon who e e (Ath rv II 1x 1 II x 6 III xi 1) J mbha (Cru her) godling ezed children and cau ed convulsion and trismu (Kaus, xxxii 1 2) Apv (dysentery?) wa di e e demon (Atharv III n 5) goddes of impurity who was invoked to cure an enemy (ib IX viii 9)

Jolly op cit, pp 11 13 I o M edon II Th Ht ry f S skr Ltr t r, pp 4 5 43
Deity and disease

In theory the deities were the benevolent patron and natural protector of mankind and when misfortune befell them the people looked to the divinitie for relief. Di ease was one of the calamities and throughout their term of human existence man prayed urgently and piously that the gods should exercise their function for protection, healing and long life. Nevertheless, neither the Vedic nor the Hindu pantheon developed a divine healer of preeminence who devoted himself to the people. Dh nv ntari was the only real divinity of this type and he was a shadowy personality practically unknown. His following and arising at a late period when medicine was about to emerge from its accretional stage. The Asvins were highly skilled but exercised their healing functions poradically and were not depended upon by the people.

Invocation of the gods

The miraculous cure wrought by the gods are related in the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, in the legend and myth of the epic and in classical literature. The hymn and prayer of the Veda and the later liturgical text of the Brahmanas, in connection with the rite formul and charm of the Atharvaveda indicate the method of appeal to the gods. Each deity addressed was extolled in extravagant terms as the highest and most powerful irrespective of all others. The divinitie although anthropomorphic were not clearly defined and individualized. Whatever their original character was portrayed in the Vedas and myth, they became indefinite in outline and their personalities became confused. God originally representing diverse phenomena and forces of nature.

For the랭king of the type of x it too, E W Hopkin H nothe m in the Rig Ved, in CSHD, pp 75 83
upon which the welfare of mankind depended came to have a common tribute. They were syncretized and grouped, and called by name while their older distinctive characteristics were forgotten. Many of the deities had possessed (and some still possess) the power of ting mankind in some manner. Their blessings had long been enjoyed by man, but now they had ceased their activity or if they continued to manifest their energy they performed their functions with an aloofness that was not conducive to an intimate ympathetic relation. They were remembered in the Vedic hymn, the myth, and the pic, but they were no longer concerned with the ordinary affairs of life and dwelt in eternal calm and indifferent to man’s fortune. The ritual and magic employed by the priest could, in the belief of the people, potentiate and efficaciously apart from the god, and the priest, them else were considered to have priestly power over both gods and demons. The function of the Vedic divinities were further blurred by the greater reliance which the people came to place on the Gramadevat, the tribal and village deities who were in close touch with their daily interests and to whom they paid honor by devout observance of sacrifice to purify away the evil spirit that infested the home and other elaborate rites.

**Appeals to demons**

The less intelligent classes retained their traditional primitive animistic belief. The fear of spirit of evil oppressed them and over-shadowed their respect and confidence in the god whom they regarded as indifferent to the calamities brought upon them by the non-gods or demons. In stead of supplicating the deities they sought to propitiate and appease and gain the favor of the non god, and especially of the asuras, danavas, daityas, and...
raṣṣasas, superhuman beings hostile to the god and to all the powers of nature. This worship developed into a cult which was widely recognized and practiced quite apart from and independent of the orthodox religion. Though occasionally mingled with it, in this system the godling of disease were worshipped by blood sacrifice, with food, honey, milk, fruit, and flower were offered. The medium excited himself to a frenzied and raging wildly, proclaiming that the medium, not the spirit, had passed out of the patient and had possessed him or an animal. It was in great part a hamanistic cult of typical form.

**Magico religious treatment of disease**

Di ḍi ea e nd it treatment were however till matter of religion and the god were appe led to through the medium of the priest who used prayer and mantras (pell) sacrifice the healing water, purification by fire, and remedies intermingling charms, amulets, and the art of magic and sorcery. The priests were concerned merely with the symptom of disease; they knew no matter what was the cause of it. Whenever possible, the evil spirit were named in the ceremony for exorcism. The Atharvaṃ treatment was always magical, ve neared with religion, hymns with an oblation or prayer addressed to the gods, to the disease or demon of disease or to the remedy. If the name of the disease or known, it would be in the order to depart, but often it was not known and the command was given in general terms.

19 G. M. Bolling, 'Dī nd Maṇḍī me (V dic),' in *ERE* iv, 762. 772
THE HEALING GODS

whatever be thy name go hence Ceremome with crifice to propitiate the god and to gain their favor or to appease exorcise and drive away evil spirits together with amulet charms and incantations fumigation purifications by water and fire and tran ference of the dis ease demon to some other being (usually an animal) were all recognized in the Atharvaveda as effective mean of dispelling the causes of disease and bringing about a cure whether with or without remedy and magic ub tances and whether given internally or p phed exter nally The Atharv n m tera medica con tained m ny substance one of recognizing intrinsic virtue and many more peculiar to the people and their religious belief the efficacy of which did not depend entirely on the remedy but more frequently on the method of prepar tion and administra tion and in connection with magic

**Remedies**

Water were acrad nd are frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature for their healing power (cf Ap h) The water verily are healers the water are cat terer of dise e the water cure all di ea e (Atharv III vi 5) They be ought to bestowed their remedie to carry away in (Rigveda I xxiv 16 24) and are fre quently referred to in prayers for long life They are p nacea (Kauś, xxv 20) and employed to cure drop y (ib, xxx 11 13) Flowing waters a from the Sindhu (Indus) are the most skilled of all physician (Atharva VI xxiv) Water containing the leavings of offer ings re poured on or sprinkled on and the patient is given ome to drink (Kauś, vii 26) Plants were the off pring and essence of waters and many were ed for

---

11 Bl omfi ld op cit, pp 58 63 al o Henry L Magne d n 'Inde terque, pp 178 210
their medicinal properties (Ath rv VIII vii) Hymn addressed to the divine panacea tht free from calamity cure the toil of Varuna (drop y) to gain the gods (ib VI xcvi) Next to plant in holiness were the product of the cow the butter the milk, and even the hair the cow dung and the urine (jalasa). Piece of earth were used as remedies and the earth from a mole hill was given for con tipation (Kauś xxv 11)

 MAGIC AND MAGICAL REMEDIES

In the Vedic religion man sought by hymn prayer and sacrifice to gain the favor of the god and thereby to receive benefit according to the desire. He also sought by magic its spells and ritual to constrain supernatural beings and influence or control the course of events according to his will. The tone of the earlier Vedic literature is eminently religious the Rigveda consisting in very large part of hymns addressed to the god in praise and for general welfare for the use of the priest and contain only a few that are concerned with magic. The subject matter of the Atharvaveda on the other hand represents the popular idea of religion and essentially magic consisting of a collection of metrical spells to aid the magician and to injure his enemy. The later literature dealing with the humbler aspect of life how that the domestic observance of daily life were saturated with magical beliefs and practices. The religious form were propitiatory or per ua rive in character. The magical were coercive and in practice both elements were blended. Remedies were conceived as having magical power to cure disease and were given in connection with mantras spoken charm or

1 M Bloomfield “On Jalas h J l bh s jah J la m nt Jal m, in AJP, 1891 xi 425 429
1 A A M edon Il M ge (V die) in ERE viii 311
THE HEALING GODS

pell in metrical form a hymns and prayer addressed to the god Many of the Atharvan ceremomic were exorcistic in character (Kauś x xv 22 36) Many substance were believed to have magical power when brought in contact with the patient by inhalation or fumigation a the smoke from burning wood for expelling demon (ib xxv 23 x x x i 19 22) and for worm (ib , x x v i i 17 20) Cure of disease is effected by the laying on of hand in connection with expelling hymns (ib , x x v i i i 18) and a ring of magic powder drawn around the house to prevent the return of the demon (ib , x x v i i i 11) A tr p appear to be laid for the demon by making an offering in a fire surrounded by ditch containing hot water (ib , xxxi 3) Poir on 1 driven out by rubbing the patient from head to foot (ib , x x v i i i 23) External application of ointment must be made downward to drive the trouble where it will do the least harm and finally out of the feet (Rigved X lx 11 12) Disea e are charmed forth (Ath rva IX vii) Amulet were god born and many substance were worn of the vegetable kingdom met l tone tring nd knot to ward off evil influence from the person 14 Indr placed thee[ ] plant upon hi arm in order to overcome the asuras” (ib , II xxvii 3) Amulet are worn against disease in general (Kauś xxvi 37) for the cure of excessive discharge (ib , xxv 6) for ksetrya (chronic or hereditary disease) (ib , x x v i i 43) , for contipation or retention of urine (ib , x x v 10) nd for disea e conceived a due to p e ion by demon (ib , x x v i i i 5) Man 1 relea ed from demon by n mulet of ten kinds of holy wood (Ath rva II ix 1) Demon re le 1 in by amulets (Kauś , x li 23) orcery repelled (ib , xxx x 1) and triumph 1 g ined over hum n enemie (ib , xl vi i 3) Gold worn n mul t confer longevity (Ath rva XIX xxvi 1) Ch rm

1 G M Bollin ‘Ch r nd A ul t (V dice) ’1 ERE vii 470
again they were also mentioned in the Rigveda (X livi lx clxi clxii) and again to point on (ib, VII 1)

Physicians

Physicians were recognized as constituting a profession (Vajasaneyi Samhita, xxx 10) and the Atharvaveda recognize physician as well as priest as agent for the ceremonial cure of disease (e.g. V xix 1 VI xxiv 2 VIII vii 26). Under the Brahman a certain number of priests pledged themselves to the exclusive study of healing and formed a second brotherhood ranking below the age who were occupied solely with metaphysics and theology. Later the ksatriyas (warriors) devoted themselves to medicine and hortly thereafter the profession of healing declined in rank to the classes of vaisyas (merchants etc.) and śudras (conquered races). All the eved a and aumed to be physicians practicing theurgic medicine with ceremonial and sacrificial magic art and sorcery and often de ceding to human m. The classes came to be de pised by the priests and were excluded from all ceremonies aced to the manes and to the god. According to the Tattirṣya Samhita (VI, iv 9) Brahman must not perform healing with prohibition being due to the defilement of his caste by being brought into contact with all sorts of men (Mantrasamhita, IV vi, 2) and for this reason the Āśvin were excluded from the sacrificial Offerings presented to Brahman acting phyician became pus and blood (Mahabharata, XIII xc 14). So too a physician must be avoided at sacrifice (Manu xli 152) and must not be invited to one (Vasistha Dharma Sutra, lxxxi 9) neither may his food be eaten (Apastamba Dharma Sutra, I vi 1821 xix15).

1 Bru L M'decl t es religio s, p 13 l o M edon Il d K rh, Vedas I dex of Na es d Subj cts, n 104 106
Neither Buddhist nor Jain monk was physically (Uttaradhyayana, xv 8 Atthakavagga, xiv 13 Tevijj Sutta, ii 7)

**PART II THE HEALING DEITIES**

It has been seen that the ancient god of the Indian were not strictly peculi ed. The function of healing pertained to a number of deities who are mentioned in the hymn and the epic as physicians but (with the possible exception of Dhanvantari) an incident to their more important duties of directing the various forces of nature. They appear a working cure in detched and poradic fashion rather than as a matter of devotion to the sick and suffering. The chief Indian deities who are mentioned in the Vedic hymn, the epic, and the myths exercising their divine power for the healing of mankind though not healers in the larger specific sense are the following.

| The Aditya | Brha p ti | Sara v ti |
| Agni | Dak a | Savitr |
| Apah | Dhanvantari | Som |
| The Asvin | Dhatr | Surya |
| Bhai jyaraja nd Dhatr | Indr | Tva tr |
| Bhai ajyaguru | The Marut | V runa |
| Brahm | Rudra | Vata or Vayu |

---

1 For ddtui l l i form tion and V di r f r ne to th h l g d iti of ncnt Indi Mukhopadhy y H iory of Indian Medici e

17 S v r l oth r deati of minor rank r mntno d in th V d 1 onn ction with m di ci nd a cuit ag oft n referr d to s divin r r f rr d to in Indi n literatur Raka Simivali Gungu and Anu m ti were odd s ocated with prcer tio nd child birth (Rag v da, H x n 8 X elx xiv 2) Oth r r fer ne to Anu ati will b found in Mur Origi l S skrit T xts, v 346 398 Trit Apty 1
THE ADITYAS

The Adityas were a group of deities who varied widely not only in number (sometimes three, six, even eight or twelve) but in name (Mitra, Aryman, Bhūg, Vṛun, Dak, and Amśa or Mitra, Varuna, Aryman, Amsa, Bhaga, Dhatr, Indra, and Vivasvanta etc.). Their epithets showed that they were children of Aditi (the Boundless One) and one of them are solar deities (e.g., Mitra) or sky gods (e.g., Varuna). They are many-eyed and leelie they are blameless, pure, and holy. They see what is good and evil in men's hearts and distinguish the honest from the deceitful. From Varuna they have received the moral duty of punishing and rewarding virtue. They bestow light, long life, offspring, and guidance. They are celestial deities who ward off death and disease (Eigved VIII xviii 10) though the reference to the latter function is only of the most general character.

AGNI

Agni (Fire) was one of the great original deities of the Rigveda just as fire was a principal divinity of other Indo-European peoples. Iranian, Greek, Latin, and Baltic peoples. In later speculation, Agni symbolizes the immaterial fire of divine intelligence and the conservator of the world. He is the divinity of sacrificial fire Gṟhapati, the lord of the home, the closest friend to whom the people keep always at their hearth. He is the god of priests and the priest of the gods. He changes his form at will and one of his great deeds was to burn the rāksasas who infested the sacrifice. He is pure men

1 A A Mcdonald, 'Vedic Mythology' in GIPA, 1897 pp. 43-45
2 Beug, mythologie du védique, p. 98-110
and protect them from evil (Rigveda I lxxxix) In the Atharvaveda he is the divine physician a maker of remedies (V xxix 1) who is invoked to restore to the sick man the flesh eaten away by the pisachas (vv 45 12 13) He burns away the poison of snake bite and drives away the goblins (ib, VII 1) and he is invoked to give relief in mortality (Atharva VI cxv) The invocation to the fire god for snake bite and kin-disease isuggestive of the possible use of the cautery. The principal Agni or fire is again invoked in prayer chiefly to protect the body the ring to quicken the mind and prolong life (Atharva III xi 4) and his healing function occupy a relatively unimportant part not pl ace in the myth told concerning him.

APAHA

APAHA represented the Water divine mother who bides on high cle neutr from moral guilt and purifies Th y r remedies they grant remedies for healing long life and immortality (Rigveda I xxiii 19 21 VI I 7 X ix 5 7) and in the house they watch over man and his health (Vranyakesi Grhya Sutra, II iv 5) In the Atharva Ved they are be ought for procreative vigor (I v 3) they heat burn (VI xxiv 1) they bring health and medicine drive disease away and cure all maladies (VI xci 3 cf III vii 5) they are better healers than physicians (XIX xi 3) Likewise in the White Yurved they contain in healing medicine (ix 6) and are be ought to flow with health and strength for their worshipper (xxxvi 12)

1 M cdo ll op cit, pp 88 100 Berg ign op cit, i 11 14
H pk1, Ep. Mythology, pp 7 107 Muir op cit, v 1 23
M cdo ll op cit, pp 5 6
THE INDIAN DEITIES

THE ĀSVINS

In the Vedic pantheon the Āśvin (Horsemen) are the twin sons of the un 1 or of the sky of the heaven of the ocean or of the universality of created things and occupy prominent place in the Rigveda. They are the personification of the twilight that precede the dawn or of the morning and evening twilight they are celestial horsemen who ride in a shining honey-hued car. When their thoughts announce the coming of day or the approach of evening they are ever young and beautiful. Their kin filled with honey and they can change their form at will. They are the Indian counterpart of the Greek Dioskouroi (Ktes and Polydeuce) and appear in the myth. They possess profound wisdom and are guardians of immortality, ward off death. They re invocably beneficent and merciful, surrounding those in dire or in peril. They are extraordinarily renowned and many legends tell their marvelous deeds. In the Brahmanas and Puranas they occupy the cosmic character. They are still beautiful and physician of the god (Rigveda VIII xviii 8) and they restored sight and cure the sick and made (ib id 16 x xxxix 3) At the prayer of the wolf they restored the sight of Rājaśva who had been blinded by his father because he had killed one hundred and one sheep and had given them to the wolf (ib, I cxvi 16 cxvii 17 18) They restored the sight of Upmanyu after he had fallen into a well (Mahabharata, I iii 33 77) They cured Purva of both blindness.

1 Or Bhūkr con red a th fount in h d of 11 knowl dg in m deim (Mukhopadhyay, op cit, p 83)
They provided Viśnud with an iron leg to replace the one she lost in battle (ib, I cxvi 15) They knew how to replace the head when cut off (ib, I cxvii 22) and they could restore life. They could make old men young they protected the aged Kalioth the took a young wife (ib, X xxxix 8) A boon to his beautiful wife they restored her husband Chyvana to youth with all its power (ib, I cxvi 10) Allusions are made to a number of other cure wrought by them (ib, cxvi cxv). The Āśvin were not in good repute with the other gods and were shut out from the sacrifice because they have wandered and mixed much among men performing their caste. They insisted that the gods should receive them on footing of equality and eventually they regained their share in the sacrifice. The Āśvins thus shared in the soma but the special offering made to secure their favor was sura (a kind of brandy) with honey (ib, IV, 1 5) They played a part in helping to transmit the Yajurveda with its medical knowledge from the gods to mankind.

bhaisajyarakata and bhaisajyaguru

BHAI AJYARAJA (Bhaisajyaguru) (King of Healing) in the later Buddhism of the Mahayana (Great Vehicle) school is one of the many Bodhisattva Maha attva (potential Buddhas of the highest class) and it is he who has become the healing god of the Northern Buddhist.

Th ground for their cure p ecially of blindne 1 that d w bring to light th t which h b n lo t m d rkn (M edon ll op cit, p 51)

Jolly op cit, p 12 M edonell op cit, pp 49 54 B rg igne op cit, n, 431 510 K nth op cit, pp 30 32 86 87 141 142 M ur op cit, v 234 257 al o Myn nth, Dr Āśvins oder r sch Dvos kuren, Mum h 187
In Tibet, China, and Japan he is replaced by Bhai ajy guru whose cult became very popular.

**BRAHMA**

Brahma is the great Hindu god of Indian speculative thought, the chief of the Pauranic triad Brahma Visnu and Siva. He is the creator of all things, the self-existent, the starting point of the cosmic system which is set in motion by his will. He is the possessor of all power and of all knowledge and science. He is a lofty philosophical conception of supreme might and wisdom, and the author of all he observes. All but the machinery of the universe nor with the affairs of man except in a contemplative manner. His function are vague; he has not impressed the popular imagination. Few temples and altars have been built in his honor. He transmits his infinite wisdom and science to humanity or permit it to be transmitted and medicine has thus come to man from him (see Dhanvantari). Brahma is considered a healing deity but not an active healer. Few personal appeals are made to him. He is a deity who has fallen into oblivion.

**BRHASPATI**

In the Vedas, Brhaspati is the father of the gods. He is the priest above all others. He is the Lord of Prayer, the Lord of Devotion. In the Brahmanas, he is the Lord of Brahma, the earthly prototype of the heavenly Brahma. The impersonation of the power of devotion. He is golden colored and ruddy pure and clear voiced. He sings chants and his song goes to heaven. He rides in a car drawn by ruddy teeds. Without him th...
crifice doe not ucceed He 1 Indra lly gain t th
asuras, nd he 1 clo ealy alhed to Agni with whom h
appears at time to be identified and it 1 po sible that
originally he wa Agni in hi pecal function of divin
pr et He protect the piou man from dangers cur e
and malignity He ble e him with wealth and pro
perty He prolongs life and remove di ea e (Rigveda
I xviii 2 3) He know the demon he ward off fiend
and de troy the asuras (Ath rva X vi 22) He 1
invoked to aid g m t orcerer (ib , I vii 2) and to
conquer the poi on of erpents (ib , VII Iv 5) He 1
invoked to clean e from sin for life vigor (ib , II xxix
1) and long life (ib , III xi 4)

DAKSA

Th Pauramic god D ksa 1 the on of Brahma and one
time appear a an Aditya H1 name indicat intelli
gence abilty competency and he 1 regarded a a clever
god He 1 credited with creative power and received the
Yajurved from Br hma and helped to tran mit it to
mankind

DANVANTARI

Dhanvantari w the chief Indian god of healing the
phyician of the gods nd the A klepio of Indi He
w however a deity of mnor rank of te development
and of a hadowy per onality In wh t eem to be th
earlie t reference to him (Kauś , lxxiv 6) his acrisce 1
to be m de in the waterholder to Dhanvantari the
ocean plant trees ky and earth ' which uggest that
he wa primarily a deity of healing herb and hi asso

M edon ll, op cit, pp 101 104 Hopkin op cit, pp 180 181
Muir op cit , v 272 283

Jolly op cit , p 12 M edonell op cit, p 46 Muir op cit , v
48 53
cination with water often an element of healing especially in connection with sacred spring implied by his origin from the cosmic ocean. The meaning of the name uncertain and it has been interpreted as he who passes through (tārī) the bow (dhaśwan) an island in the ky ocean i.e. a cloud and it is suggested that he may have been a cloud or celestial divinity. Dh n vantari is not mentioned in the Veda and it may be that he was ab. ped by the ram god Parjanya.

Dhanvantari a figure in the epic and Puranas, he wor shipped in the Sutras and remembered in the folklore of the Punjab of the present day. He lived in the northeast (Markandeya Purana, xxix 17) in which direction sacrifice should be offered to him to the god of the Agnihotra (Agni Soma Indra Agni Sky Earth All God and others) and the oblation (being clarified butter) should be offered at evening and morning (Mahabharata, XIII xvii 12 Manu iii 85). His sacrifice is also mentioned in the Sutra literature (Āśvalayana Grhya Sutra I ii 12 iii 6 xii 7 Gautama Dharma Sutra v 10 Manava Grhya Sutra, I xviii 8 ii xii 2 3 19) A Brahman priest was requisite at such rite. An annual sacrifice of a goat or a heifer must be to Agni and Dhanvantari and he was to receive a leaf of plant named after him.

In the Mahabharata (III iii 25) Dhanvantari is an epithet of the sun who is a god of healing and it is likely one of the one thousand and eight names of Śiva (ib XIII xvi 24). It is doubtful however if the identification is of real significance in view of the tendency to identify deities of divergent character by syncretism and henotheism.

In epic myth (Mahabharata I xvi 39 Ramayana, I xlv 31 33) Dhanvantari with other red things were
the result of the churning of the cosmic milk ocean holding in his hand a staff and a bowl of *amrta* (am bro 1a Soma q v) Life giving draught longed for by gods and men

According to the *Puranas*, Dhanvantari was the twelfth and thirteenth avatar of Vi nu (*Bhagavata Purana, I* 11 1 ff 11 7) and the *Visnu Purana* (IV viii) make him incarnate in King Divodasa of Kaśi (Benare). He wa’ free from human infirmity and posse sed universal knowledge in every incarnation In the life ju t previou to hi avatar’s Dhanvantari Visnu had conferred upon him the boon of being born a K atriya and of becoming the author of medical cience be ide being entitled to a hare of the oblation offered to the god According to medical tradition (*Suśruta Samhita, I* 12 16) the divine physician Dhanvantari inc rnate as Divoda a King of Kaśi received the Ayur Veda from Brahma through the ucce sive mediation of Prajapati (or Dak a) the Aśvin and Indra and then taught it to Su’ruta and the latter ix colleague To Dhanvantari are likewi a cribed the *Dhanvantarmghantu*, the olde t Indian medical glos ary (though not of very anci nt d te) and a numb r of minor tre ti e Having acquired knowledge of the Ayur Veda from Bharadvaja he divided the dutie of phy cian into eight cla e and conferred hi lore upon hi disciple Dhanvantari i called The Health Be tow One but it is not known that he had any cult following

It is related that Dhanvantari suffered demotion An ttempt was made to euhemerize him and from an inde pendent divinity he became an avatar and finally an

Moore Th Hindu Panth on, pp 180 183

* L H Gray “Th Indi n God Dh nvantari, in JAOS, 1922 xlu 324 325 al o Jolly op cit, pp 12 14

Th following gen logy i given by Mukhopadhyay (op cit, P rt
earthly king and leech who was mortal. According to a Punjab legend Dhanvantari died of a bite of a serpent.

**DHATR**

DHATR (the placer) 1 a deity of the Hindu pantheon an gent god 2 who occa ionally appear an Adity creator a fa hioner a developer one who put thing in place and he accordingly invoked in ca e of fr ctur (Atharva IV xii 2) He wa likewi e a departmental

1 Pr J p ti D k

A’vimi Kum r

Indr

Bh r dv j

Atr y Gal v nd oth r

Agnv ’ J tuk r Bhel H nt K r pam Dh vant ri

C rak nd } R d ctor
Drdha v 1

S rut Aup dhen v Aurabhr P u k l v t K r vryy nd other

Ng rju (R d c tor)

1 Te pl, *The Lege ds of the Pu jab*, 1 451 490 492 494 4 9 505

512 Crooke, *Th Popular Religio d Folk ore of Norther* . 1 1

2 M edon ll op ct , p 11
birth god who ordained procreation and a heavenly (Rigveda X clxxxiv 1) Let Vi nu hape the womb let Tva tr mold the form let Prajapati pour in (the semen) let Dhatr place the embryo (cf Atharva V xxv 4 5 10 13)

INDRA

In the Veda the great divinity econd only to Agni is Indra, but in the Puranas, he rank after the triad Brahma Visnu, and Siva. He is the favorite national deity of the Vedic Indians is closely a sociated with Agni lord of a hundred power and identified with Sury (the Sun) He ometime titled as independent a universal ruler though the title belong more properly to Varuna. He is a warrior god per excellence, and in this capacity he perform his greatest feat the conquest of the demon of drought and darkness and the killing of Vrtra who had impounded the water thereby liberating them and winning light for mankind. His weapon is vajra (the thunderbolt) (Atharva VI 11 3) and the rainbow is called Indra bow.

Indra is the mo anthropomorphic of all the Hindu deities. He has thou and eye and many hand but he differ from other Vedic god in their essentially mor character and his body cover d with eye (originally pudenda muliebris) through Gautama cur e in punishment for adultery with Ahalya the wife of the sage He was addicted to oma into which he wa beguiled by the demon Namuci and drank it to the detriment of his moral standing. Chy vana paralyzed his arm when he attempted to prevent the Aśvin from making him young but this was ubequently relieved by the Aśvin with the a 1 tance of Sara vati by the use of an mulet (Vajasā

M Bloomfield Th Story of Indr d N use 1 JAOS, [191] 1893 xv 143 1 3
In modern India Indra is a rain godling of minor rank.

Indra is a healing deity in very minor capacity. He cured Apala of kin disease and her father of baldness (Rigveda VIII 1xxx). Indra and Agni are called upon to cure children of worm and they succeeded in laying the female demon (Atharva V xxxi 1). The knowledge of medicine was supernaturally revealed by Indra who aided mankind in transmitting it to mankind (cf Dhanvantari).

THE MARUTS

In the Veda the Marut are given a prominent place. They are the storm god, the storm clouds, the storm wind. They are brother or son of Rudra and are identical with the Rudra. They are of the company of thrice ten gods and are also called the host of the Marut; while their number is given a thrice even number. They were born from the laughter of lightning. The brothers are of equal age, have grown up together, and are of one mind. They are elf-luminous and golden of unlikeliness. They ride in a car which gleams with lightning. They are fierce and terrible yet playful children. They make a noise like thunder and are the ingenuity of heaven while their greatest exploit is the making of ram. Like Rudra, they have a dual aspect; frequently they are malevolent and at time truly beneficial. They are mentioned together with their father Rudra (qv) a possessing pure and beneficent remedy (Rigveda II xxxi 13 VII xxxv 6) which they bring from afar from the river of Sindhu and Aikini the e

* Crook * p c t, 1 6 73 77
Marple * op c t, pp 54 66 Bergaigne * op c t, pp 15 1
Hopkins * p c t, pp 192 141
THE HEALING GODS

(i.e., cloud ocean), and the mountain and the they be tow like rain (ib, VIII xx 23 26)

RUDRA

In the Vedic pantheon Rudra is the torm deity the Howler, the Roarer, the terrible god of torms. From the Brahmanas on he is identified with Śiva and is called Rudra Śiva. He bear the name Tryambak a being born of three mother and is the father of the Rudras or Marut (q.v.) He shine like a brilliant un and ride in a dazing car he wear a wonderful neck lace nd in hi hand hold bow and arrow nd the thunderbolt hi lightning haft de cend upon the e rth and bring di ease and death to men and cattle. He is fierce and strong a terrible deity who e anger is feared and he is implored to restrained hí wrath. He ha a du l apect. He is malevolent a cheat a robber and a deceiver but he is also intelligent wise beneficent and the master of purifying winds which drive away miasm and other poi on from the atmosphere. Hi arrow and pear were reputed to bring di ease and sharp pain (Tcohic) and Rudra d art (śula) is invoked (Kaus, xxxi 7) In hi hand he hold the fairest remedie (Rigveda I cxiv 5) a thousand remedie (ib, VII xlv 3) for illne with which he is implored to remove (Atharva XIX x 6) ll di ea e from man nd bea t and to make them ound and well (ib, I xliu 6 cxiv 1) He has a potent remedy c lled jalasa, which w probably hi urine (i.e., rain) (ib, VI lvu 2) though according to a l interpretation w cow s urine (ib, II xxvii, 6) Vayu or Vata is associated with him Rudra is a divine physician (White Yajur veda xvi 5) the physician of physician (Rigveda II

M cdon II op s, pp 77 81. B rg ign op et, n 36 40° H pkn op et, pp 1 170 K ith op et, pp 3 40. Muir op t, v 147 154
nd his hand is restorative and healing. He is lord of all remedies and be to them that he be ought by his worshippers to avert suffering from their children. His healing function are also appealed to for a wound or bruise and his curing aid is invoked with Soma.

SARASVATI

In the Rigveda, Sarasvati the goddess of river and is spoken of in connection with Agni and Savitri. In the Brahmanas, she is the goddess of eloquence and wisdom. Sarasvati is said to be the Asvin in restoring to Indra the vigor he had lost. In the Atharva, Savitri is attributed mighty plendor and he goes in a golden car seeing all creatures. The golden handed Savitri moves between heaven and earth at the sun in motion. He is a divine physician who drives away disease and remove it and he be to long life on man.

SAVITRI

In the Rigveda, Savitri (Stimulator) is a form of the ungodly god permuting the divine power of the sun. He alone is lord of vivifying power the exciter of all motion and activity. To him is attributed mighty plendor and he goes in a golden car seeing all creatures. The golden handed Savitri moves between heaven and earth at the sun in motion. He is a divine physician who drives away disease and remove it and he be to long life on man.

References:
- Macdonell op cit., pp 86–88
- Bergaigne op cit., pp 339–343
- Macdonell op cit., pp 32–35
- Muir op cit., v 16–170
Soma (Pres ed Juice) a Vedic deity to whom the whole of the ninth book of the Rigveda is devoted is identical with the Avestan Haoma (q.v.) and the sacrifice to him forms the main feature of the ritual of the Rigveda. He was a drink made from a plant which cannot be identified with any known existing species and who's abode was on the top of the mountain whence it was brought to Indra by an eagle. The juice was pressed from the young hoot of the plant and being filtered and mixed with milk, sour milk, honey or barley water became (or amrta) the celestial nectar of the god loved by god and men which gave immortality to those who drank it. The juice of a ruddy brown color flowed with the peed of lightning and gave out a sound like thunder. It was exhilarating and caused ecstasy of feeling probably due to the enjoyable. Most of the great and useful feats of the god were performed under its influence with the strength and courage given them. Soma was called the celestial child born of the unkindly bird of heaven, lord of plant, guardian of men, and mortal king of the whole earth. He was a healing deity. He was medicine for the sick. He led whatever was sick (Rigveda VIII lxvi 17) and made the blind to see and the lame to walk (ib., VIII lxvii 2 XV xxv 11). He was the guardian of men's bodies (ib., VIII lxvii 9) and towing length of life in this world. (ib., I xci 8, VIII xlvii 4 7 IX iv 6 xci 6) He rendered power (Atharva IV 6). He gave light, granted healing of demons, and cleared the heart and promoted truth.

In poetic Vedic literature (and perhaps in the late Vedic period) Soma was connected with the moon and became a lunar deity.

According to the epic and Puranas, Soma at one time
wo to in the flood with many other precious things and both god and demon dared it. The deity consulted Vi nu once without it they had been waning in power so that the demon were gaining the advantage in their conflict. Vi nu advised that the ocean of milk would be churned and to it he became incarnate as a tortoise (the second Great Avatar). After prolonged churning by means of the mountain Mandra which was poised on the cosmic serpent Vamky wwr ped and pulled from either end by god and demon Dhanvantari. The physician of the god appeared bearing the cup of amṛta. This delighted both god and demon but the former finally gained the amṛta and thereby acquired sufficient strength to drive the demon to their underground abode. In this myth the celestial origin of Soma from the sky ocean is obvious.

**SURYA**

Surya, one of the early Vedic deities of the sun who is name etymologically connected with the Greek 'Helios', concrete of the Indian solar deity and in Indic orb th function of the special ungod such as Savitr. Although he became faded deity according to the Brahmanas, his worship continued under the name of Suraj. In the Rigveda, he drives away defects and evil dreams (X xxxvii 4). In the Atharvaveda (I xxii of Rigveda I 1 11), he invoked to cure heartburn and unduce and to bring back the ruddy hue of health is he ought to heal put tule (Ath rv VI lxxxii 1) indirectly he cured cough (ib, VII cvii) and he is entreated for clear viion (ib, XIX xxix 3).

*Footnotes:*

4 M don ll op cit pp 104 115 Brg ign op ct, i 148 225
K ith op cit, pp 4 4 90 1, 1 6 137 S p g l Die risch Period d hre Z t nde, pp 16 178 M ir op cit, u 46 , v, 25 271
41 Qv k b, Th S skrit Po m of M y r, no 32
There was in ancient India a wide pread cult of the
un and the Saura a hi wor hippers were c lled
formed one of the great sect of early Hinduism e pe
sially in the north. The Iranian later exercised much
influence on this sect. To this latter source probably
due the tradition a ociated with the Sanskrit poet M.
yur (presumably of the first half of the eventh cen
dury A.D.) who afflicted with lepro y was healed by Surya in
whose honor he then composed hi Suryaśataka ( Hun
dred Verse in praise of the Sun). In like manner
Samba was cured of leprosy by Surya* and the tradi
tion doubtle to be connected with the old Per i an
belief (Herodoti 1 138) that lepro y and white lepro y
were in punishment for in ag in t the un. According to
the Suryaśataka (No 101) the un not only give free
dom from di ea e, but he alone makes anew and cure
those who because long rank with multitude of ins have
hrveled no e feet and hands who e limb are ulcer
ou and who make gurghng indi tinct noi e (No 6) **

TVASTR

Tvasta r an ob cur member of the Vedic pantheon of
very feeble per onality. As his name implies he i
fa hioner a cunning artifex a divine artifex who i
concerned in the repair of m n body (Vajasane y Sam
hita, xxxviii 9) Once (Atharva VI lxi 3) he i en
treated to mooth down what of our body is torn ap rt
and he i invoke for long life (ib, VI lxxviii 3) He
formed the germ in the womb following impregnati
(ib, V xxv 5) and was therefore believed to preside

* Qu knbo , op cit, pp 23 32 34 37
* Ib, pp 35 37
** Cf ib pp 114 115 Medon ll op cit, pp 30 32 Hopkm
op cit, pp 83 89 K ith op cit, pp 26 8 138 139 183 184, Muir
op cit, v 155 161
over generation and to be tow offspring (Rigveda III 1v 9 Atharva II xxix 2)

VARUNA

VARUNA is one of the old deities of the Vedas where he rank only second to Indra (q v) and in many respect his position is comparable with that of Zeus in the Greek pantheon. He is closely related at least in function to the Iranian Ahura Mazda. He is lord over all lord of the all embracing circle of the heavens, earth and ea lord of both god and men King of Water and lord of the Ocean. In the oldest treatise of the Rigved he has been regarded as lord of light both by day and by night but later he is rather lord of the sky by night. On the other hand he is closely associated with water. In the Atharvaveda he is only a lord of waters and it is conjectured that primarily he was a god of the celestial river i.e., of the Milky Way. He is closely associated with Mitra a god. His abode is in the sky in a golden manion in which he is looking on all deeds and to which he mount in his shining char. He is the upholder of phy and mor order. He punishes and rewards virtue. He is the guardian of immortality (Rigveda VIII xlii 2) and he can take away life or prolong it (ib, I xxiv 11 xxv 12 VII lxxxviii 4 lxxxix 1). He is a healing seer (ib, I xxiv 8 11). Thy remedies 0 King are a hundred a thousand (ib, I xxiv 9). As a moral governor and lord of the water he end dropsy in punishment for in and especially for falsehood (ib, VII lxxxix) and he is repeatedly besought to loose from the fetters with which he has bound the offender (ib, I xxiv 15 xxv 21 V lxxxv 8 VI lxxiv 4 Atharva I x). In the Atharvaveda (I xxv 3) in punishment for sin he sends fever.

4 Macdonell op cit., pp 116 118 also Berg op cit., in 38
4 Hill, Vedische Mythologie, I 513 535
peculiarly drop y (ib, IV xvi 7) and he is invoked to relieve from drop y evil dream and misfortune (ib, VII lxxxi) but in the White Yajurveda he is a phyician (xxviii 34) and lord of physician (xxi 40) while one who performs the rite in honor of his ancestor under Varuna constellation Satabhi aj (Hundred Remedies) will become a successful physician (Mahabharata, XIII lxxxix 12) ⁴

VATA OR VAYU

VATA, or Vayu is Vedic deity of air and wind a companion of Indra and a soma drinker second only to him. He is also associated with Rudra. He rides in a car which is drawn by ninety nine or sometimes one thousand horses. He moves through the air and never rests. His roaring is hard but he never eats. He breathes the life giving breath of the god and in his flight he wafts healing and purification upon mankind (Rgveda X clxxvii) the power being doubtless representative of the purifying nature of wind (Atharva III xxi 2) He breathes vital breath (ib, XIX xlii 2) and in the White Yajurveda (xx 15) he is ought to be free from all diseases.

⁴ M don 11 op cit, pp 22 29 Hopkin, p cit, pp 11 122 Brggane op cit, in 110 14 Hill br ndt op cit, in 37 Mur op cit v 58 7 2

⁴⁷ M edo 11 op cit, pp 1 3 Kith op cit, p 7 Brg gn op cit, 1, 24 28 Hill br ndt op cit, in 32 331
CHAPTER FIVE
IRANIAN GODS
CHAPTER FIVE
THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT IRAN

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

In ancient Iran medical doctrine and practice were determined by the sacred book and were under the direction and control of the priest acting as a physician.

Iranian religion: The Avesta

The Iranian religion, which as reformed by Zoroaster was conceived on a highly moral and elevated plane, prevailed in the land from an early period but of its holy text the Avesta only about one third has survived to form the scripture of the Parsis of India and of their co-religionists the Geber in Persia. Originally incribed with golden ink on thousands of cowhide it was religiously guarded in the Stronghold of Records but a large part is traditionally said to have been destroyed during the invasion of Alexander the Great so that the Avesta exists today as reconstructions dating from the reign of Shapur II (A.D. 310-379). The portion called the Gathas (Song) bear internal evidence in phonology and dialect of being the oldest and is ascribed by tradition to Zoroaster himself but some other part reveal the fact that they were written at least in their present form in a dead language. The Avesta is divided into the Yasna (including the Gathas), the Yashts, the Visparad, the Vendidad, etc. and treat of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) and his teachings and legend.
precept for anetity and a religion life the moral and civil law and liturgy and ritual. Of all these text the Vendidad (or Viderdat, ‘Law against Demon’) is of pecu 1 inte r t to phy ician ince it make frequent mention of di ea e while chapt r xx xxii are almo t wholly medic l

The religion of Zoroaster

The ahent fe ture of the religion of Zoroaster is an ential monotheism with n apparent dualism. The Principle of Good i Ahura Mazda (or Orma d) and the Principle of Evil i Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) each attended and ided by le er divine or infernal being partaking of their re pective character deposits or their re pective powers and attribute and acting a agent with varied functions to carry out their leader will and to a sist in waging the ince sant warfare in which their principal are engaged High above all other Ahura Mazda is the omnicient creator of the uni ver e and of all good thing i upported by 1x Amesha Spenta (or Am h pand) the Immortal Holy One who form hi court while occupying an auxiliary place the Y zata ( Venerable One ) are hi angels. To the 1 opp ed in unremitting malevolent bitter conflict Angra Mainyu the Enemy Spirit who ignorant and hortighted created darkness in di e e uffering and evil of every kind. With him re 1x Arch Fiend the antethe e of the Ame ha Spent who are hi commanders and who direct the activitie of untold horde of diabolical malignant spirit eeking to overcome nd en lave Orma d and by every mean in their power to cre te conf n in all hi good works and to destroy them ailing m n to hi detriment nd de truction Man iway ha p rt in the struggle aiding the one or opp ing the other according to hi mor l attitude nd
every deed 1 an act of warfare for the good or for the bad. This conflict between the power of good and evil continues without cessation through eons of time until eventually the world will undergo an ordeal by which it will be purified after which evil will be eliminated and Ahura Mazda and good will reign supreme.

Mythology

Many of the myths of Iran date from the period of Indo-Iranian unity whence compared with those of the Veda they show marked similarity in theme and form varying only in personification and detail. They center about the theme of the struggle between the agencies of good and evil and for the most part tell of creation and of the valiant endeavors of kings and ancient heroes to secure for earth and for mankind light in and on the ble sung of Nature against the opposing force of evil of dragon and of tyrant. These cosmic and terrestrial conflicts are often in the form cloud amid raging elements on a mountain or in a cavern with thunderbolt and fire and winding for the confusion and destruction of the demon.

The creation of remedies

The myth of the creation of the vegetable kingdom later forming all medicinal plants 1 of special interest (Bundahishn, ix xviii of Vendidad, xx 4 Yasht, i 30)\(^1\) Ameratatat (Immortality) one of the Ame ha Spenta who had vegetation under her guardian hip pounded the dry plant very mall and mixed them with water which Ti htrya the dog star who was a good genius in Iran made to rain upon the earth that plant prang up like hair on the head of man ten thou and growing to overcome ten thou and produced by evil spirit and the ten

\(^1\) *SBE* v 30 31 5
thou and becoming an hundred thousand. From the same germ arose the Tree of All Seed, which stood in the middle of the deep sea Vouruka ha and near the tree was the Gaokerena (Ox Horn) tree, the miraculous All Healer from which came all healing plant. This tree was necessary for the renovation of the universe that immortality might follow and it was that with which they restore the dead (Bundahishn, xxiv 27)

The Evil Spirit Ahriman et al. ard in the tree but Ormazd to keep the monster away created ten k rich which circling about it contantly guard it from harm. They are both fed spiritually and will watch each other until the universe is renovated. The Gokerena tree is the White Horn a manifestation of the mythical haoma plant (Bundahishn, xxvii 4) and a part of the Ave tain lost told of the production of entire specie of plant by Auharman d for the curing of the creatures from disease the ucce of the Gokereno plant which is the white Horn in curing as compared with other plant and the diligence of Ahrman in the medical treatment of the world (Dinkart, VIII xliiv 80). According to another myth (Bundahishn, x 1) the bull created by Ahura Mazda was killed by Ahriman but it death gave birth to vegetable life on earth while from it grew twelve specie of medicinal herb.

*Disease and dualism*

All disease regarded as a diabolical entity and often nmed after the particular demon uing it was up po ed to be governed by the qua dualism which ruled the cosmos and since it was regarded as an attack or a po es ion by spirits of evil, the power of good spirit must be invoked to secure relief. Sin and disease were on
much the same plane spiritual and disease a bodily malady being a breach of the moral or physical order resulting from pollution visible or invisible but substantial. The pollution must be removed by some rite or act which would effect purification and supernatural powers were summoned by invocations hymns and conjurations often in conjunction with natural remedies administered with rites and ceremonies.

'Countless' diseases

Ahura Mazda declares that Angra Mainyu created 99,999 (countless Yasht, xiii 59) diseases (Vendidad, xxii 2) and in the Vendidad he reveals to the human race through Zoroaster the means whereby man may free himself from their power. Two Amesha Spenditas, Haurvatat (Wholeness/Health) and Ameratatat (Immortality) were assigned as special guardians of man while Ahriman directed Taurvi and Zairika to oppose them the latter actively sowing seeds of suffering disease and death and the former provided with remedies to combat these ills both the supernatural power of Ahura Mazda of which they were the repository and the natural means which Ormazd revealed to Zoroaster by many hundreds thou and tens of thou and (Bundahishn xxvii 11 xxx 29, Vendidad, xx 4) 4

The cure

The cure is effected by the Amesha Spenta Asha Vohuhrata through the medium of the physician (Dinkart, VIII xxxvii 14) and the Avesta names several divisions of the healing art. ‘One health by righteousness

4 SBE v, 107 128 Dhall Zoroastrian Theology, pp 168 265 id, Zoroastrian Cymis tron, p 152
SBE xxxvii 116 al o A J Carnoy "M gur (Ir mi n) in ERE viii, 294 295
one health by the law one health by the knife one health by plant one health by (holy) text of healing thing the most healing is he who healeth by the holy text (Yasht iii 6 cf Vendidad, vii 44)

**Healing texts**

Many Gathic verse were used in effecting cure gaining force and efficiency by frequent repetition (cf Vendidad, ix 27 x 4 17 xx 12 Yasht, vii 5 xviii 8) occasionally the formula were them elided personified and invoked a Maye thou heal me O Holy Text right gloriously (Vendidad, xxii 2) and incantation all occur e.g. I conjure thee disease I conjure thee death

I conjure thee fever I conjure thee evil eye (ib, xx 7) Charm and amulet were also used to ward off disease or to avert the evil eye and fire also mentioned (Dinkart, III clvii 8) a therapeutic agency Further more all remedies of water and animal and plant were in the keeping of the divine Ahi (Yasna, lii 2) and the ram banished disease and death be the revivifying vegetation (Vendidad, xxi 3) The water and the plant were healing (Yasht, vii 47 Vendidad, xx 4) beginning with the Gaokerena tree already mentioned and such plant were used together with mantras in effecting cure (Dinkart, III clvii 45) The Ahura Manda (Yasht, i 2 5 8 12) the moon (Yasht, viii 5 Nyarsh, 1 i 13 x 13) al o received the epithet healing the two
latter a opposed to Angra Mainyu and his creature (Yasht, xx i vii 12) while the Fravashis (guardian spirits) likewise had this term applied to them (Yasna, lv 3 Yasht, xiii 30 32 64)

**Disease of animals**

The diseases of animals were governed by the same principles as those of men and similar measures were employed for their cure (Vendidad, vii 43 xiii 35 Din kar t VIII xix 39 xxxvii 29 xxxviii 54)

**PART II THE HEALING DEITIES**

Th A veta a ocia te the origin of the healing art with Thr i ta (Vendidad, xx 2) and other divine being of marvellous skill who were benefactor of the human race as phyician but they brought cures to man only in a theoretic manner and with the exception of Haoma and Mithra they developed no cult

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahurani</th>
<th>Cî ti</th>
<th>Thrita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aîryāman</td>
<td>Dr va p</td>
<td>Tî htry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arēdvī Sūr An</td>
<td>Hāom</td>
<td>Ver thraghna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>Mithra</td>
<td>Yīma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A hī</td>
<td>Thraetaona (or Farīdun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AHURANI**

Ahūrani (Daughter of Ahura) an Iranian water god de (cf Yasna, xxxiii 3) to whom the sixty eighth chapter of the Yasna devoted one invoked (Yasna lxviii 2) for health and healing for prosperity and growth well a for other blessings of every kind According to

SBE xxxvii 48 118, 129
the Great Bundahishn,\textsuperscript{10} she presided especially over running waters and the like

AIRYAMAN

AIRYAMAN, a deity dating from the Indo Iranian period celebrated in the Avesta as a benevolent being and a healer. After the Holy Text had failed Ahura Mazda called upon him for cooperation in expelling disease and death saying, "I bless thee with the fair holy being sing that maketh the empty full and the full to overflow that maketh the un sick sick and maketh the sick man sound whereupon he performed the rites of purification so effectively that he caused 99,999 diseases to cease (\textit{Vendidad}, xxii 7 19) His special prayer (\textit{Yasna}, liv 1) is the most healing of divine manthra. (\textit{Yasht}, iii 5) and in a passage of the Great Bundahishn translated by Darmesteter\textsuperscript{11} it is he who give the world healing of all pains as it aid [with] all the drugs that creature take to destroy pain if I Ahuramazd had not sent Irman with his power of cure pain would indeed remain (\textsuperscript{?})

Airyaman whose middle Persian (Turfan) equivalent means friend (the modern irman guest) finds an Indian counterpart in the obscure Aditya Aryaman (apparently also signifying friend comrade)\textsuperscript{11} His original function is uncertain but he acted as groomsman in the marriage ceremony (\textit{Rigveda} X lxxxv 36 43, \textit{Yasna}, liv 1) and he has accordingly been interpreted as representing marriage\textsuperscript{1} while others regard him as an incar

\textsuperscript{1} Darmesteter, \textit{L Zend Avesta}, i, 267, cf Dhalla \textit{Theology}, pp 141 142

\textsuperscript{11} Darmesteter, \textit{op cit}, ii 319

\textsuperscript{1} Hillebrandt \textit{Vedische Mythologie}, iii 77 90

\textsuperscript{1} Dhalla \textit{Civilisation}, p 81
nation of submissive piety\textsuperscript{14} or a god of rain and fertility who essentially helpful to man whence his function of healer naturally developed among the Zoroastrian\textsuperscript{1}

**AREDVI SURA ANAHITA**

Ardvi Sura Anahita (Lofty Mighty Spotless [Lady]) a divinity of the water especially of the mytic river Aredvi (\textit{Visparad}, 1 5 \textit{Yasht}, 1 21 \textit{Vendidad}, vii 16)\textsuperscript{1} is the only deity except Mithra, who is mentioned beside Ahura Mazda in the Achemenian inscription (Artaxerxes Mnemon Susa a 5 Hamadan 6) The fifth \textit{Yasht} is devoted entirely to her laudation, and from it we learn that he dwells among the tar guarding all holy creation To her countess sacrifice are offered among her suppliant being not only earthly heroes including Yima Thraetaona and Zoroaster but even divine being like Haoma and Ahura Mazda himself The prayer of the righteous he grant but those of the ungodly he reject She ride in a chariot drawn by four white steeds created by Ahura Mazda and they are respectively wind, rain, cloud and leet while o detailed the description of her that one scholar\textsuperscript{17} hold that he was represented in glyptic form, particularly a Beroos tellu (apud Clemen Alexandrinu Proteptica, V lxv 3) th the Artaxerxes Mnemon introduced statue of her among the Persians

\textsuperscript{14} D r t r op cit, 1, 350

\textsuperscript{1} A J Croy 'Th Iran n God of H ling in JAOS, 1918 xxiv 295

\textsuperscript{1} G Ig r, Ostara usche K t r zm Alterti', pp 45 50, te ide tifi th nrv r with th Oxu but it, in ll prob bulky wholly mythic l

\textsuperscript{17} D rm t r op cit, 1 364 3 5, A V W J ekso I ge d Idol (P r i n), in ERE vii 153 he it te to acc pt th int rpr t tion
The Ave tate (Yasna, lxv 2 Yasht v 2 5 87 Vendidad, vii 16) that he purifies the semen virile and the womb give easy delivery and create milk in the breast being in general healing (Yasna, lxv 1) and entreated for health of the body (Yasht, v 53)

The cult of Anahita who may be Semitic or Elamite in origin pread widely in the ancient world notably in Armenia Pontus Cappocia and Lydia and he was identified with the Great Mother of the Aryan people while in Greece she was commonly equated with Artemis and occasionally with Aphrodite.

ASHI

A hi (Rew rd De tiny) the genu of anctity representing the life of piety and it concomitant reward and tending phyically for plenty morally for right wrong and e chatologically for the heavenly reward of earthly anctity celebrated in the eventeenth Yasht The daughter of Ahura Ma da nd Spenta Armaiti and the iter of Daen (Religion) and of the Ame ha Spenta a well a of Sraosha Rahnu and Mithra he was invoked by Haoma Yima Thraetaona Zoro ter Vihta pa and other. She bring riches abundantly and pro perity she increases offspring and ennate celibacy and impurity and a a healing deity he possesses es II remedie of waters and kine and plant (Yasna, lii 2, cf lx 4 Visparad, ix 12 Yasht, xiii 32

1 Moulton E r y Zoro , tr , pp 66, 238 23 id, The Tre r of the Magi, p 88
2 H Gelz r "Zur rm mch n Gott rlehr , in BKSGW, 18 xlii 111 117
3 F Cumont 'An hit , in ERE 1 414 415 1o Grupp Gri ch ch Mythologi u d Re gos geschichte, p 1594
4 Grupp op ct , pp 1094 1265 1552
5 Dh Il , Theology, pp 43, 122
THE IRANIAN DEITIES

xvii 1) Her name appear under the form Ardokhro on coin of the Indo Scythian King Kam hka and Hu vi hki (second century A.D.) where he i represented a bearing a cornucopia

CISTI

Cistii ( [Religiou ] W1 dom ) a minor divine being i once (Visparad, ix 1) mentioned a having healing gencie but no detail are given

DRVASPA

D va pa ( Po se ed of Sound Hor e ) the genius of the animal world and e pecially of hor e i the hero in of the ninth Yasht, invoked together with Geu h T han ( Shaper of the Ox ) and Geu h Urvan ( Soul of the Ox ) and the recipient of sacrifice from Haoma and m ny hero e Yima made offering to her th t h might avert from men death and the infirmities of age (Yasht, ix 10) nd it i he who keep cattle friend and chil dren ound being healing in her activitie (Yasht, ix 1 2) In Mithrai m he wa identified with Silvanu

HAOMA

Haoma, the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Som wa an Iranian deity from primeval time appearing in terre trial form a th yellow haoma u ed in the Indo Iranian sacrifice though later there wa also a my tic White Hom identified with the Gaokerena or Gokart tree (Bundahishn, xxvii 4 cf ix 6 xvii 1 6 xxiv 27) 7 Ac

M A St in Zoro tri Deiti on I do Seythi n Coin
BOR, 1887 p 165
Dhall op cit , p 101
Ib , p 125
Cu ont, Th Myst res of M thr , p 112
7 SBE v, 31 65 66 91 100
ccording to the Avesta (Yasna, x 23 90) the juice of the plant was first extracted by Mithra from a health giving invigorating herb brought from lofty Haraiti (Mount Elbur) by birds (Yasna, x 10 11) and in its sacred character it was the ceremonial drink which gave strength and life to man prepared by the priest with elaborate pre cribed ritual prayer and ceremony. The haoma wa first offered to Ahura Mazda by Vivanghvant it medical properties were a ociated with the joy of the Ame ha Spenta Vohu Manah (Yasna, ix 4 x 12) and it was invoked for health and all bodily being (Yasna, ix 17 19 x 9)

The exhilarating juice of the haoma plant gave sense of power and ability (Yasna, x 13) and though it seem at one time to have been banned by the Gathas a m pur ing orgie (cf Yasna, xxxii 14 xlviii 10) it later re ppe red but without objectionable feature.

MITHRA

MITHRA, the Mitra of the Vedas was an Iranian deity of great antiquity and according to the Avesta Ahura Mazda created him a worthy of honor a worthy of pr 1 e s my elf Ahura Mazda (Yasht, x 1) whence he wa the most important Ya ata. Though regarded by the majority of scholars a primarily a solar god he seem in reality to have been originally the apotheo 1 of the contact the pledge whence he was later identi ed with the all eeng un. Among the Iranians accordingly h

Dr st r op c t, 1 l xvi 1 x 1o H ug E ys o th P r s s, 3d d pp 39 403 J J Modi 'H o 1 ERE vi, 507 510 Moulto Zor tr i , pp 71 73 357 358 37

A Meillet L Di u i do ur n Mitr in JA, X 1907 x 143 159 For th V dic Mitra M edon 1l 'V di Mythol gy in GIPA 18 7 pp 2 30 and r f r ce th r giv n 1 o Hill brandt op c t, 1 l, 53 5 For survey of the Ir n n Mithr Dhalla, op cit, pp 103 111 23 240
wa th divinity of righteousnes and of the plighted word nd the protector of ju tice the defender of the wor hipper of truth nd righteousne in their truggle against Angra Mamynu and the god of battle who gave victory over the foe of Iran He invoked iter alia, for healing and for phycal soundnes (Yasht, x 5 94) nd entreated to be present at our acrfices be present t them hallowed g ther them for atonement lay them down in the Hou e of Prae (Yasht, x 32)

Little known of the ritual of the Iranian wor hip of Mithra but his cult in the Occident was identified with occultism magic a trilogy nd my tic ceremonie much of which believed to have been injected under the influence of the Chaldæan and during it pread through Babylonia and Asia Minor Mithra was entially a moral mediator struggling against the power of evil to redeem mankind the eternal conte the being symbolized by the laying of the bull for regeneration while other ceremonie included communism with bread and wine and ointment of honey for consecration all of which were my tic remedies of Mithra for the healing of the body nd for the sanctification of the soul

The cult of Mithra popular and powerful in Iran pread rapidly to A i Minor to Greece and finally over the Roman Empire carrying with it the occultism of the Ch ldæan and the mystical science of the Orient so that Roman saw Mithras a trologers prancing whole nights on the tops of their tower and his magician practiced their myterie on the lop of the Aventine and on the bank of the Tiber. The cult encountered bitter hatred and the violent opposition of all Christian and his religiou struggle continued in the more remote

1 Cont op cit, pp 157 160 20
Bru on L Medcne t swg on, p 137
THRAETAONA (OR FARIDUN)

THRAETAONA, son of Athwy and the Faridun of Persian and Arabic authors, is apparently the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Traitna who is mentioned only in a single passage of the Rigveda (I.111.5) Hi fra vashī invoked against itch, fever, and two other (unidentified) diseases (Yasht, xiii 131) and a Pa and charm contain the word May N N by virtue of the strength and power of the virtue of Fredun, the son of Athwy, by virtue of the strength of the northern t r be healthy in body. According to the Pahlavi writing Fretun (Thraetaona) was full of he ling (Datstan i Dimk, xxxviii 35) but subsequently he became fused with his doublet Thrita in the national hero Faridun who in mighty struggle overcame his father's murderer and his own inveterate foe tyrant A hrman with three jaw, three heads, and ix eye while on it houlder grew two nake from kis e imprinted by the archfiend. After conquering the demon the hero fettered him with chain in cavern on Mount Damavand for a thousand years and took possession of his palace reigning peacefully for five centuries (Yasna, ix 7.8 Yasht, v 33 35 ix, 13 14 etc Bundahishn, xxix 9 xxxiv 6) Thraetaona has been interpreted a wind deity 7

Cf. Mod in AP, p. 48 two other charms of i l r char r et r r give by Kanga, in CMV, pp. 144-145
SBE xviii 90
SBE v 119, 150
7 Carnoy in JAOS, 1918 xxxviii 297 29

quarter of Europe perhaps the fifth century of our era
THE IRANIAN DEITIES

THRITA

Thita (Third) the third to train the haoma juice his reward being parentage of two heroic on (Yasna, ix 9 10) was the first who held dea e to die held death to death receiving from Ahura Ma da for the purposed medicine and the boon of Kh hathra Vairy i.e., apparently (once the Ame ha Spent pre ded ov r met l) herb and theurgeon knife (Vendidad, xx 1 3) He is the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Trit Aptya but in the Ave t Aptya apparently being Athwy (Yasna ix 6 7) and Thrita himself upwarded at an early date by the cognate figure Thraetaona. He has been explained originally water god.

TISHTRYA

Tishtrya (Siriu) the tar genius who pre ded over rain and the center of devotion in the ninth Yasht, white shining and exalted grant fertility to the field and happy abode to man and the lord of all tar worthy of sacrifice invocation propitiation and glorification a Ahura Ma da him elf. When due offering re made to him he end rain and other ble ing and he especially renowned for his victory over the drought demon Apaosha. He is de cribed a healing a w hing away by his water all abomination from ll creatures and th healing them but as removing every remedy from the pre ence of the wicked (Yasht, viii 2 43 60).

VERETHRAGHNA

Verethragna, the genius of victory is the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Vrtrahan (Slayer of Vrtra).

\(^a\) S supr, p 1 0 nd cf Spiegel, Due en che Periode, pp 257 271 C B rtholom "Arc I in IF, 1892 i 180 182 Carnoy lo cut
a frequent epithet of Indra though used also of Agni and Soma. According to the fourteenth Yasht, which is devoted wholly to his laudation he grant victory over the foe and if proper sacrifice is offered him he guards the Iranian lands against every enemy. When he revealed himself to Zoroaster he appeared variously as the wind, a bull, a white horse, a rutting camel, a boar, a youth, a raven, a ram, a goat, and a warrior and a feather from his bird the raven avert the enchantment of enemies giving it power or strength and victory (Yasht, xiv 34 40).

He brings healing and power to the mightiest in healing in an prayer to Zoroaster, he gave him virility, strength of arm, bodily endurance and keenness of vision, but on the other hand he can cause illness and death to king away his agency of healing. He does when the evil and the unclean dwell in the land (Yasht, xiv 23 29 47 52).

Under the name of Vahagn Verethragna was worshipped as one of the three chief deities of Armenia produced by the travail of Earth and triumphing over dragon. He appears bearing word and pear and with a bird (probably a raven) perched on his helmet on a coin of the Indo Scythian King Kamthka (second century AD) where he is called Orlagno and in an inscription of Antiochus I of Kommagene (first century BC) he is identified under the name Artagne with Heracles and Are.

40 Spi gel op cit, pp 194 197, Old ncb rg Die Religion de V d, p 134, Macedon II, GIPA, 1897 pp 60, 66, 109, 114, 158, Cf, 1 Dhallal op cit, pp 112, 114, Cronic Mythology, pp 271, 273
41 G 1 r op cit, pp 104, 109
4 St 1, op cit, p 159
43 Ditt berg r Or t's grec i cryptio es e tact, L ip ig 1903, 1 05 no 383.
YIMA

Yima an ancient Indo-Iranian hero the Yama (Twin) of the Veda and the Jamshid (Avesta Yima Khāṣṭa Brīlliant Yima) of the Persian epic appear in the Avesta as the son of Vivahvant (Yasna, ix, 4) and the hero of a myth of the early expansion of the world (Vendidad, n) 

In his golden age he reigned for centuries over a distant realm where food and drink never ceased where man and beast never died where water and plants never dried up and where there was neither age nor death (Yasht, xix 32-33 cf Yasna, ix 5) Nevertheless he committed sin either by giving man forbidden food (Yasna, xxxi 8) or by yielding to falsehood (Yasht, xix 34 ff) and in consequence he lost both his kingly glory and his realm and was slain by the dragon Ahi Dahaka with whose life his own seems to run parallel and who extended his malignant sway until he in turn was overpowered by the hero Thraetaona (Farīdun) According to Persian tradition, Jamshid knew

Next leechcraft and the healing of the ick,
The mean of he lth the course of maladie

Yima is interpreted by some scholar as the setting un an explanation which has also been advanced for the Vedic Yama though he seems rather to have been originally the first man and thus the chief of the soul of the departed

4 Cf Carnoy op cit, pp 304 319
4 Fird u 1 Shah Namah, tr A G nd E W inner 1 133 Mirk hond The History of the Early Kings of Persia, p 121
4 Carnoy op cit, pp 312 317
7 Maedonell, in GIPA, 1897 pp 171 174
CHAPTER SIX
GRECIAN GODS
CHAPTER SIX

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT GREECE

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

SCATTERED reference in the Iliad and Odyssey make it clear that in the early period the Greek believed that the deities and death upon mankind in anger and revenge for impiety vows unperformed sacrifices unoffered and unjust deed or because of the wickedness of the human heart. To free them from their evil plight, men were advised to sacrifice to pray to make atonement and to propitiate the god who in this relation had power to avert violence and cure disease. It is by no means possible to avoid disease from Zeus yet do thou at least pray to thy father even unto King Poseidon (Odys, ix 411 412). The healing art of the early Greeks was therefore intimately connected with their religion and mythology.

The origin of the gods

The Greek world of spiritual beings was evolved from the prehistoric blending of the religious faith and practices of immigrant races coming from the north chiefly of the Achaean Minyan and Dorian migrations with those of the peoples of ancient Mediterranean stock of which the Aigaian civilization were composed. The imagination of the people interpreted the potency of the pantheon a divinities and daemons. These conceptions were personified and the fancies of the poet the speculations of the philosophers and the skill of the arti
an guided by an æ thetic ense combined to tran form
the primitive deitie into a higher order of being super-
human of superhuman strength similar in appearance to
man yet idealized and glorified, and to inve t them with
a sovereign grace and a serene majesty The gods had
arisen from many independent sources with the freedom
and indefiniteness of tradition tales Some had evolved
from the myth which had grown up about the good
daimon or ancestor of a family or tribe who had ac-
quired a superhuman tatu certain function and a recog-
nized worship The Pelasgians of Arkadia and
Boiotia declared that their deities were born and Greek
myths recount the circumstance surrounding the birth
and sometime the death of many of their god and god-
desses He 1od (Opera et Dies, 107) ay And ponder
it well in thy mind that from the same origin sprang
gods and mortal men Pindar (Nemea, vi 17) ex-
pressed the same view

Men and the God above one are composed
Both from the general parent Earth
Derive their old mythic birth
But power unlike their differing nature how
Man breathe in moment and nought
While like their heaven eternal be
God live forever their illumined face
Th their triou form, thy mirroring thought,
Proclaim him kindred of the kie

The nature of the gods

A di closed in the epics Greek religion had already
developed far beyond the elementary stage of evolution
to the form of an advanced anthropomorphic polytheism.
The gods were concrete clearly defined personalities of
superhuman ubstance living on nectar and immortal.
They were invisible yet able to appear in various di
gu e they p a ionately ex er ced human emotion and were loo ely correlated in a divine family or tate having one upreme ruler. They were of two classes tho e of a celestial or uranic nature who lived on the my tic height of Olym po nd whose per on litie were celebrated in ver e and those of chthonic character and function who belonged to the earth nd Underworld who e awe in pir ing person litie were not alway plea ing to contem plate and who were referred to vaguely in liter ture u u lly und r veiled expre sion

The gods and man

The Greek deities prompted no spiritual apiration and were not looked upon a being of moral excellence or wi dom. They were unmoral yet ethical in pre erving the respect and anctity of the o th witne sed before the god of either the upper or lower world. They were o nearly related to human kind that they u tamed injurie nd uffered from di ease imil r to those of m n. They held friendly communion with man. They were hi in vi ble companion and took an active part in the in timate affair of hi d ily life a helper adviser and friend or a enemie they opposed him and brought mi fortune upon him. Thng without visible cau e were a crbed to the supernatural powers of the god and to spirital beings of lesser rank. Man looked to the divini tie for hi welfare and enjoyment in thi life and de pended upon their supernatual divine powers for help and protection in times of need. The re idence and rank of deity were so accessible that one of the hero e cended and became member of the divine family.

The pantheon

Each ettlement village tribe community and tate had its own independent and favored tutelary deity and
form of worship. The ritual and ceremonies of the several cults were conducted ide by ide and the god were frequently blended or one gained upremacy a Hera in Argolis Athena in Athen and Poseidon in Corinth. The family or tribal conceptions of deity developed the larger aspect of the father and protector of the state and of mankind. Some were regarded by local tradition as the divine ancestor of the community a Hermes in Arkadia and Apollo in Delo. The pantheon was also invaded frequently by deities of foreign tribe who brought to the land of their adoption their own god and form of worship and established their cult. Hella was a free oil. Foreign deities were permitted a foothold and gained favor influence and prominence. Zeus supposed to have been of Aryan origin established himself at Dodona and finally became ruler over all. Dionysos and Orpheus were from Thrace other were from Pelasgia and Phrygia (Herodotos 11 53) and in the late period with loss of national independence deities were introduced from Egypt Syria and Persia while their cult definitely affected the character of the later Greek religion. Gods of one community were adopted by others and the worship of many became general but the ritual were adapted to local ideas and usage. The deities were plastic and developed constantly with the unfolding of the religious conceptions of the people. They had varied functions and readily acquired new phases and aspects as of different personalities. Such variants tended to develop into separate and distinct deities as Eileithyia who is supposed to have emanated from Hera and to have represented her obstetric function but others never evolved further than to receive an adjectival name. The religions of Greece were a composite of many cults existing side by side yet differing in conception and in ritual.
The divine functions

The gods had general supernatural power and in addition many acquired special function which frequently overlapped or were duplicated by other no deity having a monopoly Apollo was famous for prophecy but his Delphic oracle the center of Greek inspiration had many rival, a those of Dionysus at Amphi kleia Hade at Ny a and Trophonos at Lebadeia Herakles as well as many other god and hero be ide A klepios practiced healing Deities had various aspects and attributes according to place and circumstance and received qualifying appellatives u ually urname Athena as guardian of the city of Athens w s Athena Polia as protector of its health she was Athena Hy gieia and as the guardian of eye ight she wa Athena Ophthalmitus at Sparta Pater remarks 1 on the indefinite characteristic of Greek mythology a theology with no central authority no link on it toric time liable from the first to an unobervable tran formation There were religious u ages before there were distinct religious conception and the e antecedent religious u age h p and determine at many point the ultimate religious conception a the details of the myth interpret or expl in the religious cu tom There were prie t but no theological prie thood no guiding authority and each cult or center of worship was a law to it elf Therefore transformations were common and the modes of worship were phantly adaptable to changing condition in social and political life

1 Grek Studies, p 101
Ib, p 120
For centuries the old religion had officed. The god had given to the individual the good thing of life: health, happiness, and longevity, and to the state protection and prosperity. With the development of new conceptions came a great diversity and broadening of religious thought and purpose. The Orphic thiasoi pread their doctrine, the cult of Dionysus found a purpose beyond the celebration of the fruit of the vine. The Mysteries and the worship of Demeter and Kore were developed at Eleusis, and other religious centers were established. The Greek mind was awakened to the need and a portion of the soul to its divine nature to the hope of closer communion with the saving deity and a vision of salvation with a happier lot after death than that of other who descended to the house of Hades. Themselves in the later period interpreted the initiation into these great mysteries as the nature of a reenactment of the experience the soul was supposed to undergo at the time of death. Referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were exceedingly popular with the Athenian Sophokles in one fragment (719) he claims: ‘O thrice blest are the mortals who having beheld the mysteries of Hades, to them alone it was given to live for the rest all evil there. The nature of deity of cult and practices became subjects of infinite speculation by philosopher and theoretician. Naturalism and agnosticism were constantly formulated. Whatever the trend, political events intervened. And the old god to whom people and state had appealed in their extremity gave moral judgment for Hellas granting victory over their enemies and preserving the country from foreign invasion.


4 Cf. Hor Hy to Demet, 480
The land was purified of the polluting presence of the Persian barbarians by fire brought from Delphi and the Greek raised an altar to Zeus the god of the free a fair monument of freedom for Hella (Pau amia IX 11 5) The impler faith of the tried beloved deities revived and the populace celebrated them with great national festival and decorou ritual while the higher thetic sense interpreted their gods before the eye of the multitude in terms of majesty and ideal beauty

Absence of dogma and moral restraint in religion

The multiplicity of god of cult and of cultic practice resulted in a complexity of religious idea that defies clo nalys. The philosopher were perplexed and Plato characterized one who undertook to unravel the tangled web of Greek polytheism a laborious and not very fortunate man (Phaidrus, 229 D) Religion was an affair of ritual not belief There was never in Greece a tematic theological belief or doctrine There were no religious opinions merely traditional usage that everyone was expected to observe and sacrifice with the recognition of piety from early time There was no orthodoxy or heterodoxy in the ordinary acceptance of the term although it was not permitted to deny or neglect the gods There was little or no moral restraint on the conscience and the religion has been subjected to the monstrous reproach of a theology altogether without moral distinctions and a religion altogether without reverence Family life and the worship of its good daimon may have engendered a moral sen e
and the necessity of the oath enforced by Apollo and other gods believed to have influenced both public and private morality. In the fourth century BC came a tendency to eliminate the immoral stories of the deities and to create an ethical sentiment. Epicharmo expressed the idea of purity which was the basis of the cathartic ritual.

If thou art pure in mind thou art pure in thy whole body (Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata, p. 844). From whatever source it came, there appears from the age of Pericleonward a gradually deepening sense of the influence of religion on morality. Although religion exercised little restraint upon the individual, the impiety of defaming or denying the divinities was punished. There was a certain obligation of deference and sacrifice to the deity for bounty received and loyalty was due to the family, the tribal or the state god which called for the ritual form but beyond that each one was free and independent to worship when and whom he pleased.

Shrines and religiosity

The primitive custom of recognizing a natural cave or tree trunk as a holy pillar, the residence of a god, and erecting there an altar for worship and the later temple and splendid sanctuary monument and temple or monument to the religiosity of the people. Their daily dependence on their god and their constancy in observing the form of worship. Their attitude toward the deity was not timorous but intimate and friendly. In a sense equality with the supernatural world. Their religion and worship of the celestial divinities was joyous and bright, not solemn. Herakleitos may have reflected this close sympathetic relation in his remark that men are mortal and gods are immortal.
Chthonic deities

There was however a phase of their religion which was connected with the dark and hidden power of the earth and Underworld and which was not genial or cheerful. These chthonian powers and their gloomy worship were referred to briefly by Homer and Hesiod. The poet dramatist and philosopher make frequent allusion to them but treat the subject vaguely. Plutarch remarked (de Defectu Oraculorum, xiv) that it was from the mysteries that they had gained their best knowledge of the daemonic element of life. Something is known of the ritual of these mysteries of which no tongue may speak, but if anything was taught by them very little is known of it. It is from later record and excavation that philological and archaeological studies have disclosed the primitive features the great antiquity and many details of the chthonian worship. These cults which then included that of the dead were not prominent in the early period but in the later days of Greek religion they became a distinctive feature. Many of the primitive rite of the cult being on old superstition endured and were observed ide by ide with the more advanced conception of later religion thought.

Chthonic character

The divinities of the earth and Underworld were numerous and varied. Some were beneficent and had a function that were essential to life and the happiness of mankind, but all were potential powers for evil and many were fearsome and awe-inspiring. They ranged from

7 Cf Hrmon, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp 37 ff
Cf P. Gardiner, Myterie (Greek Phrygian t) in ERE 77 82
L. R. Farnell, 'Greek Religion' in ERE vi 398 399
Hade the great death god and his consort the dread Per ephone rulers of the Underworld re lm (He 1od Theogonia, 765) to daemons demigod heroes and the vast horde of the spirit of the dead. The religion of the chthonioi has been called the religion of fear as contrasted with the religion of duty of the uranic deities. The power of the nether world avenged the broken oath punished inner after death and were able to bring ill fortunes and death upon those who incurred their enmity. Although conscious of the dread potential, they were the people of Argoli of Pome the evil spirit which ravaged their homes (Pau mia 1 xhù 7) the Greeks do not appear to have been oppressed in their daily lives by the terror of the chthonic Underworld nor were they subject to morbid fear and anxiety concerning their deities and the afterlife. The myths of early Greek were not overburdened with goblin and pecet nor do the relics of the early cult of the dead suggest any spirit of terror in the temperaments of the people had not been tainted with the morbidity of their neighbors of Meopatma. The powers of darkness had to be reckoned with and the chthonic rituals of prayer and sacrifice were faithfully performed to appease the wrath or to placate and to gain the good will and favor of the dread powers that evil might be averted. Present misfortune removed and purification obtained from pollution and guilt. The gloomy ceremonial over the people resumed their ordinary cheerful relation to the life about them. The rites were of the nature of riddance or averted on an order of beings entirely alien a contrasted with those of tendance or service addressed to Olympian.

10 F H G rr 1 on The God of the Underworld in An 1 nt M di
1 in PCC v, 35 3
11 H rr 1 on op cit, p 7
THE GREEK DEITIES

Chthonic functions

Certain of the deities of the Underworld had benign function. They dispensed the hidden wealth of Mother Earth advised mankind by prophecy and dream and aided in misfortune and suffering. For Homer and Hesiod Demeter was a godde of ble sing not of terror. She was the beloved divinity of fertility, of vegetation of the happy revival of nature in springtime. Later the My terie of Eleusis promised her initiate greater contentment in the present life and a happier lot than that of other after death. Her power was however feared. The Black Demeter of pre-Homeric time, the gruesome threatening figure of the horse-headed godde with snake lock in the dark cave at Phigaleia was not forgotten. (Pau ania VIII xlii 4) Dionysos was the god of indu try of vine culture and of wine and his cult fostered gaiety and wild revelry, but he also offered worshipper the hope of a future life. Asklepios and other heroes administered by healing to sufferer. There was therefore, much that was conducive to cheerfulness and to be thankful for in the chthonic cult, and their deities were honored and their favorable aspect dwelt upon in the hope of propitiating them and minimizing their disposition to work evil. They were never addressed directly and were seldom referred to by their own dread names. Hesiod peaks of Hade a Zeus of the Earth implying beneficence. Hade was also called Plouton the Rich One and Persephone (the maiden whom none may name) was termed Kore the Maiden. The altar to the chthonic at Myonia in Lokri was dedicated to the Graciou God. (Pau ania X xxxviii 8) Most of the chthonic were nameless, and many were described by adjective, a Kindly Goddess, Revered One or Ely to be entreated. The same idea was carried out in
rt Farnell remark ¹ that the Greek would not brook the full revelation of the dark feature of the chthonomi and that ideal Greek art expressed in palpable form of benign beauty the half palpable per onage of the lower world bami hed the uncouth and the terrible in religious imagination and helped to purge and tranquilize the Greek mind by investing chthonic power with benevolence and grace. On com Per ephone is represented a beautiful hopeful maiden and the horse headed Demeter tran formed into graceful human form with no intimation of the original except the hor e hoof a pendant to her necklace ¹

The daimons

According to Greek belief the hades of the departed de cended into the earth to the prion house of Hade. The spirit of the one who died before their time and of the uncremated dead however remained outside the portal and had power to return to the upper world and disturb the living. The ghost of Patroklo appeared to Achille in a dream and begged that his funeral rite be performed that it might pass the gate of Hade (Il, xxiii 70). The hades of the dead became earth spirit daimons, heroes and possibly wandering ghosts ¹⁴ Daimon (or demon) was a term of early Greece for the invincible spirit of supernatural power a primitive conception of broad meaning that did not carry with it any or taint. He riod (Op et Dies, 122 159 172 251) regarded daimons a ranking between gods and men of a higher grade of dignity but otherwise indistinguishable from heroes who were a god like race of men of the Golden Age watchers et part from mortals. The

¹ In ERE vi 412
² Ib., p 404
¹⁴ A C Pearson, De on nd Spirits (Grk) ERE iv 590 594
Greeks held them to be kindly guardian spirits tending by to initiate men in the mysteries of life and to guide them after death (Plato *Phædo*, 130) Plato said they were interpreter and messenger between gods and men and other philosophers looked upon them as having power for both good and evil. Aristophanes said (Eunuchus, 85) that the Athenians made libations of wine to the good daimon or Genius after dinner. In Boiotia they sacrificed to the good daimon when testing new materials. Daimons sent dreams which were signs of disease and of good health. The ritual pre-emption mark an early antagonism between the hero and the Olympian but this was compromised by an appearance of decent friendship. In the classical age it was believed that the good descended that the hade of the dead might become heroes that heroes became daimon and demigod and that a few rose to the rank of gods with a defined personality.

The worship of heroes

From the earliest time the Greeks had paid respects to ancestor of both family and tribe. They were regarded by the writer of Attika as the good daimon of the household and were sometime represented by a serpent. Libations were made to necton at family meals and such honor led to a close family tie or clan feeling. The memory of men who had distinguished themselves was reverenced by their family, their tribe, city or state. Through the mists of early Greek tradition certain personalities stand forth as humanitarians and as having had unusual gifts of wisdom and foresight; favorites and son of the god. These were the heroes who had been inspired with the art of civilization for the benefit of mankind and possessing the mantic gift.

---

1. Harris *op cit*, p 338
2. F. R. M. Cornell *Cults*, 11 10
were renowned as "healer" and "prophet." Their mantic gift was supposed to be hereditary and to pass to their descendant who frequently retained the name of their ancestor in the collective by which the gifted family or race was known. Such a benefactor of the people were glorified after death and honored with cultic worship and a few were deified. They were generally worshipped as heroes, and their graves were the centers of their cult. If they gained fame and importance, shrines were built and they were accorded public honor and possibly feasts. Such hero cults were prominent in poetic Homeric days and were well established throughout Greece about the seventh century B.C. A chthonian earthpirit the hero acquired their attributes and emblems the oracle and the serpent. This made an emblem common to all chthonic characters representing the incarnate form of the hero or god in which he was frequently worshipped and it was thus used in statues, bas-reliefs, and other works of art. Vergil (Aeneid, v 84) recognized this relation when he told of the enormous serpent which appeared to Aeneas as he performed the sacred rite at the tomb of his father on the anniversary of his death. Heroes were helper in time of need and were protector in battle while as the god had favored them with kind beyond mortal man many were healer of the sick. They avenged light it was considered dangerous to meet them in the dark or peak of them in other than pleading terms. He ychlos (s.v. krettonas) explains that heroes seem to be both of persons on the account that those who paid hero shrines keep silence lest the hero should do them harm.

17 Hrán op cit., p 39
Ceremonials

The Greek mode of worship and the cred formulat ed at the temple and festival were a rule decorous wholesome, and refined. Lascivious emblem and rite are rarely mentioned and were practically confined to the vegetation cults. The elements of the ritual appear to have differed materially with the various worship and with time and place. They have however been grouped a honorific to honor the god a benefactors of the individual the city and state a apotropaic to acknowledge their service a verter of evil misfortune ickne nd death a hilatic to atone for offenses and to propitiate and a cathart ic to ca t forth contamination and to purify. The god were given the djecc tival title lysios, apotropavos, alexikakos, and aleximoros, an aveter of and deliverers from evil and death and these epithets were placed above the door of dwelling for their magic influence. The honorific and apotropic ceremomic con ted of p an or hymns of prayer libation and thanksgiving with ritual sacrifice of animal and offering of fruit cereal honey wine incen e et cetera. The hilatic ceremonies were similar except that they partook of an expiatory character to appease the anger of the god and by placating them to obtain a ridd nee of all evil spirits nd their work on fortunes ickne or threaten d death. Perfect hecatomb were offered Apollo to appease his wrath and rid the Greek camp of the scourge (II, 1 315) Odyssey was wa truet d to acrifice black animal within trinch in which honey wine and water had been poured and thuntreat the illu trious nations of the dead (Odyssey, x 520) Fire was used to d1 ipate evil spirit Whatever the practice of human acrifice in the dark and av ge

1 A W Marr 'Wor hip (Gr ek) in ERE x 782 788
age it was rare in Greek societies of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Cathartic rite were intended to purge from stain from the miasma of blood guilt and from spiritual pollution through contact with the impure and guilty and consisted of the usual prayer and sacrifice and particularly of lustration by water or blood for ceremonial purification. Lustral water from a spring was used for bathing or it was sprinkled over the person. Barley meal was scattered with the hand on the cleaning and heifer were slain. Sometimes the blood of a chthonic animal was used for lustration. The Homeric Greeks purified themselves with water and cast the ablution into the e (II, 1 313) Apollo for whom the dictatorship was claimed over cleansing for blood guilt during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Aischylos Eumenides, 620) had himself been ent to Crete to be purified of the blood of Python (Pausania II xxx 3) and Achilles was bidden to go to Lebde to be cleansed by Apollo and Artemis from the stain of murder. Odyseus purified himself from the pollution of murdered victim by the burning of sulphur (Odys, xxii 481). In the ritual of sacrifice to the uranic deities the head of the victim was held up in the chthonic offering. The head of the animal (sheep, a ram, or a lamb black by preference) was held down and the blood flowed into a hole in the ground (bothros) or altar. In honorific and apotropaic sacrifice to the uranic deities the flesh was eaten but in obliteration to the chthonic divinity the flesh was wholly burned. The remains with other offering were thrown into a hole in the altar and no part was eaten. During the early day at least, the chthonic rite were held at night and frequently they were continued until the approach of dawn.

2 Cf. A. C. Pearson, 'Human Sacrifice (Greek) in ERE vi 847
3 Fm ll in ERE vi 406
Such cultic ceremonies once established were generally conserved little affected by modification in the conception of the god to whom they were addressed.

**Oracles and divine communications**

The gods held frequent intercourse with men and by many signs more particularly by oracles, dreams, oracles, and visions revealed the divine will both to the present and the future. Telling to many a mortal wight a he lay asleep in darkness what had been and what shall be (Euripides *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1261 ff.) Such communications came from gods and heroes and were made manifest through diviners and by oracles, or directly to the individuals by dreams. These messages and their interpretation were eagerly sought by all classes and seers, augurs, and soothsayers were held in high esteem. So that at one time large numbers of all degrees practiced their art in Athens and throughout Greece. Only those who were skilled of old by Apollo uttered oracle and the kill of soothsayers lay in the interpretation of dreams and omens (Pau am. I xxxiv 4)

During the Trojan War Melampous, through his descendants, had gained fame for his mantic gift (*Odys*, xv 224). At the inception of the War, Kalchas the best of augurs, who knew the present past and future, was asked to interpret the cause of the anger of Apollo and to indicate how it might be appeased thence averting further destruction by peace in the camp (*II*, 1 70)

---

1 For further detail and information concerning the chthonic and Dionysian connection with neither Greek edicem tttionl invin d to the excellent article by Lt Col F H Garn on in *PCC v 35* 51 and "Th Greek Cult of the De d and the Chthons in *AMH*, 1 17 1 35 53"
Such power were personal and were used in the manner of one killed in an art but although a cultic practice it w not priestly function Achilles prayed directly to Zeus of Dodona who e responde came from the leave of the many tongued oak or the dream of the selo of unwa hen feet (ib , xvi 236)

Oracle were associated with the earth and were there fore regarded a a function of the chthonic rather than of the uranic deities Each oracle wa inspired by the god or hero pre iding over it Special virtue attached to cer tam pot which were supposed to favor in piration clefts in the rock or earth from which vapor are e often of a noxious character a at the Ploutonia in the Maandro valley or t bubbling hot or cold spring a at the Gate of Thermopylai (Fra er Pausanias, in 297) Some of the e place had more virtu than other a Delphoi in Phokis the eat of the Python the greate t of all or cle which wa captured by Mother Earth through Python long before it wa c ptured by the Olym pian Apollo It authority had such weight e pecial in politic l matter that it wa believed that the in piration came from Zeu and was tran mitted through hi on Oracular re pon e were usually given while the pre te or medium wa in a tate of trance ec tasy or madne a Pythia sitting on a tripod over the cleft at Delphoi chewing laurel leave drinking water breathing the ri ng vapor and muttering di connected half articulated word or ound Plato (Phaid , 244) considered th divine madne s an ec tasy in which the human oul po e ed of a deity At fir t oracle and interpretation of dream were delivered in plain langu ge but later the utterance became enigmatical ambiguous nd incoher

F r ell Cults, iv 180 ff 222 Moore Th History of Religion , p 476
ent and were announced by official interpreter who
translated them into hexameter.

_Dreams and the Dream Oracle: Incubation_

Dreams were universally regarded as divine and
prophetic, whether coming to an individual or through
an oracle. Aristotle acknowledged (Plutarch _de Placitis
Philosophorum_, v. 2) the mantic efficacy of natural
dreams and Sokrates believed that the visions of good
men were pure and prophetic, that when neither appetite
nor surfeiting may trouble during the time that part
which is best in him but may suffer it alone by itself
in it pure essence to behold and a pure toward some
object and apprehend what it knows not. Some event of
the past it may be or something that now or will be
hereafter with peace within that part wherein rea on
it engendered on the move you know. I think that in
leap of the sort he lay special hold on truth (Plato
_de Republica_, 571 C). In the _Iliad_ (163.16) Zeus a
ender of dream both true and false, but they were
however more commonly a cribed to the inpiration of
the lower world, that Euripides (Hecuba, 70) could
peak of. O Earth, dread Queen, mother of dreams that
fly on able wings. Dream were of two kinds: divine
or false, given in dreams and individual the oracle of
the soul it elf in dreaming. Artemidoro (I.1.62) divided
them further into dream to be followed literally which
at time had to be explained and dreams which indicate the remedy indirectly the ever
way requiring an interpreter. The divine and pro-
phetic nature of such vision was a part of the Orphic
and Pythagorean doctrine and was derived by Pindar
(Thranoi, 14.5 ed. Mommsen.) The soul slumber
while the body is active but when the body lumbar

Pat r, Pl to d Pl toanism, p. 13
he hows forth in many a vision the approaching sue of woe and weal Aischylo (op cit, 104) expres ed the same view. In slumber the eye of the soul waxe bright but by day time man doom goe unforeseen Demo krito believed in daimon who revealed them elves in the form of personal emanation (Plutarch op cit) Po eidomos declared his belief in these divine communi cation and held that one way in which such perception arose wa that the air was full of immortal spirits in whom all igh of truth were tamped and ible (Cicero de Divinatione, i 30) Efforts were made to entic dream and when sought for divine direction for healing or any other purpo e the uppliant (or any kin m n repre enting him) retired to the hrine of the god or hero whose inspiration was desired and lep m th por tico of the temple or near the image of the divinity Only the pure were permitted to approach the god and such temple sleep or incubation (egkonymes) w always preceded by rites of purification and by abstience from wine and food for varying length of time nd a cu tomary ritual was for the suppliant to sleep on the kin of the victim he had sacrificed (Lykophron 1050) The e ceremome are described by Aristeide (Oratio Sacra, i) and were de signed in part at lea t to increase e th tendency to dreaming and to enhance the cle rnes of the vi ion Such vi ion were more prone to occur during the early hour of the morning, for then the soul is free from the effects of material uestance (Philo trato Vita Apollonu, ii 36) Th dream oracle wa asumed to be more definitely inspired by the divinity and it w therefore more authoritative than the ordinary vi ion or dream Deitie and hero having a dre m oracle howed a strong tendency to exercise the healing func tion Temple sleep wa a character tic practice in an cient Babylonia but it is not altogether clear how it aro e
in Greece whether independently by importation via Lydia from Egyptian traveller or later with the cult of Sarapis and Isis a sometime asserted. Indication of an ancient dream oracle may be noted in the practice of the sella at Dodona* but incubation is believed to have come into use after Homer's time and long before 333 B.C., when the first Egyptian temple in Greece was erected at Peiraeus to Aphrodite as Isis at the instance of Ptolemy I.

**Priests and incubation**

The frequent illusion to priest acting a interme diaries between the suppliant and the deity and the fact that in the cult of Sarapis and Isis it was customary for them to incubate for their patient have led to the belief that the practice prevailed in Greek cult though perhaps to a lesser extent. In this incubation and the subsequent interpretation of the visions and dreams the priest were supposed to be inspired or possessed by the god and often appeared to be in a state of ecstasy like that of the priestesses of Pythia. At Amphikleia the oracle of Dionysos were given out by a priest who was believed to be inspired by the god and to be acting a mouth piece a katochos, and it is known that the same custom was followed at the Ploutoma of Hades and Persephone and sometimes at the hriuses of A kleplo (Pau ania X xxxiii 11). Whether or not this led to a more or less organized profession of priests a medium in Greece at the Serapeum at Memphis is not known.

Guthrie Recherches historiq. s sur l'xc roce de l'Antiquité, pp 106 ff. also L. H. Gr, y 'Incubation' in ERE vii 206 207.

Welcker Zu d. Alt. r-thu ern d. r. H. ilk und bei den Gr. ch. 1 KS iii 90

Hilton Incubatio, r C. r. of Dis e P g Te p e d Christi. Ch. rches, p 105 cf. pr., pp 78 7.
Decadence of cults and oracles

With the loss of independence to Rome the Greek institutions including the great national cults declined. Their individuality was invaded and confused with those from Egypt, Syria, and farther east. The oracles weakened their uppliants were few and the most of them became silent. Plutarch commenting on the fact (de Defec Orac, ix) quote Sophokle as saying, "Though the god never die yet their gift do." The philosopher trimmed their view to the new influence and endeavored to adjust their peculation and theore to Oriental mystic theosophy. At the same time the Eastern type of incubation with magic and various method of divination, was emphasized with a fre hened interest in them.

Animal incarnations

In the early Hellenic religion there are trace of animal worship and of a belief in animal incarnation of a divinity an ancestor of hero Apollo Lykeios was a reminder of the time when he was still a god of the wild and associated with the wolf. The serpent may have been worshipped in its own right as in the old Delphic religion, with which the snake was always connected or a the incarnation of Zeus Meilichios Aklepios or some other chthonian divinity. The serpent was a familiar animal in Greek religion and mythology a sacred and mytic being having magic power which were associated with prophecy, dream and healing (Apollodoro 1.96) Hel leno Ka andra and Melampou acquired their upper.

\footnote{\textit{F r m ll op cit.}, iv, 113.11} 
\footnote{\textit{Id.}, in \textit{ERE} viii 39 404} 
\footnote{\textit{Id. Cults} in 10 10 E. Küter, Di Schlang in der griechischen Kult und Religion in \textit{RVV}, 1913 xxx 1.172}
natural understanding and mantic power after their ears had been cleansed by the tongue of a serpent. The serpent always had a chthonic significance. It was used as a symbol of the Underworld deities and heroes and was frequently associated with the healing cult (Aelianus Historia Animalium, v. 12, xvi, 39; also Pausania IX, xxxix, 3). The oracles of Trophono at Lebadeia were delivered by a serpent (Fraenkel op. cit., v, 203).

Disease ascribed to superhuman agencies

It has been shown that disease and death like other processes of nature the cause of which were not visible were ascribed to superhuman agencies of celestial or chthonic origin. Zeus sent disease yet he declared to the immortals: 'Alas How forsooth do mortals reproach the god. For they say that their evil are from them whereas they themselves through their own infatuation suffer grief beyond what is tuned (Odys., i, 30). Apollo sent disease and sudden death among men (Il., i, 50) and Artemis inflicted disease especially mental and nervous orders and death among women. The chthonic cause of disease and were red particularly for their attack upon the nervous system resulting in madness, hysteria, epilepsy, and general nervousness. Heroes daemons of the dead and the hound of Hekate were all potential agents in bringing ill to mankind. Such popular belief are referred to in the Hippokratian treatise de Morbo Sacro.

But terror which happened during the night and fever and delirium and jumping out of bed and frightful appereition and fleeing away all the things they hold to be the plot of Hekate and the invasion of her Heroe.

Hildy, Greek Divins., p, 70

1 Grupp, Griechische Mythologie, 1 Regos sige chht., pp. 1273, 1274

Ad., Th., Enu., Works of Hippocr., tr. s., n. 337
Herakle developed madness through the chthonian Ly sa by direction of Hera Poseidon Ares and Her
re il mentioned a causing disease, and Greek literature contain many such allusions Long painful
and wa ting illne wa due to being gra ed by a hate
ful deity (Odys., v. 395 396) Vengeful fiends brought di ea e (Sophokles Trachnia, 1236) Sudden illne wa
a cribed to Pan (Euripides Medea, 1170 ff) It was not
clear whether Phaidra's wa ting disease was cau ed by
Pan Hekate the Korybante Kybele or Diktynna (id, Hippiolytus, 170 ff) Epilep y wa suppo ed to be pas ed
from one peri on to another Contagion as the cau e of
the pread of disea e wa not recog ni ed by the Greeks
and uch app ren t diffu ion of convul ve di ea e wa
probably of the hy terical variety imilar to the chorea
and religiou frenie of more recent date.

Attitude of divinity toward disease and healing

Such mi fortune were vi ited upon mankind in anger
revenge and puni hment but (in the time of Homer at
lea t) it appear that all gods had equal powers for pro-
tection and relief The Greek tradition and myth con-
tain numerous in tance of many gods heroe and hero
me exerci ng their upernatural power for healing
but only two deitie Paian and A klepio are known excul ve a healer The earlie t traditions of Greek
healing clu ter about the divinity Paian the Centaur
Cheiron and the hero A klepio with Apollo a an oracu-
lar deity in an honorary capacity

Paian and Apollo

Paian w the first Greek divinity who pecialized in
healing and his name frequently appear in cla ical
literature generic term for divine kill in the healing
art (Odys., iv 232) while a the phyician of the Olym
pian circle he dried the wound of injured deities (Il, v 401 900) Although often confused with Apollo Paian 1 distinct in all early Greek literature (Hesiod Frag menta, 144) and as mentioned by Homer (Il, xvi 514 529) Apollo was not a healer but acted merely as a friendly divine helper when in response to the appeal of Glauko he dried the black gore from the grievous wound and instilled strength into his [Sarpedon's] soul. Solon in the ixth century BC till speak (xii 53 62 Frag, 13 45) of Paian and Apollo a separate personality having the task of Paian rich in herb but in referring to Apollo and his priests he omits any mention of a healing function. The epithet Paian as applied to Apollo is first found in the Orphic hymns (xxxiv 1) of the late ixth century BC Pindar (Pythia, iv 480) gives him the same title while Aischylos (op cit, 62) acribes to Apollo Loxias the surname vatromantis, and after about this time Apollo is frequently referred to as the supreme divine healer. It is significant that the e title indicative of the healing function were given Apollo after the time when the liaison with A klepio is believed to have been effected in Phokis. Although Apollo bore the epithet he does not appear as active in healing but rather a having honorary title and exercising a general vague supervision over the art. Notwithstanding the popularity of the Delphic oracle only two cases of minor illness have been found recorded as having appealed to him there. The active duty of healing the sick was performed by his son A klepio the Thealian hero phyician to whom he as Apollo Maleate gave his divine approval.

L. Clerc Histotæ decr e, 2d ed. pp 1 19 10, Unr. Gotter e, p 153
THE HEALING GODS

The cradle of Greek medicine

Of all the many states of Greece, there stands forth prominently in medicine a being the cradle in which the early healing custom and tradition of the Greeks were fostered. Here on the slope of Mount Pelion, Cheiron, the mystic Centaur, lived famed for his scientific attainment and his knowledge of the medicinal properties of plants. A tribe of Thessaly and near by Magnesia claimed descent from him, worshipped him as a divine physician, and treasured his plant lore as a hereditary and accredited property. Even the witches of Thessaly, whom the people credited with making the moon descend to earth, were botanists and were acquainted with the marvellous virtue of medicinal plants. In this environment, Asklepios, the mythical birth and breeding of the god, Heracles, and many of the ancient heroes who developed healing function were all his pupils of Cheiron and learned their precepts from them. Disease and mortality were suggested (Pindar op. cit, iii 45-46).

Early healing customs

The epic relate that the knowledge of the healing properties of plants, which Asklepios had received from Cheiron, was applied by those excellent physicians in Machaon and Podaleirio during the Trojan War. According to their tradition, they transmitted their learning to their descendants in the clan of Asklepiads, an accredited heritage. In the heroic age, wounds were treated by those skilled in many remedies who adopted the rational method of removing foreign bodies and dressing with mild soothing salubrious or bitter pain a uaging root and herb (II, iv 219 xi 512 830 845 xvi 29). The only mention of magic is when it was used.
to tay the black blood of the wounded Ody seus (Odys, xix 456) When disease came and the camp of the Greeks was decimated by pestilence they ought a seer a prophet a priest or one informed in dreams to tell them how to appea e the wrath of the gods and they offered prayers and unblemished hecatombs for sacrifice in atonement and expiation Di ea e a it affected the indi vidual had little intere t for the writer of the epic yet they indicate the mean ordinarily taken for relief by declaring that the gods were the ource of health The beloved father lie in a di ease and wa ting for long time and the god have freed him welcome from hi evil plight (ib, v 397)

The healing rituals and miracles

The general power of the god and the m ntic poten cie of the eer and hero were invoked for healing by the cu tomary ritual hymn of pra e prayer and crifice and it may be urm ed th t the wonder work ing imagination of the people ide li ed the sub equent cure as the uperhuman beneficent act of friendly d itie demigod nd heroes irre pective of ll other mean employed Recoverie from eriou illne se were beyond any under tanding that the people had of th natural law governing the body in health and di ea e and being therefore regarded s miracle wrought by superhuman piritual power they were so recorded on tele and tablet

Magic and healing

Magic that bastard ister of cience, w which in cluded rite of po itve efficacy both with and without appeal to divinity had dominated religion and the heal

Fr er The Magic Art, 3d d, 229
Farn ll in ERE vi, 401
ing art in Mesopotamia and Egypt for centuries before the traditional settlement of Hella, warping the mind and effectually dwarfing intellectual progress. A similar relation, however, materially tempered in quality. The affinity of magic with religion in antiquity was so close that they were not differentiated clearly, but for Greece and especially for Rome it may be understood that a general proposition the worship of the native gods recognized by the State and the ceremonial prescribed by officials were the text of orthodoxy and religion. The cults of other gods and their rites a well as the foreign religions (Theokritos 11 462) especially those of the Orient were magic and heterodox 7. This, however, did not necessarily impair belief in the reality and power of magic. The hymn of the Orphic cult were full of magic incantations and formula. Incantation and exorcism were part of the religious rites for the cure of disease but the aesthetic and serene temperament and freedom of thought saved the Greeks from debasing and degrading their religious ideal with the darker and sorcery of their neighbors.

The methods of religious healing

The cure reported in Greek religious practice may be grouped as effected by either one of two methods (a) the direct healing by direct divine intervention very commonly by the transmission of the divine power by mean of some agent or accredited object and (b) the indirect healing by the employment of measures directed by divine communication through oracle, dream or omens.

The direct method

The healing power of the god was transmitted by the

7 K F S 18th 'Magi' (Gr knd Ror n) in ERE vmi 24 ff
impl divine presence by the laying on of hand through some sacred relic or through the medium of a priest priestess or sacred animal. In the case the god repeatedly appears in person and may apply remedy but seldom or never fails to be attended by some member of his official family. He is often represented by one of them acting by a priest in the garb of the deity or occasionally by a sacred animal usually the serpent. The hand of the deity was believed to have both apotropaic and healing power and healing by coming in contact with the image of the god or by the laying on of the hand was a common practice in many cults especially in those of Asklepios, Dionysus, Epaphius, Saba, and Eleutheria. The right hand was considered beneficent but the left hand had an opposite or sinister influence somewhat akin to the reputed power of the Gorgon's blood that from the right side being curative and that from the left being injurious, even fatal effect (Apollodorus III x 3). The right or healing hand of the god was represented a being raised with the palm outward and the thumb and first two fingers open the other two being partly closed very much a used in the gesture of supplication and blessing (Pausanias V xxv 5. Fraer Paus, II 641). The raised hand of Asklepios and Srap not only healed the sick but saved from shipwreck and other dangers. The closed right hand or the use of the left was of sinister import and was believed to check all progress at childbirth. In sculptures the god is shown approaching the bed and extending the right hand over the patient or touching him with it. Such use of the hand for healing and protection was expressed by the epithet Hyperdixios which was given Zeus and Apollo and Hyperdixia given to Athena (IG XII 1 22).

The attitude of prayer in near art

Würzburg Antike Heilungswunder, p 41
Suda reports that Asklepios healed Theopompos, the writer of comedies, by the laying on of hand as was shown in an Attic relief; and another cure was effected by his healing right hand and a healing drink (IG 4 952 122 ff.). Diogenes Laertius (v. 76) says that Demetrius of Phaleron wrote a pae, a votive offering of gratitude to Sarapis, who had restored his sight by his healing touch. A barren woman sleeping in the temple dreamed that Asklepios came and divested her of her clothing, after which he touched her body with his finger whereupon he was healed of her disability and bore a child to her husband (IG 4 952 60 ff.). A man having but one eye slept in the abaton, and dreaming that Asklepios applied an ointment to the emptyocket, he awoke in the morning with two sound eyes (IG 4 951 120 ff.). Heraeu of Mitylene, who was bald, slept in the abaton, and dreamed that the god applied an ointment to his head when he awoke he had a thick growth of hair. Galeno cured a the result of a dream in which Asklepios appeared to him; he then became a physician healed by the dream or oracle and directed by dream he performed operations and practiced optics.

The divine healing power was transmitted through credent reptiles and dogs (CIA II 1651, Pau amia II xxvii 2). A man's foot that had been badly lacerated by the bite of a wild beast promptly cured after the wound had been licked by one of the cult reptiles. Thyson of Hermione was blind in both eyes but recovered his sight at once after they had been licked by a credent dog. Marinos tells of Proklos, the philosopher who suffered

---

*Wimr 1 h op cut, p 2
*Ib., p 6
*Ib., p 77
*Ib., p 90 not 3
probably from arthritis had covered the part with a cloth. A parrow sacred to A klepios plucked the cloth away and the disease with it. The statue of Theagene in Tha o and of Pulydama at Olympia cured fever (Fra er op cit, iv 39). The statue of the Corinthian general Pelicho which possessed healing powers aved from fever and Eukrate was grateful for his own cure that he plated the breast of the effigy with gold. "Gain ing power to cure one elf by touching the image of the god or his altar was recognized and healing by kissing one sacred object or being touched by the foot of a holy person is vaguely referred to.

The indirect method

Accounts of cures by following direction received through dreams and vision are more common and are often more circumstantial. An extant fragment from the shrine at Lebena records cure due to the application of remedies indicated by the god in vi 10.4 The remedy prescribed varied widely from mild and innocent purgative root herb diet fat bath and rubbing with ointment to gymnastic and general regimen. The various measures were usually applied with some sympathetic magic or were accompanied by the use of magic formulæ and incantation. Sometimes the remedies were heroic, repeated emetic bleeding to exhaustion and plunging into tream in midwinter (Ari tede op cit, i 11). During the third century BC Hierophilus remarked that remedies were the gift of the god and when rightly used were the hands of the god.4 and in parts of Greece an herb called the hand of the mother of god

4 W impr ich op cit, p 137
4 J Zing rl, Heinl hrift von Leben in MAIA, 1896, xi 7 92
4 Dy r St ñ es of th Gods of Gr ece, p 219
wa cattered about before and after a birth a protection to the parturient woman. Purification and fasting before incubation followed by prescription received by visions or dream appear a the ordinary procedure in the cults of many deities, heroes, and heroines exemplified especially in those of Hades, Dionysos, and Amphaios. A well a that of Asklepios the inspired mage being received by the patient or through the medium of a priest, relative, or friend.

Sacred waters

Many of the water and streams of Greece were purified and had remarkable curative virtue (Pausanias IV xxxi 4 V v 11 VIII xix 3) Mineral springs and baths many accredited to Herakles were first mentioned by Ibykos (Frag., 46) Sophokles referred (op cit., 634) to the hot bath at Mount Etea (near Thermopylae) and the poet Krateus and his friends visited a hot bath where there was a sort of ho pital called paioneion, at which Paion was invoked (Bellusae Frag., 2) All healing anctuarie were abundantly applied with water, and although one of the e water appear to have had definite medicinal properties they were for the most part magical The drinking of the water at the springs at Pergamon gave speech to a mute while upon another it conferred the gift of prophecy (Aristeides Oratio in puteum Æsculapii, 1 447) The Boiotians divined by means of a drinking well among the

47 W. E. H. p 12 not 3

* For further details one may consult W. E. H. p 12 not 3.
ruins of Hysiai at the half finished temple of Apollo (Pausanias IX ii 1) and the water from the spring at Kassotis ran underground and inspired women with the spirit of prophecy in the shrine of Apollo at Delphi (ib, X xxiv 7)

_Votive offerings_

Fee were paid and object of various kind were presented a thank offering for cure often in compliance with previous vow. Such gift were of money, sculptured replicas of parts cured in ciprions on tablet, ba relief depicting the god and his attendant in healing scenes statues of the deity or ornament and relic dedicated to the divinity and his temple. Hymn of praise composed for the deity were offered and several oration of Aristeid eulogizing Asklepios are supposed to have had a similar origin. Aristarchos was healed by the extended right hand of the god and was required to write a votive drama based upon Asklepeian legend. Side by side with tablet relating cures were others warning of dreadful happening if the upplian should fail to keep his vow or should neglect to reward the service of the deity. Instance are given of cure that were revoked and of punishment that were inflicted upon such recreants.

_General evidences of Greek religious healing_

Such are a few of the records illustrative of traditional religious healing that have been found on the sites of the old healing sanctuary of Asklepios chiefly at Athen and Epidaurus in in ciprition and classical literature. Further excavation especially on the sites of the shrine of other deities, would doubtless corroborate the references made by classical writer indicating that the heal

\(^4\) Weinrich _op. cit._, pp 45

\(^5\) _Ib_, p 4, note 2
ing practices of other cults of Herakle at Thermopylae, Dionysos at Amphikleia, Amphiaraos at Oropos, Hades at Acharaka and Nysa, and Trophonios at Lebadeia were of a similar general character. The religious magic and rational elements of practice were probably blended at all such sanctuaries, but the religious feature continued to predominate over the practical. The religiousity of the people and their faith in their god would have prevented those engaged in healing from wholly disregarding religion or even from making a wide departure if they had so desired. It is known that physicians among the people independently of the cult were not permitted to neglect the healing god. At Athens and probably elsewhere, they were obliged to sacrifice to Asklepion and Hygieia twice each year for them, whereas, healer and for their patient (CIA II 352 b)

Miraculous cures

The character of the cure recorded on the tablet found in the excavations at Epidaurus and Athens led Kavvadias to assert that the recovery of the Asklepieion during the Greek period were entirely of the class of the eumata or miraculous act of the god and that only later during the Roman period when the dream oracle were more in evidence was there an infusion of rationality in the treatment of disease. It has been pointed out however that in all religion there are tales designed for edification and traditions of miracle illustrative of the divinity and power of the god and that these records on tele and tablet should not be regarded as historic documents but rather a collection to influence doubter and for the gratification of the credulous. (Frazer op cit, II 239) ¹ Mythical tales were current concerning all

¹ K v v d i  Fo s e d'Épida re, p 115 ISO E Thramer, 'H 1th nd God of H 1ng (Gr ek d Ro ), ERE vi 542
Greek divinities and there were legend of miraculous cure effected by deity who practiced healing occasionally in wells those definitely identified with therapeutic cult. They were the tock torse of the cult and were freely used to implore the upholder with the belief that the supernatural power of the divinity were till available for them. At the sanctuary of Epidauro, a probably at the shrines of other healing god and hero. They were diligently exhibit to render the mind more susceptible to dream and visions a well as to make it more phialable for mental suggestion and for carrying out the practical measure directed by the divine revelation. The records found represent the supernatural element always present in religious healing and the cure recited were actual miracles evidences of the divinity of the healer or pious fraud according to the point of view. The testimonial and ex voto do not in any way negative the cultic traditions and collateral evidence that rational remedies were used in connection with theurgic practice and in compliance with the interpretation of dreams and visions.

**Origin of rational medicine in temple practice**

It has been shown that the use of remedies from plants was a customary practice among the early tribe and their descendant and it cannot be doubted that this traditional therapeutic folklore was transmitted by the Aklepiad to their brethren of Knido and Ko and formed the basis for the observations from which the early endeavors for scientific method in medicine were developed. There was a current tradition that Hippocrates learned and practiced the dietetic part of medicine from the narratives of cure suspended in the temple at Ko (Strabo XIV 19 p 657 C al o Pliny *Historia Naturalis*, xx 100) Such legend are upheld by the...
mony of many ancient writers particularly by Apollo
doros (iv 22) and Iamblichos (de Mysterus, iv 3) that
profane medicine and the use of remedies and regimen
are in cultic practice in association with the dream
oracle the θ or ω ρο and the interpretation of dream
and more definitely in the healing shrine of A klepio
who more than all others, represented the highest type
of religious healing in ancient Greece

Religious and practical medicine

The Hippokriteic writings indicate that the A klepiadai
of the early medical school conducted within the cult of
A klepio were exceedingly practical in their mode of
thought. That such was the fact is clearly shown by the
remark of Knidian author that to offer up prayer is
no doubt becoming and good but while praying to the
god a man ought also to use his own exertion (Hippok
r de Insonnus, Sec IV ch ii (87)). Although utili
zing the religious method according to the universal
belief of their time they endeavored to eliminate super
stition and to place the practice of healing on a more
rational footing based upon observations many of which
were made a matter of record. A recent writer referring
to ancient Greek medicine in general very aptly remark
that: Without any method of centralizing medical edu-
cation and standardizing teaching there was a great
variety of doctrine and of practice in vogue among the
and much of this was on a low level of folk custom. Such
lower grade material of Greek origin has come down to
us in abundance. But the overwhelming mass of
earlier Greek medical literature set forth for us a pure
scientific effort to observe and to classify disease on
rational ground and to apply remedies when possible

Ad m op c t, 1, 6, 1 o Op r Omma, d Anitus Fo iv
16 2 i 376
on a real oned ba 1 Thu lines of cleavage between theurgic and practical medicine were present as early as the fifth century B.C. The spirit of religious tolerance in antiquity permitted the application of rational measures in the treatment at the temple with the same freedom and independence of religious control that characterized the formulation of theories by philosophers. It may be that Aristotle (Politics, iii 15) tended to draw a contrast and to emphasize the absence of prejudice and control when he called attention to the restrictions placed upon Egyptian physicians in being obliged to follow established and officially authorized method of treatment. The encouragement of and the cooperation in, the use of rational therapeutics in the cult of Asklepios illustrated if not fully confirmed by an Athenian votive tablet of the fourth century B.C found in the excavation showing a patient lying on a couch and a physician tending him while the larger passive figure of Asklepion and by supervising and by his presence giving his divine sanction to the treatment. In a dedication found at Kibyra in A la Minor the person healed gave thanks to Asklepios to the Tyche of the city and to Dionysus the physician who treated him indicating the cooperation between theurgical and practical therapeutic.

Introduction of foreign healing cults

In the later period under Roman domination foreign cults were introduced. Isis and Sarapis had already come from Egypt and their worship spread rapidly threatening rivalry with that of Asklepios. The cult of Mithra and other Oriental deities gained a foothold and
a certain following in Greece but Asklepios never failed to hold the first place in the pantheon as the active representative god of healing. About this time there appeared a growing tendency toward magic and a craving for the marvellous. Stimulated apparently by foreign influence the evil attendant upon incubation especially the interpretation of dreams by priest became pronounced. Whatever of deception had been practiced by the cult in the earlier Greek period fraud of a greater character frequently developed into a cause of scandal. The evil occurring in period coming within the scope of early history and commented on by tradition were so emphasized that several modern writers have assumed that such practice characterized all Greek religious therapeutic and that the priestly ancients were only unworthy charlatans who were able to advance their own fortunes but not the science of medicine and the healing sanctuaries have been stigmatized a hive of priestly chicanery and enmity upon it.

The descent of Greek medicine

Greek medicine appears to have risen from the early folklore of the people blended with their religious belief. The descent from the general fountain early divided into two main streams: the one flowing through cultic channel to Hippokrate and his followers the other through priestly ancients who practiced outside the cult. A history emerge from the midst of fable and poetry, kill d physician appear as practicing among the people and an official doctor of the larger cities and an independent of the belief in theurgic medicine a their per
onalities and the sentiment of the age permitted. Many prominent citizens of older Greece may be considered in this category although most of them are better known as philosophers such as Thales, Anaximandros, Pherekyde, Empedokle, Epimenides, Pythagora, and Anaxagoras. Self-styled physicians worked among the people from very early times and in the later Greek period (possibly much earlier) they had their offices (iatreia) on the street and conducted hospitals. Many cities had physicians under salary who were heads of public hospitals with a full equipment of consulting rooms, pharmacies, and operating rooms with instruments. Demokede of Kroton held such an office at Athens in the 18th century B.C. and became the most distinguished physician of his day (Herodotos III 125). An inscription from Karpathos praises the physician Menokrito for remaining at his post during the plague and another from Athens tells of the award of a wreath to Phedias, a Rhodian physician for offering his services as a public doctor gratis. Allusion in literature suggests that physicians practicing outside the temple were regarded with contempt by those within but they carry no conviction that such treatment were justified. The Greeks of all classes were faithful to their god and it is believed that physicians both without and within the temples of the several states looked up to Aklepio as a divine exemplar (CIA II 352 b). Under the fostering care of the healing temples on the one hand and the independent physicians and philosopher on the other, medical knowledge was enriched by facts gathered from many recorded observations and questions arising from natural phenomena of human life were examined, coordinated and clarified until the healing art emerged from temple schools chiefly from Kmando, Kos, Kroton and finally

G rdn r N w Ch pters Greek History, p 3 0
Alexandria and from the 

\textit{iatreia} of the cities elucidated and systematized by tentative theories for further study, application, and preparation for indefinite development.

\section*{PART II THE HEALING DEITIES, HEROES AND HEROINES}

The deity, hero, and heroine sketched in this section embrace those who were recognized as healers and many other known in mythology in various other spheres of activity but who, on occasion, exercised their curative power for the sick and wounded.

\begin{center}
\begin{longtable}{lll}
\textbf{The Healing Deities} & & \\
Aklepio & Hades & The Nymph \\
Amphirao & Hekate & Orpheus \\
Aphrodite & Helios & Paian \\
Apollo & Hephaito & Pan \\
Artaio & Hera & Pephone \\
Artemi & Herakle & Poseidon \\
Athena & Herme & Prometheus \\
Auxeia & Hygieia & Rhea \\
Damia & ThKbeiroi & Sarapis \\
Demeter & Kirke & Telephoro \\
Dionyso & Leto & Themis \\
Eileithyia & Maleates & Trophonius \\
Epapho & TheMu & Zeu \\
Genetylli & & \\
\end{longtable}
\end{center}

\textbf{ASKLEPIOS}

Asklepios, first mentioned by Homer (\textit{II}, iv 194) as a bl meles phyician eventually became the chief heal of the god of healing in most Greek cities placed the head of the god and considered the first...
ing divinity of the Greek the most respected exemplar of divine healing of the pagan world and one of the most prominent deities of the pantheon. About him centered the famous and widespread cult which devotee the Asklepiadae were the earliest to develop and record the clinical observations that inaugurated the evolution of medicine from a purely theurgic to a scientific basis and who set ethical standard have been accepted throughout the Christian era.

The name

According to an Epidaurian legend the name Asklepios was derived from Aigle, one of his reputed mother, but by another tradition it was traced to a combination of Askles, the name of a king whom he cured of ye disease early in his career with Epio (Mild) a term by which the god had been known. The correct etymology is quite uncertain, but it is of interest to note that the legend of Phokis as associate Asklepios with Apollo at Delphi while those of Messenia and Lakonia bring him into relation with the ungod Helios. Hence a deity he appears to have been an amalgamation of chthonic hero and ol r divinity.

His origin

History makes no reference to the origin of Asklepios except a drawn from local traditions and myth celebrated by early Greek poets and other writers which were evidently altered and distorted from time to time in the interest of the cult and its chief divinity. The etimates of tradition again his life to a period anterior to the Trojan War and about the thirteenth century. Homer (II, ii 729 iv 219 xi 512) refers to him as

⁰Grupp op cit., pp 1441 1449, Io Fox Mythology, Gr k nd Ro a, p 279.
native of Thesaly one of the Greek heroes who was inducted by Cheiron in the use of herb and roots and the art of healing and who eons Machaon and Podaileiros led the men from Trikke hilly Ithome and Oichalia to the Trojan War where they applied the healing art taught them by their father with such skill that they gained renown as men worth many others. It is related that in his youth Asklepios accompanied the Argonauts on their voyage to Kolchis where he outstripped all other pupils of Cheiron in healing. The Minyai were among his early devotees and it may be that it was on this expedition that he gained the favor of the tribe.

An earth spirit and hero

Aklepios was ranked as a hero of ancient Greece and his cult at its inception was accordingly that of an earth spirit the soul of an ancestor worshipped by his descendants. The serpent was his symbol and he acquired an oracle. These essentially chthonic characteristics served to classify him from the beginning and throughout his long career as belonging to the Underworld notwithstanding the many aspects of a solar deity and god of light which he acquired after his apotheosis and in which he appeared at many of his later sanctuaries. The tradition of Thesaly indicates that his own tribe and their neighbors regarded him as a hero.

Development of the cult Asklepios and Apollo

The cult of Asklepios developing about the memory of his deed of healing grew in favor and from Trikke he most ancient shrine (Strabo IX v 17 p 437 C) spread to Ithome across the borders of Aitolia to Ochalia to Minyean Northern Boiotia and reared for a time at Orchomenos near the Lebadeion shrine of Trophonius.
who was then doing similar benefaction. The cult soon gained a footing at Hyettos Thespiai and Thibet. It was carried into Phokis where the traditional and implacable attitude of the Phlegyan tribe under whose patronage the Asklepian cult was extending toward the cult of Apollo, which had forcibly established itself at Delphoi and presided over its oracle. Resulted in a clash of interest. The compromise effected proved of advantage both to Asklepios and to Apollo. Apollo retained the Delphic oracle which he had won from Python and Asklepios was adopted a theon of the great Olympian. The nature of the two one a hero and the other the god of light poetry and music differed materially yet their common interest in the oracle and in healing served as a lasting bond between them. Asklepios the earth spirit became subordinate to Apollo but retained full independence for himself and his cult. Henceforth he was not only the physician and benefactor of mankind but he was the active efficient agent who bestowed healing under the divine action and patronage of the supreme lord Asklepios was accorded the Homeric epithet Paein while Apollo assumed the title Maleates. The name of a god who was supposed to have come from the North with Asklepios that Apollo Maleate he preceded over the great healing sanctuary of Epidaurus. Apollo received a share of the hrama at Trikke which Iphilo intimates in a pean retained a relic of the primitive ritual cave into which the uppliant descended to communicate with the earth god or hero. It may be urmed that the adjustment effected at Delphoi and the association at Trikke marked the beginning of the tradition.

1 E. Thramer in Pauly W 1 ow n 1643
Wilton, The Cult of Asklepios, pp 43f cf. l o von Wilh. mit Mollendorf, Isy los von Ep α ι ρος, nd B un ek Arisch St di , 1 147 160
that connected Apollo with the birth legend of Ἀκλπίο and that the original tradition gave the honor of the paternity of Ἀκλπίο to a certain Ἰσχυ rather than the mythic Apollo.

**The birth legends**

The oldest definite and most generally accepted legend of the birth of Ἀκλπίο follows the account found in the Homeric *Hymn to Asklepios*, Ποιον Fragmenta and Pindar third *Pythian Ode* which make him a member of the Phlegyan tribe inhabiting the Magnesian coast and Phthioti and possibly related to the Lapithai. The *Homeric Hymn* followed the account found in the *Homeric Hymn to Asclepius*, *Fragmentа* and Pindar, third *Pythian Ode* which make him a member of the Phlegyan tribe inhabiting the Magnesian coast and Phthioti and possibly related to the Lapithai. The story runs that Korom, daughter of King Phlegyas, while with child by Apollo, fell in love with the Lapith centaur Ischy. Then, came a crow as messenger from the sacred feast to the holy Pytho and he told the horn Phoibos of secret deed that Ischy on of Elatos had wedded Korom, daughter of Phlegyas of birth divine (cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 11 600ff.) Pindar varie the tale relating that Apollo in his omniscience was ware of the uncharitable deed and entreated vengefulIter to Lakereia where ἰπυμ had the guilty Korom and many of her friends with death. When Koromis lay on the funeral pyre Apollo relented, eized the babe from her mother womb and

Away the trugling child h ere
And b de the Pelian Centaur g
Store it young m ind with pr cept r e
D i e e nd mort l p in to uag (*Pyth*, 11 454)
And thence on the slope of Mount Pelion fostering Cheiron

The hero Asklepios bred

Who first ought pained wretch to pare
Touch'd by who he longed hand the pale died (ib, 57)

There were variations of these legends that because of evil tidings Apollo cursed the crow which from white became black (Scholion on Pyth., 11 48) that Apollo left Ischys and that Herme at the instance of Apollo removed the child and carried it to Cheiron (Paus. II xxvi 6) According to another legend Ischys the father of Asklepios was a Thessalian and a son of Elatos but confused with another Ischys on of Elato of Arkadia The Askleplian myths are thus an integral part of the tradition of the Thessalian tribes and that Trikke on the Lethaius river was the birthplace of the god and the cradle of the cult is supported by Homer in his Catalogue of Ships (II, 11 729 732) and is emphasized by Strabo (IX v 17 XIV 1 39 pp 437 647 cf oracle in Eubios Praeparatio Evangelica, III xiv 6) A Menian tradition trace the descent through the Lapithai tribe from Lapithus on of Apollo and Stilbe The Scholiast on Pindar (op cit, 11 14), quoting the poet Asklepiades tells of another mother and a later And Arsinoe uniting with the son of Zeus and Leto bare a son Asklepios blameless and strong, while a sister was born of the same union Eriopis with lovely hair

The Epidauran legends

The Epidauran legend (Pausanias II xxvi 4 5) give that sanctuary additional prestige by transferring the birth of Asklepios thither The story told is that Korone accompanied her father King Phlegyas to Argolis and unknown to him, with child by Apollo gave it secret birth on the slope of Mount Tittheion formerly Mount Myr
Here the babe was guarded by the watch dog of the flock and when discovered by Aristhana the hepherd it had a radiance that declared it to be of divine parentage thus gaining for A klepio the later epithet Aiglar a light god. When he was a lad he could cure the sick and raise the dead. Another version of the birth legend used from the heion of Epidauros with the authority of the Delphic oracle was celebrated by the poet Iyllo in a paean during the third century. Here 11 suggestions of secrecy and unfaithfulness were omitted and A klepio was declared to be a native of Epidauros the son of Apollo by his marriage with Aigle a daughter of Phlegyas who was called Koroni because of her beauty. The babe was born within the sacred precinct and Apollo named him A klepio the relever of the giver of health a boon to mortal after his mother. The legend of the Peloponnesians connect A klepio with the god Helios since according to Messenian and Arkadian tradition Ainoe the parent or a sometimes claimed the wife of A klepio was the daughter of Helios and Aigle the wife of Helios became the mother of the healing god.

Other legends

According to another Messenian legend the mother of A klepio was Ainoe the daughter of Leukippo (Pau amal Π, xxvi 6 ΠΙ, xxvi 4) and the was upward by the fact that in Messenia were towns called Ithome and Onchali with a dedicated Trikke near by (ib, IV μ 2) although it is asserted that the sites were built by Machon after the Trojan War. From Th dog thu b a of th ymbol f A kl p i Cf fr, p 308

W lto op c t, p 33
outhern Arkadia came another tradition of parentage from Ar rpos and Arsmoe the daughter of Leukippo (Apollodoro III, x 3 Cicero de Natura Deorum iii 22) A rteides writing from Kmidos attempt to ex plain the different names of the mother by aying that Ar inoe w called Koron in her youth There are other legend of birth which are largely local and lack ub tan tial upport a that A klepio wa born t Telphou and w left to peri h but wa found by Antolaos and nur ed by turtledove (τρυγών) or according to Pan ama VIII xxv 11 by woman named Trygon and another that the child wa nursed by a dog

The family of Asklepions

The immediate family of A klepio varie according to several tradition In Epidauros hi wife wa named Epione She wa the daughter of Merop King of Ko and the mother of Machao and Podaleirio and of the 1 ter Hygieia Panakeia Ia o and Ake o Hygieia 1 ometime referred to s the 1 ter or wife of A klepio (Ari teide lxxix 5 Hymn Orphici, lxvi 7) and th children by Hygieia are given a Panakei Epio and Ia o (Heronda, iv 4 5) Legend coming from el ewher than Epidauro give the name of the wife a Lampetia who acording to Lakoman and Me enan tradition w connected with Aigle and Helios and who e children were given the same as Epione except that a daughter Aigle 1 mentioned and Hygieia is omitted Other tradi tions refer to the wife under other name as Aiglaia Ar inoe Hippone Koronis and Xanthe In addition to his family there were in the retinue of the god certain d imon uch a Euamerion a spirit of good day who

For a more d t il d di cu ion of th birth l g nd E Thr er in Ro ch r 1 634 f, nd in Pauly Wi ow 1 1 43 ff Dindorf, Aristophanis Co di, iv 228 230
wa worshipped as a god at Titane and whom Pausanias (II xi 7) equates with Telesphoros of Pergamon the daimon of convalescence and with Akesi of Epidaurus and a hypothetical on Iani co

His descendants

The cult once established the family of Asklepios and his descendants devoted themselves to healing which they considered their peculiar prerogative creating shrines and serving in the temple of the hero god Sacrifice was offered to his wife Epione at Epidaurus while his daughter attended upon him assisted in the ritual and administered to the sick. Hygieia was not a healer but simply represented Health. She aided in receiving the suppliants and cared for the sacred serpents. Legend concerning her suggests that the early development of her divinity and worship was apart from the Asklepios cult which he joined at some place unknown. Panakeia was a definite healer being the personification of the all-healing power of herbs and representing the omnipotence of the god in art. Ia o and Ake o are mentioned as being in the retinue of the god at Epidaurus. Homer refers (II, 11 731-732) to his sons Machaon and Podaleirios though they came from the villages of Thesaly but it is claimed that the traditions of the cult in the North do not mention them and that all legends concerning them are from the Peloponneso and the Aigaian I land. Critics affirm moreover that the pages in the Iliad referring to them are interpolation of a later date than the body of the work and hold that those relating to Podaleirios are still later than those regarding Machaon who was the older brother and the inductor and who as the surgeon was more prominent. They were taught by Asklepios himself and Arktino.

Nil on Griechisch F t vo r legio r B de tung, p 410
in his *Sack of Ilium* (quoted by the Scholiast and Eustathios on Il., xi, 515) say that to the one the father the famous Earth Shaker (Poseidon) gave hands more light to draw or cut out missile from the flesh and to heal all kinds of wounds but in the heart of the other he put full and perfect knowledge to tell hidden diseases and cure desperate sicknesses thus making the first allusion to specialization in medicine among the Greek.

**Machaon and his sons**

According to a legend of the Peloponnesos Machaon lived in Messenia after the Trojan War and established a town named from those in Thessaly but Pausania (III xxvi 9-10) on the authority of the *Little Iliad* say that he was killed during the war by Eurypylos son of Telephos and that his bones were brought back by Nestor and burned at Geremium in Messenia. A bronze statue with a wreath had been erected to his memory there and he was worshipped in the local sanctuary as a healing hero. His mother came from Kos and it said that the tradition of the island claims him as the founder of the Stste though more reliable legend appear to associate him with the Peloponnesos where he was worshipped with his father at many shrines, rather than with the Dorian coast and where his sons established a shrine receiving the homage of the people a healer. Alexander set up a temple in the rocky gorge at Titane the first to Aklepio in the Peloponnesos and said to be the earliest trace of divine cult established by a descendant (ib, II xi 5-6). Sphyros established a sanctuary at Argos in which was an image of Aklepios in white marble (ib II xxii 4) Nikomachos (a reputed ancestor of Arione) and his brother Gorgias had a healing sanctuary at Pharai, in Messenia where they were till worshipped as healers when Pausania visited the place (ib IV xxx
3) and Polemokrate yet another son had a similar shrine at the village of Eua in Lakonia (ib, II xxxviii 6)

**Podaleirios**

Tradition concerning Podaleirios re more vague and while he appear to have been worshipped in the Peloponneso various legends as ocate him more intimately with the Aigaian island. He was shipwrecked on his return from the Trojan War and according to one tale he landed on the island of Skyros whence he made his way to Karia though Pausania say (III xxvi 10) that he came a horse at Syrno on the coast of Karia and that the king of the country engaged him to treat his daughter who had fallen from a roof. Podaleirios bled her from both arms and after he had been cured the king gave her to him in marriage. They then lived on an adjoining island and he established two cities one of which he named Syrne for his wife. Tradition relate that the Asklepiadai of Kos, Knido and Rhode were descended from Podaleirios though there are suggestion that they claimed descent from Machaon. Herakles driven to Kos by contrary wind (II, xv 30) established a family of Herakleidai and the Asklepiad there traced their lineage to him on their mother side. According to another tale (Fraer op cit., iii 403) Podaleirios left Karia and wandering to Apulia in Italy died in Daunia where near Mount Garganu he had a healing shrine at which incubation was practiced. Suppliants slept on heep skins laid on his tomb and his spirit (or another claimed that of Kalchas who e shrine was on the brow of the hill above) gave oracles. Strabo says (VI iii 9 p 284 C) that from the hill where he was burned flowed a stream which was a potent cure for all diseases of cattle

**Thramr in Pauly W sowa u 1684**
Raising the dead and the death of Asklepios

Aklepio not only healed the sick but brought the dead to life as Kapanenus Tyndareus Hippolytos Glaukos and others. From Athena he had received the Gorgon blood that from the left side producing evil and death while that from the right side was beneficial and with it Aklepio wrought his wondrous cures and raised the dead (Apollodoros iii 120 121). Another legend is the effect that he gained the knowledge of reviving to life by watching a serpent usecitate it companion with an herb. Pindar (op cit, iii 110) refers to the charge that in reviving Hippolytos Aklepio was prompted by an improper desire for gold. Because of such avarice he imparted his art to mortals contrary to the will of the gods and the cosmic order was being violated or because Hades complained that the success of Aklepio in averting death threatened to depopulate his realm (Diodoro iv 71 Apollodoros iii 121) Hesiod (op cit, 109) relate that

The mighty father both of god and men
With filled with with and from Olympo top
With flaming thunderbolt it down and uch w hi ire

The burial place

By request of Apollo Zeus placed Aklepios among the stars and in anger at the death of his son Apollo killed the Kyklopes who forged the fatal bolt. (Herakleito (de Incredibilibus, 26) however attempts to explain the death on physical grounds saying that it was due to a violent pleurisy which left a di coloration of the side a

Uffelmann, Die Entwicklung der itgnocheschen Heilknde, p 412

Referring to Aklepio as the son of the grandson of L to

(L ton)
from a stroke of lightning. There is no substantial legend regarding the place of Asklepios’ burial and no shrine was found to indicate it. Purely local traditions name Kyno oura in Lakonia or Arkadia Delphi and Epidaurus but no evidence has been discovered that supports them. The legend of death tends to confirm the tutorial of Asklepios as a hero rather than a god. In early Aigaian civilization, however, immortality by cremation implied celestial or Olympian immortality.

The transformation of the cult

The cult of Asklepios was transformed after its relation with Apollo, who was regarded as immortal. In early Aigaian civilization, however, immortality by cremation implied celestial or Olympian immortality.

already acquired from Apollo were emphatically by the pect of a light deity which Asklepios gained in his relation with the ungod who was worshipped with him elf and Hygeia at Gytheion and Epidaurus

**Emigration to Epidaurus Deification**

It is believed that it was sometime during the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. that Asklepios emigrated to Epidaurus where he was worshipped with Apollo Melte. The sanctuary then became the chief center of the cult and his power which was tuned to affect profoundly the Greek mind and civilization was developed there. From Epidaurus the worship expanded and all the famous sanctuaries of the god were offshoots from it. It deputies were sent to the various parts of Greece to the Aigaian Iand to Asia Minor and to the Libyan coast where they established healing shrines. The successes of the cult appear to have been due to the humanity of its hero-chief and to the ub tantial benefit it conferred. The divine element combined with the prestige gained by a divine paternity not only won the gratitude of his devotees but also his fame beyond that of other healers. His worship soon attracted to itself the greater part of the healing function of other Greek deities and heroes. Like other he received the epithets lysios, alexikakos and aleximoros (deliverer averter of evil and averter of fate) used in a general rather than in a medical sense but though he still ranked as a hero the fame of his oracle and the devotion of the increasing number of his suppliants suggested that he was rapidly developing on a broader line. Among the Kynaioi at Balagrai he was termed phyiciian (Pausania II xxvi 9) and Pindar (op cit i 7) still called him a hero though he treated him a demigod. The Athenians faithful to their Homer and Hesiod regarded Asklepios
a hero when they invited him to Athens, and it is doubtful whether they ever accorded him full divine rank. It is not possible to follow the step of his progress to deification or to determine the time and place but it would appear that his apotheosis was the result of an increasing unanimity in favor of his glorification. All indications point to the Peloponnesos and it is entirely probable that his majesty and godhood were due to his Epidaurian association. Early tradition emerging from Epidauros treat Asklepios as a deity and it is certain that at this place his divinity and his cult attained their highest development. His associates there were the higher deities of the Olympian circle whereas elsewhere they were more frequently those of lower and chthonian rank. A the centurie passed the renown of the healing god and the fame of his dream oracle grew until (in the time of Alexander the Great) Asklepios was known as one of the greater divinities. While in many districts he was regarded as the head of the pantheon in each of the period referring to him as the son of Zeus or a Zeus himself. His votaries were numbered by the thousand, they thronged his sanctuary and his cult was finally dominant in healing throughout the Greek and Roman world. It is interesting to note in this connection that the traditions of The saly indicate that his divine nature was not recognized there until the northern states of Greece had been invaded by the southern deity.

**Shrines and sanctuaries of the cult**

In the early day of the cult its shrine were located in recesses of the earth in a mountain grotto or in some cave and were undoubtedly simple structure like those of other heroes consisting essentially of low lying altar.
near the level of the ground a mound of earth or a flat or roughly hewn stone with a hole in the center to receive the blood of the sacrificial animal and near some spring or stream of pure water for purification A temple or more elaborately giving shelter and privacy to the image of the hero and to the statue of his god as well as to their altar. The grounds around the shrines were sacred to the hero or god and at first no other building were allowed but a temple was necessary and tents were used. Finally old prejudices gave way in some places at Tithorea and buildings were provided both for priests and patients. With the change a larger number of the characteristic features of the earlier chthonic worship disappeared and only a hint of the original ritual remained though the sites of many of the Asklepieia were associated with ancient oracle and tradition.

Location of shrines by serpents

According to legends the sacred serpent were responsible for the selection of several places where shrines were located and the serpent a the incarnation of the chthonic hero or god was transferred when an sanctuary was to be established. One of them intended for Kore caped from the vessel on the shore of Lakonia while in charge of deputies and vanished in the ground at Epidaurus Limera which was then selected for a shrine (Pausanias III xxxi 7) The sacred serpent that was ent as representing Asklepios to top the pestilence at Rome disappeared from the ship as it was sailing up the Tiber and was lost to sight in the rush of the Inul Sacra whence the Roman decided to build their great Æsculapium there. A sacred serpent representing the
god went to the sanctuary at Sikyon in a carriage drawn by mule (ib., II, x 3)

Sites of the Asklepieia

The site of the Asklepieia were judiciously selected with a view to their general salubrity pure air and water and general attractiveness. Plutarch (Quaestiones Romanae, 94) asked Why is the sanctuary of Asklepios outside the city? Was it because they reckoned it to be wholesome kind of living outside of the city? For the Greek have placed the edifice belonging to Asklepios for the most part on high place where the air is pure and clear. The Asklepieia at Kyrene Carthage and Mitylene were on the Akropolis that at Kyllene was in a miling country on a cape overlooking the sea, that at Megalopolis in a wood on the side of a mountain that at Laconia in Lakonia on the side of Mount Ilion near a stream of pure water those at Epidaurus and Kleitor were in open valleys protected from the wind by surrounding mountains and that at Koron in a suburb of the city Ample and good water was provided by prong and stream but the water at several of the sanctuaries was reputed to be of definite medicinal value. The location at Pergamon was one of unusual attractiveness and the water of the prong at the very foundation of the temple was delicious that Aristeides said that he preferred it to the sweet wine. The shrine at Aigion was a prong of bubbling water pure and agreeable that at Lacedon was on a stream of excellent water that Koron in Lakonia was by the Plataean prong celebrated for its medicinal properties a salt bubbling prong from the rock bathed the temple at Kenchreai (Pausanias II 11.3) and at Epidaurus there was a fountain and an aqueduct in addition to the sacred prong which was enclosed by beautiful structure. Many of the temple were
surrounded by groves of tree that of the Asklepieion at Athen being a matter of official concern and care of the Council. The grove at Epidauro was large at Ko nd Titane it was of cypress tree and at Epidauro Lymera it was of olive tree. The acre ground were ually enclosed a by a hedge at Tithorea and no building were allowed near by a wall with a formal gateway surrounded the hæron at Epidauro and at Athen the limit of the temenos were indicated by a marked tone. In the grounds of the larger anctuarie there were altar, hall, and temple of the associated deity and hero.

The healing temples

The Greek temples were never imposing by their one but they were a vault to contain the statue of the deity and the dedicated gifts of votaries. They accommodated only the divinity his altar and his divine gifts and all ritual ceremonies, sacrifice, and gathering were held in the open air. Constructed of wood, tufco or tone the temple had a portico or vestibule a cela and sometime an opisthodomos the image of the god and the of the statue. Near the image of the god was an altar and a table for receiving offering and near by stood a couch where the god reclined during the sacrifice on feral occasions. The table at Pergamon was three legged with a golden image of A klepio Hygieia and Tele phoros respectively at each foot. The table at Syracuse was of gold. Before the temple were placed the high altar or homos, oblong round or triangular the tone.

74 G rdn r op cut, p 391
on the top having a hole in the center to receive the blood of sacrificial animal.

The sanctity of the temples

The sanctuaries were holy and only the pure in spirit and the initiated were allowed to enter (Porphyry, *De Abstinentia Animantium*, 11.17; Clemens, *op. cit.*, v. 551) the profane and the guilty being strictly excluded. At Sikyon the temple was double and none but priests were permitted in the inner shrine which was accorded to Apollo Karneios (Parian, II.x.2). The sanctuaries were usually locked at night and the key which was also in charge of the *neokoros* (temple sweeper-verger) or a *kleisouchos* (key holder). Occasionally the temple was closed by lattice door which permitted a view of the interior.

The images and emblems of the god

The gods were represented both by painting and sculpture. The sanctuary at Athens was worth seeing for its paintings and the image of Asklepios and his children (ib., I.xxi.4; Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxxv.40) mention painting by Nikophane in which Hygieia, Aigle, and Panakeia were grouped about Asklepios. The image of the gods were of wood or wood with marble parts terracotta, stone, or marble and occasionally of gold and ivory but were often rough and imperfectly hewn. Pausanias (VII.xxii.4; IX.xxiv.3) states that the early Greek worshipped unwrought stone instead of image. Asklepios was most commonly represented with a beard, seldom a young seated on a throne or standing and holding a staff usually knotted with an serpent coiled around it and frequently with other emblem accorded to him as the dog, the cock, the vulture, the owl, the fir cone, and occasionally a goat's head, or the omphalos. Some
time the serpent represented a coiled about the body and lower limb. The statue at Epidauro and Ko were colo sal in si e but they were uually smaller and at Kos small terra cotta images have been unearthed. In some of the older statue the god held in beard in one hand and the taiff with it coiled serpent in the other. The image at Tithorea was bearded and of tone more than two feet high (ib, X xxxi. 12) At Sikyon the statue was beardless and of ivory and gold the work of Kalamis. In one hand he held a scepter and in the other the fir cone (ib, II x 3) At Phliou the image was of young and beardless man and of the archaic type (ib, II xiii. 5) and at Gortys the god was represented a beardless youth and in the same temple was an image of Hygieia both being by Skopa (ib, VIII xxviii. 1). A beautiful marble statue of the god of this type recovered from Epidauros stands in the Vatican Museum. The anctu rie at Ladon and Megalopolis were dedicated to the boy Aklepios and the image at Megalopolis was erect and measured about nell (ib, VIII xxv 11 xxxi. 5) At Titane the image was covered by a mantle and white wool only the face hand and feet being visible (ib, II, xi 6). The god was generally shown a wearing the pallium and occasionally the head was decked with a crown of laurel. The globe and scepter were attribute of the divinity only in the later days of the cult and were Idom ed since they were represented a pect which were not characteristic of him.

Auxiliary deities

Telesphoros typifying convalescence and represented a boy or dwarf cloaked and hooded was sometime placed standing beside the erect statue of the god. The gods Hypnos and Oneiro who presided over sleep and

7 L Clere, op cit, p 36 (d 1729)
dream were intimately associated with the cult and their statues were found at the anctuaries both Hypno and Oneiros being noted at Sikyon Oneiro at Leben and Hypno at Epidauro and Athen.

Tents instead of buildings

Visitor to the anctuaries and priest used tents during the earlier year of the cult Tithorea being mentioned a one of the first place at which permanent structures were allowed. For many years buildings were forbidden at Epidauros and tent continued in use a late a the time of Hadrian notwithstanding the elaborat edifices that were con tructed from time to time the tent being limited to thirty feet in length while their use was subject to very stringent rule. Long colonnaded porticoes were later provided as dormitorie for the up plant of the god although many continued to prefer to sleep in the porticoes of the temple near the image of the god or close to the statue that was oicate whose particular favor they sought.

The most famous of the Asklepia

The most ancient hrine of Asklepios were at Trikke (which was also the most famous. Strabo IX v 17 p 437 C) Orchomeno Titane and Tithorea where he was called Archagete. After the settlement at Epidauros deputi e tabi hed Asklepia at variou place many of which became famous healing hrine a Knido Ko Rhodes Kyrene and Kroton where medical school were conducted and at Corinth Phigaleia Sounion Kyllene Megalopoli Athens etc. The shrine at Pergamon was popular with the people of A ia and Philo trato (op

7 U Kohl r ‘Dr Sud bh ng d r Akropoli u Athen nach d Au gr bungen der reh logi che G ell ch ft’ in MAIA, 1 77 u 242 ot
cit., iv 34) say that the Cretan flocked to that at Lebena, and the became so famous that the Libyan cro sed over to it from Africa Epidauros however was the chief seat of the worship. Here it reached its highest development and the sanctuary was the large and perhaps the most character of all those of the cult. In the city there was a precinct of A klepio with image in Parian marble under the open sky of the god him elf and Epione who they aid was hi wife (Pau amia II xxix 1)

The sanctuary at Epidauros

The A klepieion at Epidauros was located 9 miles inland from the city in a broad open valley between Mounts Kynortion and Trittheion in holy country. It called on medal acred because of the legend indicating that this was the birthplace of A klepio. Th valley was protected from the wind by the surrounding mountain which were from two to three thousand feet high and was reputed to be particularly lthal. Th A klepieion believed to have been established not later than the 16th century. (possibly at the end of the eventh) and it held its vogue for upward of eight hundred year. The reverence for the god and the gratitude engendered by the benefit be to when and of upplnt provided ample mean for its development on the splendid scale described by ancient writer and confirmed by modern excavation under the direction of Kavvadia in 1881/1887 and 1891/1894.  

Illustration b sed upon de cription and the discoverie at the ruin present an array of temples colonnaded portico buildings for sacrificial and other religion ceremony ac commodations for visitors and official bath gymnasiums and a library all in an ample grove within th

77 K vv di Fou l s d'Epda ure Ath n 1893
acred enclosure and just outside a stadium and theater. The acred precinct or hieron, was approached through a gateway the great propylaea, in the southern wall where a ceremonial purification of suppliant was performed (Frazer op cit, mi 234 ff, v 570 ff)

The temple

The central shrine the temple of Asklepios erected on the site of an earlier sanctuary was about ninety-nine feet long forty-two wide and forty high and cost about 1,000,000 drachma (approximately $25,000). It was of porous stone or tufa tuccoed and tinted in tones of red and blue. It was peripteral and of the Doric order with thirty columns on each end and nine on each side. It faced the east and approached by a ramp that on a terrace about three feet above the level of the ground. The roof was of wood the tile of the floor were of marble and the sculpture on the pediment were of the best period of Greek art that on the west end representing a battle between Amazons and the Greek that on the east end a Contest with Centaurs. A Winged Victory stood at the apex and the acroteria at the angles were Nereids on horseback. It is estimated that the temple was built about 375 or 380 B.C., and an inscription found on the post giving details of the construction states that it took four years eight months and ten days to complete it (ib, mi 241). There was an elaborate and beautiful ivory door at the main entrance above which was inscribed. Within the incen e filled Sanctuary one must be pure and purity to have righteous thought. In the cela was the celebrated chryselephantine statue of Asklepios by Thrasymerdes of Paros about half the size of the great Olympian Zeus and very nearly resembling it. The flesh was of ivory and the rest was of

Furnell The Evolution of Religion, p 138
gold enamelled in color. The god was seated upon a throne in a manner more nonchalant than dignified of benign countenance and holding a staff in one hand while the other rested on the head of a golden serpent reaching up from the floor and a dog lay at his feet. An altar stood before the statue and the floor was of lab of black marble. A large, high altar twenty-four feet by eighteen was placed in front of the shrine.

**The Thymele**

Southwest of the temple stood the so-called *Tholos*, or rotunda more properly the *Thymele* (place of sacrifice) a it called in an inscription found there and giving some detail of the construction (Fraer *op cit*, iii 247) Th was the chef d’œuvre of the *heron*, famous throughout antiquity and believed to be the most beautiful circular structure erected by the Greeks. It was built about the latter part of the fifth century B.C. by Polykleitos the Younger and once the names of twenty-one priests are given as superintending its construction. It is said that it was that many years in building. The *Thymele* was 107 feet in diameter and its foundation was in 10 concentric rings with openings but each page had a wall across it compelling a person to walk all around each before entering the next compartment thus making it a labyrinth. There was an outside colonnade with twenty-six Doric columns of common but fine-grained stone. The wall were of various tone covered with stucco and were tinted red and blue. The base was of marble, white outside and black inside. The frieze was of Pentelic marble, the roof was of wood and the tiles of marble. The inner colonnade was of marble with fourteen Corinthian columns said to have been the most graceful ever conceived and the pavement was of marble in diamond shaped slabs alternately white and black. No
lab has been found for the central opening which it a umed was used for acrifices and for descent into the labyrinth. On the walls were two painting one representing Methe (Drunkennes) drinking from a crystal goblet of such marvellous transparency that her face was seen through it and the other portrayed Eros in the act of laying down his bow and taking up the lyre, matter pieces by Paus (Pau ania II xxvi 3). The purpose of the building has given rise to much discussion. It has been suggested that it covered the sacred well but no evidence of a conduit have been found while another hypothesis that it was the home of the sacred serpent which were bred and kept in the labyrinth until needed in the ritual or for the tablihment of other anctuaries. The name Thymele and the statement that it contained a shrine imply that the building was designed for ceremonial acrifices of some description possibly in connection with the mystery of the cult of which practically nothing is known.

**Auxiliary temples**

Within the hieron were several smaller and less elaborate though beautiful temple dedicated to Artemis Hekate Aphrodite and Themis and the records indicate that there were shrines and chapel to Helios Selene Epione Zeus Hera, Poseidon Athena Leto Akeo, the Eleusimian goddes Demeter and Persephone and other. The temple of Artemis Hekate had a row of marble columns outside which stood a statue of the goddess. Her emblem the dog was used for decoration and the head of dog were sculptured on the cornice while at the angles of the western end were Winged Victory a acroteria. Near the Doric temple of Aphrodite a beautiful marble statue of the goddess was found. A Roman enactor named Antoninus probably the same as the Emperor.
Antoninus Pius (Pau amia II, xxvii 5 6 Frazer op cit, m 957) erected several building a bath to A kleplos a sanctuary to the Bountiful gods (auxiliarie such a Hypno Oneiro and Telephoros) and temple to Hygieia A kelpio and Apollo the last two being under the surname Egyptian (or Im hotep the god of healing)

The dormitory

The dormitory (abaton or egkometerion) was portico open to the outh with a double row of column of the Ionic order thirty six in ll It was 246 feet long by thirty one feet wide and at the western end was a basement connected with the main floor by a stairway Near the middle a wall divided the portico into two parts one for men, the other for women The inside wall were decorated in color and by inscription Pau amia (II xxvii 3) decribing ix tablets on which were carved account of cure made by Apollo and A klepio Fragment of two of the e have been found in the excavation Th abaton was furnished with table altar lamp and about 120 pallet

Other buildings within the hieron

Near the temple of A klepio was a large quar building with an open court and although it u e ha not been determined the discovery there of a he and the bone of sacrificial animal has led to the view that it was for sacrifice and sacrificial banquets Pau amay that all sacrifices were completely burned within the hieron, whence the building may have been used for that purpose or it may have been a house for priest The building dates apparently from the fifth or 10th century B.C. and was decorated with statue and inscription Within the hieron were several quadrangular porticoed build
ing the purpose of which is not entirely clear although they may have been for the accommodation of visitors and for protection in inclement weather or for the priests while some may have been used as dormitories. One of the e colonnades of Kotys was erected by the Roman emperor Antoninus. There were two gymnaeum within the hieron, and they probably occupied such buildings. In the interior angle of one of the e quadrangular structure nine rows of semi-circular seats were found the pace being supposed to have been an odeon, or music hall, or for witnessing athletic port. Adjacent to the large abaton was a building containing a bath and supposed to have covered the sacred spring especially as during the excavation to the east of the abaton, a well was found 144 feet in depth. The library dedicated to Apollo Maleate and A Mepio which has never been definitely located is supposed to have been in this structure. Near this was a building of late construction the Roman bath and at right angles to it was another colonnade, or toa, before which was an open aqueduct with basins. Later, situated somewhat apart from the general group there was a large quadrangular building 270 feet square with four quadrangle and many rooms which is supposed to have been a hotel or a home for the priests.

Stadium and theater

Outside the hieron to the west was the stadium, 600 feet long with fifteen rows of marble seats on the north and south ends, eating from twelve to fourteen thousand per on and on the slope of Mount Kynorton south west of the hieron, was the theater of Dionysos constructed by Polykleito the Younger in the fifth century BC. It was described by Pausanias (II xxvii 5) as the next in size to that of Megalopolis which was the large t
in Greece) and of the most beautiful proportions, the statements being confirmed by the ruin which are still in an unusually good state of preservation. The acoustic were perfect and it is said that today a voice from the stage a little above a whisper may be heard in all part of the auditorium. The open-air theater consisted of an emicircle of seats fifty-five rows in all divided into two sections: an upper and a lower with thirteen stairways. In the lower and twenty-six in the upper section. The seating capacity was about nine thousand. The chorus space was circular and the stage rose twelve feet above it while the proscenium was richly decorated with sculpture. The seats were placed on the incline of the mountain the top row being seventy-four feet above the orchestra and gave a commanding view of the valley the hieron, and the surrounding mountains. On the top of Mount Kynortion overlooking the hieron stood the temple of Apollo Maleate from which point of vantage the supreme divine healer gave his sanction to the benevolent activities of his Aklepio In this temple was a fine tue of the god.

The grounds

Aristides and other writers testify to the general attractiveness of the hieron and the air of sanctity which pervaded it. The large grove was artistically arranged with walk and semicircular seat or exedra under the tree and was adorned with statues of friendly deities and heroes, bust and monument to famous physicians and tablet reciting cures effected and gift from former patients. Special effort were made to preserve an atmosphere of hope and cheerful and to remove as far as possible evidences of suffering and threat. Birth and deaths were ecrated the holy precinct and those threatened with either were ejected from the
hieron, whence in the second century AD, Antoninus provided a building outside the peribolo for the unfortunate (Pauania II xxvii 6)

The present ruins

The present ruins of the great sanctuary merely outline and suggest its former greatness. In 86 C. Sull. robbed it of its treasure, and shortly afterward it was pillaged by a Sicilian pirate. In the second century AD it was reconstructed and regained a large measure of its former splendor. But toward the end of the fourth century when paganism was suppressed the worship of Aklepios was suspended. In AD 396 Epidauro was sacked by the Goths under Alaric I. The library was burned and the temple were destroyed, and the material were utilized for the construction of Christian churches. The earthquake of AD 552 completed its ruin.

The Asklepion at Athens

In the hope of checking a pestilence that was raging the Athenians invited Aklepios to their city about 420 C., and he was affiliated with Amynos or Alkon as another healing hero of Athens and was first worshipped at his temenos on the west slope of the Akropolis while another temple was being made ready. An inscription (CIA I 1649) gives a lengthy account of bringing the god from the Peloponnesus and the establishment of the Asklepion on the south slope of the Akropolis. Sophokles a former priest of Amynos largely in a monumental in bringing the god to Athens and on his arrival entertained him at his house. Hygieia id by some to have come from Epidauro with the deity though others...

7 A Kort, Burk in Hilgott in MAIA, 183 viii 37 1 311

Wilton, op cit, pp 2 30 1 o Thr m r in ERE vi, 655
deny that he joined the divinity. Some fifty years later the Asklepieion was known as the sanctuary of Asklepios in the city to distinguish it from that located at Peiraeus (Frazer op. cit. p. 237). The general character of the hieron was essentially the same as that at Epidaurus. There was a temple to Asklepios and Hygieia and possibly an older one near by (CLA ii 1 addend 489 b) a holy well was sunk in an excavation of the rock and connected with the abaton and there was a fountain accredited to Asklepios and Hygieia as well a temple and shrine of friendly deities Themis Isi and Sarapi Demeter and Persephone Herakles Hypnos Panakeia and others.

The Asklepieion at Kos

The Asklepieion at Kos, the cradle of later medical science in Europe, was on an island on the Dorian coast (Strabo XIV, ii 19 p. 657 C), two miles inland and about 320 feet above the level of the sea. The buildings were distributed on three terraces of the northern slope of the mountain which afforded a commanding view of the rich fertile valley below. On the highest terrace was a rather large peripteral temple to the god on three sides of which was an extensive porticoed abaton, on the next were sanctuaries and shrines of other deities the accredited spring altars and a toa (apparently designed for an abaton) and on the lowest were the propylaea and porticoed buildings with many rooms which it has been assumed were used for consultations and treatment. According to tradition this Asklepieion was established by a commission of priests sent from Epidaurus (Herodoto

---

1 Girard, L'Asclépieion d'Athènes, de récent découverte, 181, xxi;
THE HEALING GODS

The sanctuary was destroyed by an earthquake believed to be of A.D. 554.

The Asklepieion at Pergamon

The Asklepieion at Pergamon was established in the third century B.C. by a delegation from Epidauros at an exceptionally attractive spot on the coast of Asia Minor. Tradition has it that the worship of A. Eleusis was introduced here by one Archia who had been healed in Epidauros of a strained limb, injured while hunting on Pindus (Pausania II, xxvi 8) or, as it is asserted of convulsions. During the Imperial period of Rome the sanctuary became exceedingly popular and rivalled if it did not surpass the Epidauros of that age.

Administration of the Asklepieion, the Hiericus

Mallan Walton * give a list of upward of three hundred Asklepieia in Greece and its dependencies, not including Magna Graecia but of the great majority of the very little is known. The larger shrines were administered by chief priests or hierophants. The Hiericus or chief priest had general charge of the sanctuary. He directed the order of the day, conducted the rituals and sacrifice, supervised the work of the assistant priests and minor officials, and presided over the ceremony of the festivals. Having control of the buildings and of the entire property of the hieron, he was responsible for all receipts, gift and contribution, and at the end of his term of office, usually one year, he made a full report to the Council or governing body with an inventory of property for his successor. If the report was satisfactory, he received a vote of praise and the decree was recorded and

For the history of Ko, see Paton and Hick, The Inscriptions of Cos, pp. ix, xlviii.

*Op cit, pp. 5 ff.
ometime he was voted a crown or other gift. The administration of the Asklepieion at Athens was taken over by the State during the fourth century B.C., and the cult was placed under the control of the Council or Boule. The office of chief priest was one of such dignity that afterwards served for him in the theater of Dionysus (CIA m 287) and both at Athens and at Epidauros the Hæreus was selected by lot by the Boule. At Hyettos the worship was similarly administered by the Sacred Senate or Council of Elder (CIGGS 1 2808 Frer op cit., v 133) but an inscription from Chalkedon in Bithynia indicates that the office there was open for purchase at a price of 5,000 drachmas. Relying apparently on the customs prevailing at Athens Epidauros and possibly other large sanctuaries modern authors have been inclined to assume that physicians seldom performed priestly functions at the Asklepieia, but although the specific mention of their holding such office may be rare it would appear a principle restriction to withhold such duties from the Asklepiadai whose relation to the cult were hereditary and intimate. It is doubtful whether such a rule held generally in other cities and towns. In the primitive day of the cult the office of the priest was believed to have been hereditary and a prerogative of the clan of Asklepiadai following the general custom of family and tribal worship in which father and son took the principal part or in which if there was a king he held the office of priest. Under the condition a priest's tenure would be for life. Several instances of physician priests are definitely known in the case of Kalliphon, the father of Demokedes, who was a hereditary Asklepiad and a physician priest. At Ko the election was made by lot or by orcle for one year.

Walton op cit., p 50
Thompson P. uly W. ow, n, 1685
but the position was the prerogative of the Aklepiadai. It is stated in one inscription that Soarchos priest at Leben in Crete whose father had preceded him had already served for forty even years and the office was hereditary at Mitylene, as it was at Pergamon to a late day. The priests often lived within the hieron and had certain perquisites.

Assistant priests

Next to the hierophant the most important official was a priest called the neokoros or as at Athens the zakoros. At Athens, where the office of zakoros was important he was chosen for one year and was often elected while in inscription indicate that he was occasionally a physician (CIA III 1780 addenda 780 a b c). At Kos and Epidaurus the neokoros held office for life and at Kos Stratonikea in Karia and Thera there were other priests with a similar tenure. The zakoros or neokoros, representing the chief priest, often conducted the sacrifice and other ceremonies besides receiving the patients. He usually had immediate charge of the gift and property of the hieron, though occasionally a peculiar officer the hieromnemum, was appointed for this duty. At Kos the neokoros interpreted the dream and omen and offered prayer for the applicant. At Pergamon there were two who were active in all religious exercises and interpreted dreams but at Epidaurus there was only one and he served for all the temple within the hieron. At Athens, where the ritual was elaborate there were several officials who were named for minor duties. A propolos, who is mentioned by Aristophanes (Plutus, 660) held an office close to the

\(^7\) Walton op cit, p 49
prie t extinguished the lights in the abaton, and told the patient to sleep. The altar fires were lighted and cared for by the pyrophoroi, though the duty was sometime performed by boys who were also incense bearer or members of the choir. There were furthermore the kleidouchos, or key keeper an office frequently aigned to the son of the priest the dadouchoi, or torch bearers the kanephoroi, or basket bearers the arrhephoroi, or carrier of the holy relic and myterie and priest seand nurse all of whom took part in the religious ceremonies and fe traditional processions. In addition there were a large number of assistant who were attendant upon the sick and had various duties in the heiron.

The Asklepianoi The Hippocratic oath

Around the cult of Asklepios gathered a large and exclusive class known as Asklepiadae, or priest phy ian originally the family of Asklepios their descend ants and those who had been adopted by the clan. Plato remark (op cit, X 11) that the disciple left by Asklepios were his own descendants. They claimed that their knowledge of healing was hereditary from the god himself and that they had imbied it from earliness in the family circle. According to Galen (de Anatomicus administrationibus, bk 11 ch. 1) the origin of medicine was hereditary in the family and Aristeides (quoted by Philostrato op cit, 11 44) declares that for a long time healing had been considered an attribute of the Asklepiadae. Their law was that sacred things may be revealed only to the elect and should be confided to the profane only when they have been initiated in the mysteries of the science. All were therefore obliged to take a sacred oath which was finally developed as the Oath.

Kuhn ed Medicorum Graecorum Opera, 11 281
Spiengel, Histoire de la médecine, 1 169
of Hippokrate ⁰ that they would not profane the secret
entrusted to them and would divulge them only to their
children and those of their masters or to persons who
had taken the same oath A physician says of his work
The accursed and mysterious vow restrains me I am

⁰ "I war by Apollo th phy i a n and Æseul piu, nd H lth
nd All H al, and l l th god and godd that according to my
bility nd judgm nt, I will keep thi O th nd thi tipul tion t
r kon him who t ught thi Art qu lly d r to y parent
to h r my ub t nc with him nd reh v hi nec i n if r quir d
to look upon hi of pring in th me footing my own broth r
d to t h th m thi rt if thi y hall w h to le rn it without f
or tipul tion nd that by pr c pt l ture nd v ry oth r mod f
m truction I will mp rt knowl dg of the Art to y own on nd
the e of my te ch r nd to di pl bound by tipulation nd o th
eordi g to th l w of m dm but to non oth r I will follow
th y te of r gm n whch, according to my bility nd judgm nt I
on d r for th b n fit of y patient nd b t m from wh t v r i
d let rous nd m hi vo I will giv o d dly m dicine to n yon
if k d n r ugg t y uch cou el nd in lik nn r I will not
giv to a wo n pe y to produc bortion With purity nd with
holn I will p y l f and practic e Art I will not cut per on
laboring under th ton but will leav thi to b do by men who r
practitioner of the work Into what ver hou I nt r I will go t
to them for th b n fit of the k nd will b t m fro v ry volu t ry
et of m ch f d o rrup tion nd furth r fro th du etio f
fe al or l of fr m n nd l ve Wh tev r n connection with
y prof i on l pr tue or ot n conn ec tion with it I or h r
m th l if of men wh h ought t to b pok n of abro d I will not
divulg re k ning that ll uch hould b kept cr Whl I con
ntu to k ep this O th unviolated, m y it be grant d to m to n joy
lf nd th prac te of th rt re p et d by ll m n, m ll ti But
hould I tre p nd v ol te this O th m y th r v r b y lot
(Ad m , op c t , n 278 280 )

Note For ml r Hindu o th R Roth 'Indi ch M di m
C rak ,' in ZDMG, 1872, xxvi 445 ff 1 o G A L 't rd, L deen
Charak L rm t d hippoer tise t 1 rm nt d 'deem
hindou ' in B A M 3 ' r 1897 xvii 5 5 ff J n The Doctor'
O th pp 53 59
obliged to preserve silence. The Aklepiadai were leader in the cult and probably were very influential in creating the atmosphere best adapted to keep the mind of the suppliant in a frame to trust implicitly in the mysterious powers of the god and in the divine directions received by dreams and vision. Mutilated record found in Athens indicate that there was another religious order known as the Asklepiastai which it is a sumed was related to the cult (CIA II, 1, addenda, 617 b) In the early traditions of Greek medicine lay phyician having no connection with the cult appear among the people many of whom claimed descent from the god and all being included under the general term Asklepiadai they became confused in early history with the priest phyicians With the lapse of time secrecy became relaxed, the knowledge of the healing art was acquired by those who did not observe the Oath, and eventually many charlatan engaged in the practice and brought discredit upon the cult upon both priest and lay physicians

The cult rituals

In the early period appeals were apparently made to Aklepios for any purpose but he became famous in healing beyond all other heroes especially after in alliance with Apollo cultic practice were restricted to effecting cures although a few records from Athen Sikyon and Epidaurus indicate occasional consultation on other affairs The customs in healing are known to have differed somewhat at the many Aklepieia yet it is believed that at all of them the religious element out weighed the practical although the latter became more

1 Sprengel op cit, 170
Dar mberg, op cit, pp 56 ff 1 o Houdart Histor de éde cum grecque depuis Eclape jusqu' Hippocr t exclusue t, pp 95 ff
prominent after the Roman conquest. Our present knowledge of temple procedure has been gathered from many sources from tradition, allusions by classical writers, inscriptions, and bas relief and ex votos found in excavation at Athens, Epidaurus, and Kos. It is asserted that at one shrine the ritual summed up the whole procedure while at others the priests performed their religious function and then placed the supplicant in the care of assistants, who carried out the treatment according to direction received by dream and vision but however effected the god alone received all the credit for the cure. The treatment at the larger sanctuaries, such as the just mentioned and probably also at Knidos, Rhodes, Pergamum, Smyrna, and Kyrene, belonged to the latter class. In estimating the value of the evidence furnished by the relic found at the old shrine, it must be remembered that they were offered in gratitude for favor received and a testimonial of the power of the god rather than a record of the method of healing and that they should not be relied on giving any indication of the practical therapeutic used however effective the e may have been. The general attitude is probably well expressed in the Corpus Hippocraticum (de Decoro).

A regard due and their symptom medicine in the greater number of cases incline to do honor to the god. Phyicans bow b for them for medicine has no super abundance of power.

*The procedures at the Asklepieia*

Tales of the marvellous cure effected at the Asklepieia had spread the fame of the deity throughout Greece and being matters of common knowledge the sick in going to these sanctuaries for relief, were probably

Hippocrates, op cit, i, 23

*Di hI Excursion in Greece*, p 347
already imbued with a certain religious fervor while their imagination was excited by the hope that they also might be the recipients of the divine grace. Only the pure were permitted to approach the god and on entering the hieron all were obliged to undergo a ceremonial purification (Pausanias V xiii 3) this usually consisting of a cold bath or sometimes a hot or cold bath which was occasionally repeated (Euripide Iph in Taur, 1193) or the burning of incense and fumigation. The suppliant were then instructed to make oblation to the god and heroes whose favor they sought. For the poor the offering were mostly thin flat, perforated cake (po pana) sweetened with honey or dipped in oil while for the better able the propitiatoryacrifice was an animal a pig a goat a lamb a sheep or a cock. Sokrates saying that the cock was an appropriate offering to Asklepios (Plato Phædo, 155) at Epidauros the sacrifice of goat was forbidden (Pausanias II xxvi 9) and at Tithorea any animal was acceptable except the goat (ib, X xxxi 12) but at Athens and Kyrene there was no such restriction. Animal were burned on the altar and the priests usually had a hare of the sacrifice. At one shrine the leg of the fowl were their portion but at Epidauros and Titane no part of the offering might be removed and all was consumed within the hieron. The serpent as the incarnation or embodiment of the god were fed and sacrificed to at Athens. Ko and Titane it was considered essential to feed them before benefit could be received but at Titane they were feared and food was imply left for them (ib, II xi 8) It was impossible to approach the god without diverting the attention of the serpent. Honey cake being favored for this purpose on remaining in the hieron any length of time.

Uffel n op cit, p 414
repeated the sacrifice at intervals and were prompted to do so in dreams. Several bas relief found in the ruins of the sanctuaries illustrate cultic age. They show the gods standing or seated with Hygieia or other members of his family and a serpent beside him while trains of suppliants approach each bearing an offering which was to be placed on a table standing near by. Sacrifice were accompanied by music and fervent prayer for a revelation but once no offering were made without prayer and as the suppliants often forgot the name of the deities the priest repeated them in a loud voice (Lucian *Demosthens encomium*, 27). The prayer were called chant and one of them were said to have been composed by Sophokles and Iodemos of Troyen (ib.) (but they angering resembling the pean of Sophokles which they sing at Athens in honor of Aklepios) Philostrato (*op cit.*, iii 17)

**The ritual of the individual**

A rigorous diet or fasting was very commonly ordered as a preparation for incubation and treatment. Galen states that sometimes under the direction of the priest the suppliants would not take wine for fifteen days. Aristides (*Orat. sac.* 1) peak of the depressing effect of repeated fasting and bathing that they kept their mind in such a state of tension as to weaken the spirit and graphically give detail of treatment directed. At Pergamon wine was forbidden a Philostrato explains (*op cit.*, 8) in order that the ether of

---

*Holl d r *op cit.*, pp 105 ff
*7 C J cobbt d m p 374 Leipzig 1872
*L Cl re *op cit.*, p 60 also Guthier *op cit.*, p 26
*For summary of the mark of Aristides' method of healing* *op cit.*, pp 44 2
the soul should not be oiled by liquor. The patient were conducted through the hieron by attendant who related the legend of the cult and explained the remarkable cures recorded on the tele and tablet and attested by ex voto. The rites and ceremonies being usually interpreted often in mystic term. The temple of the god and the shrines of his associate were visited and the tablet and mystic symbol that covered the wall were examined. Then the patient being properly prepared it was permissible for him to approach the image of the god offer sacrifice with prayer and allow the deity to come into contact with the hand or other part of the statue. An air of sanctity pervaded the hieron, and the sick could not fail to be deeply impressed by the majesty of the deity and by all that they heard and witnessed of the supernatural power with which he was endowed. That with imagination fired by the marvel of the sanctuary they awaited the mysterious event of the night.

**Incubation**

A the evening approached preparation were made in the dormitory or abaton. The patient dressed in white (which was supposed to induce dream) brought bedding and usually some food and was given a pallet in the portico or if he was too ill to sleep there he left a relative or friend incubated for him. Darkness came on the lamp were lighted and the neokoros with him as attendant all dressed in white entered. The upphant placed one offering upon one of the mall altar and retired to his couch. The neokoros collected the offering and the priest finally offered a prayer perhaps such as "that composed by Aristeide."

O ye children of Apollo who in time p t h ve tilled the

---

1 Pter *Mnvs the Epic* re 7, 1, 39
wave of sorrow for many people lighting up lamp of fety b fore tho e who travel by ea and land be plea ed in your great conde cen ion though ye be equ l in glory with your elder brethren the Dio kouron and your lot in immort l youth be their to ccept thy prayer which in leep and vi ion ye hav in pired Order it right I pray you according to your loving kindne to men Pre erve me from ickne and undue my body with uch m a ure of he ith a my ufice it for th ob ying of the purit th t I may p my day unhindered and in quetn

After the pr yer silence was enjoined and the p tients were directed to be frightened at nothing not to whi per and to go to leep The lamp were extingui hed and the priest departed all tho e leeping in the abaton remaining the whole night It wa cu tom ry for the pri t nd attend nt to return to the abaton at ome time during the night generally toward morning one of them being in the co tume of the god carrying hi attri bute and Philo trato state (op cit, 17) th t in the temple at Aigai the god appeared to men They wer e accompanied by one or mor of the retinue of the god dre ed a Hygiei Panakeia I o or Ake o hi er pent and po ibly by acred dog They carried jar of ointment and other remedies and pa ing among the leeper , made application to di ea ed part or directed th attention of theerpent or dog which wa highly pri ed the serpent creeping over the leeper and being uppo ed to whisper the remedy into th ear and ome time to pinch it Occa ionally the pri t in the gui of the god would peak with the patient a k concerning th ailment perh p touch or lay a hand on the di ea ed part apply ome remedy or give advice and leave dire tion for future treatment Aristophane (op cit, 632ff)

11 F rm ll Cui, in 10
10 W irreach op it, pp 1ff
The Greek Deities

281

decries such a scene in the shrine at Athens. The tale and the impression of the preceding day had prepared the mind for the prophetic vision or dream and it was apt to come to those who expected it. 10

The mental impressions

The experience of the night acting on an overheated imagination the asumed appearance of the deity possibly in the form of a serpent and the application of the hand of the god all in the dim light while in state mid-way between sleeping and waking were readily interpreted a divine vision a celestial dream or vision. It was the realization of divine oracle given in dreams or of the oracle of the soul itself in dreams since it was generally held that in natural dreams the soul reveals what will benefit the body. 14 Th Hippokratic writing show a qualified belief in the power of the soul in the prophetic nature of dream and in the conviction that the god should be invoked.

For dreams with god omen pray to the Suntalian Zeus (Dj Uranios) to enriching Zeus (Dj Ktesios) to enriching Athena, Hermes, and Apollo for bad dreams pray to the potr pe各样 gods, to G and to the Heroes that ill the evil mind beverted (de Insom., IV 89) 1

In the morning the dream and vision of the night were told and interpreted by the priest who then g

---

10 Garrington in PCC v 45 1 o Littr, OE vre co p et d'Hyp pois t, vi 652
appropriate directions for any treatment that should be carried out. Some claimed to be healed and the priest announced a cure to others with authority while the fortunate were congratulated and the cures were celebrated with shouts of joy and the singing of paens in praise of Apollo Aklepio and the associated deity. Those who had not received the divine communication remained in the hieron, made further sacrifice and repeated the incubation but those proving intractable were blamed for impiety for lack of purity or merit and they were often advised to go elsewhere. If an invalid died it was through lack of confidence or because of disobedience. It appears that all were kindly treated except those who were dying or expecting childbirth but the e, a polluting the sanctuary, were cast out and obliged to shift for themselves. The god had rejected them and no one belonging to the hieron would give them aid.

Practical therapeutics

Turning to the material methods used for cures Plato (Protagoras, 107) names four that were employed by physicians of his day—burning, cutting, physic and tarring. While Demosthenes (Oratronics, iv 80) in his speech on Aristogeiton mentions burning and cutting. Illustration of surgical instrumet on a relief from the wall of temple or abata give positive proof that surgery was practiced in the sanctuaries of Aklepio. These evidence come mainly from Epidauros and Kos and it is believed that little surgery was done at Athens. The subjects for surgery were held by attendants and the blood found later upon the floor was believed to attest the operation. Surgeons and their assistants do not appear to have belonged to the priestly class though they were called on of the god and were probably Askle
piad Pindar (op cit, ii 47 53) refer to the use of magic internal remedies and surgery by the god

E ch of hi everal bane he cured
That drank th elixir soothing cup
Some with oft h nd in heltering band he bound
Or pled the earching teel and b de the lame leap up

Data recorded in literature and in many inscriptions that have been found clearly indicate that the more practical therapeutic of the temple made use of external application of lotion and ointments exercise a bath followed by friction and other manipulation diet and often a general hygienic regimen Asklepios has been called the father of health gymnastics. It is stated that at Pergamon the xyster, or rough brush, was invented for rubbing after the bath (Martial xiv 51) Religious healing practice raised two important hygienic measures: cleansing the body and moderation in eating and drinking to divine command. In addition to the above there are many suggestion in the method associated with incubation closely imitating what is now known a hypnotic and suggestion while numerous internal remedies presumably made from herb and root were combined in administration with incitation and magic formula.

The use of animals in the cult Serpents

Both serpent and dogs were used in the Asklepion cultic practice a minister of healing usually by the use of the tongue but it is asserted that the disciples of Asklepios sometimes recommended that the flesh of the sacred dog be given to patients a medicine (Frac er op cit, ii 65 250 251) The serpent was the emblem of

1 Uff 1 ann, op cit, p 41
life and healing and was used in the cult a ritual symbol being sacred and revered as the incarnation of the god. This is illustrated on a coin from Pergamon struck during the reign of Caracalla on the reverseide of which the Emperor is shown in military dress adoring the reptile with his right hand while Telephoro tand close be by Pausanias (II xxi 1) as the serpent and another sort of a yellowish hue are considered sacred to Aulepios and are tame and they breed nowhere but in Epeus but they are also described (Aelian op cit., viii 12) as reddish brown fiery or tawny in color shaped with a broad mouth and called pareiai, or puffy cheeked. Their bite was not venomous and for the rea on they were consecrated to the best of god and destined to his service. It was the latter species that was kept in Athens and mentioned by Aristophanes (op cit., 728 ff). The serpent were called by Linnaeus the coluber Æsculapii Nikandro (Theriaca, 438) described till another variety found near Mount Pelion in the alp at Trikke the being of a blackish color with a green belly, three rows of teeth, a bunch of hair over the eye and a yellowish beard who, e bite was not dangerous. It was called by Linnaeus the coluber cerastes.

Serpent legends

It is stated that women resorting to the shrines of Aulepios in the hope of being relieved of sterility and of bearing children slept in the temple where they were sed in their dream by a serpent as the embodiment of the deity, the children born afterward being believed to have been begotten by the naked god. At Sikyon it was said that Arionacim had kept in the temple and
that A klepio was the father of her on Arato (Pau amia II x 3) The Mes eman thought that the birth of the hero Arion was out of the common for the mother they aid had been visited by a daemon or a god in the likeness of a serpent (ib., IV xiv 7) Similar in theince of a male parentage by a serpent are related in several tradition of ancient time (Suetonius, Vita Augustae, 94 Dion Kassio XLV 1 2)

Dogs

Pau amia (II xxvi 4 xxvii 2) refer to dog in o ciation with A klepio and tablet found by Kavvadia t Epidauro give evidence of cure by the e acred ni mal 1. Dogs were kept in the A klepieion in Crete a in Athens Peiraicu Epidauros and Cyprus 11 Dog guarded the acred treasure at Athen (CIA II mi 1651 Aihano op cit, vii 13) and a dog repre ented a with Machaon Podalirios and A klepio on a ba relief from that city 11 Com of Magne ia in The aly how the dog by the ide of A klepio and they are oc ca ion lly een at the feet of the deity in statue 111 When Asklepio went to Athen he took certain dog with him, and once they partook of his anctity 11 the Athenian offered sacrificial cake both to the god and his dog (CIA II mi 1651)

Tablets relating cures

Part of the tablet mentioned by Pau amia (II xxvii 3) and Strabo (VIII vi 15 p 374 C) were found by Kavvadia and have been pieced together One of the e

1 Op cit., pp 23 32
11 S R in ch 'L hi n d n le cult d E cul p ' in RA, 3 'r 18 4 iv pp 76 83
111 W iton op cit., p 32
11 Prott Ziehen, Lege Graecorum cræ titus co ect , no 1
1 ix feet high two and a half feet wide and seven inches thick and 1 of fine grained lithographic tone with the face carefully smoothed. The inscription (CIG iv 951 f) consists of 126 lines in the Doric dialect of Argoli and the form of the letter a well a the simplicity of the language indicate that it was carved not later than the third century B.C. The tablet begins:

God [be with you] Good Fortune [attend]
Cure performed by Apollo and Asklepios

A few of these testimonials of healing by the gods are briefly as follows:

Kleo who had been pregnant five years slept in the abaton, where she was visited by the god in her dream immediately after leaving the sacred precinct she was delivered of a boy who of his own accord washed him elf in the fountain and walked about with his mother. On her offering she incribed the verse:

Not the size of my tablet wonder but more the marvel
Kleo for five long years bearing the weight of her burden
Till in the temple she slept whence a mother went.

Ithmonka of Pallana desiring offspring slept in the temple where he saw a vision in which he seemed to ask the god that he might conceive a daughter. The reply of Asklepios being that he would become pregnant and that if there was any further request it would be granted. She said there was nothing more but once he had not a bed to be delivered after three years he returned and during her sleep had a vision in which the god inquired if she had not become pregnant. She answered that he had but that she had not been delivered when upon the

11 Conv niotly dit d with full comment by J. B. van Eck in SGAS, 18 6 120 130 So of these are text from cryptio in 134 lin (ib, pp 131 144) See also H. Jton op cit, pp 17 27
divinity reminded her that she had not made that request yet that all would be granted and going out of the sacred precinct he at once gave birth to a girl

A man with paralyzed finger came to the god a uppliant, but was incredulous and mocked at the inscriptions. He slept and saw a vision dreaming that as he was playing dice under the temple the god stepped on his finger and tretched them out. After that he could bend and straighten them and the divinity asked him if he would grant these. He replied No. Whereupon the deity said that if he should trust in the future he would be a other believer. At daybreak he awoke cured.

Ambrosia of Athen was a uppliant because she was one-eyed [having anchyloblepharon] but she ridiculed the cure as impossible. Nevertheless she slept in the ahaton, where she had a vision in which the god told her and aid he would cure her but that he must consecrate a silver pig to the sanctuary for her ignorance. Splitting open her diæd eyelid he poured in a lotion and he left the temple whole.

A lad who was mute had gone through the customary rites and standing by his father when the attendant asked if he would promise to offer the proper sacrifice to the god within a year if he gained the object of his coming. The boy suddenly exclaimed I promise repeating the word at the bidding of his astonished father and he was cured from that time.

Pandaros a Thesalian who had marks on his brow slept in the dormitory and had a vision in which the god seemed to tie a fillet on his brow bidding him take it off when he was out of the abaton. In the morning he did this and his face was clean but the fillet which he consecrated to the temple bore the mark.

Echedoros a friend of Pandaro had similar mark and wishing to try the same treatment he went to the
temple a uppli nt taking with him an offering which Pandro ent to the god A he kept he had a vi on in which the god seemed to command him to depo it in the nctuary any money which he had received from Pandaro but he declared that none had been given him though he promised to con ecr te a picture to the temple if he wa cured The god then bound the fillet of Pandaro on hi brow but when he took it off in the morning and wa about to wa h he aw by the reflection in the water that in addition to hi own the mark of Pandaro had been transferred from the fillet to hi forehead

A lave brok the drinking cup of hi master but aved the piece and once it wa highly valued the god who power he had doubted made it whole A man whose child wa lo t applied to the deity who directed him where it might be found A m n had h d a lance head in hi j w for ix year but while he practiced incubation the divinity drew it out and placed it in hi hand where he found it in the morning A man from Thrace had wallowed ome leech During hi leep in the abaton it eemed that the god appeared and cutting open hi breast removed them ewing up the wound In the morning he left the antu ry with the leech in hi hand

While upplian lept on a bench out ide the abaton, a epent came from the temple and licked the ulcer on hi toe but when he awoke cured he declared that he d dreamed that the deity in the form of a be utiful boy had applied an ointment

Nika iboula incubated in the temple eeing a vi on in which it eemed that the divinity carried a great epent to her and that he had intercourse with it Afterward he bore two boy within a year

Er ippa who wa suffering from her tomach and burning with fever incubated and aw a vi on in which he dre med th t the god rubbed her tom ch kissed her
nd then gave her a vial bidding her to drink the content and vomit. Her m ntle was filled with the evil h vomited and he w well.

A man having an ulcer incubat d and had a vial in which the divinity seemed to order the attendant accompanying him to ease and hold him o that he might cut h his belly. He dreamed that he ran away but they ed him and tied him to the door knocker after which A klepio plit open his abdomen cut out the ulcer ewed up the wound and relea ed him from his bond. He went way whole but the ground in the abaton wa cover d with blood.

A ri tagoras of Troi en had a worm in her inte tine and lept in the local Asklepæion where he had a vial in which the sons of the god seemed to cut off her head during the ab ence of the god at Epidauro but unabl to replace it they sent for A klepio who came from Epidauro the next night put the head back and then cut out the worm in the proper manner.

Pan mia (X xxxviii 13) relate the e of Phlyio who built a temple to A klepio at Nupak to. He wa nearly blind and the god ent the poete Anyte to him with a sealed tablet which he wa bidden to read. It seemed impos ible but hoping for b nefit he broke th e 1 and looking at the tablet he w s made whole when upon he gave Anyte what w written on the t blet namely two thou and gold tater (about $9 500).

The anctuary tale although de signed only in lauda tion give intimation of variou pr etical mea ure ed by the cult but n inscription of some five hundred ye r l ter prob bly during the reign of Antonnu Piu

114 Aili no (op c t, IX 33) r p t the ur o th uth rity f Hippy of Rhgio (fifth entury b c ) xcept th t Arit gora l th r id to hav o from M thu n and to h v ought r f t Epideruo ( e l o Fr r P us m 24 )
more circumstantial and I believed to illustrate the advance toward more rational therapeutics. This text is set up by a Karian sophist Apellas at Epidauros in the second half of the second century AD (CIG 114, 955) and run as follows

In the priesthood of P[orphos] A[ilos] Antiochus

I Marko Jouho Apellos of Idris Mylo was summoned by the god for I had fallen ill repeatedly and suffered from indigestion. In Aigina during the voyage, he bade me not be extremely irritable and when I was in the temple he directed me to cover my head for two days (during which it rained) to take the top of citron soaked in water to rub my elf again. The Ako to walk about in the upper portico to wash my elf with and go barefoot to pour wine into the warm water before entering the bath, to bathe alone, and to give an Attic drachma to the bath attendant to offer joint sacrifice to Aelpio Epione and Eleusian gods to take milk with honey. On that day when I was drinking milk alone he said, "Put honey into the milk that it may pass through" (i.e., be cathartic).

And when I was cured, I seemed to go all naked with my tattered and dirty from the abaton long the Ako led by little boy with making a coner while the priest said, "Thou art cured but you must pay the fee for healing." I did according to my vision and when I rubbed my elf with oil and wet mud I suffered but when I washed I had no pain. The event took place in the nine days after my coming.

He touched my right hand and breathed and when I was sacrificing on the following day, flame leapt forth and burnt

11 B unck in SGAS, 1886 112118 (txt, translation and commentary)

12 Apparently part of the Aklpiocell from the voice he said the r
my hand that blisters broke out but after a little my hand was well.

A I prolonged my stay the god told me to use olive oil for headache. Formerly I had not suffered from my headache but my tutor brought on congestion. After I used olive oil I was cured of headache. For swollen uvula the god told me to use cold gargle, when I consulted him about it, and he ordered the treatment for inflamed tonsil.

He bade mecribe the treatment and I left the temple full of gratitude and in good health.

**Popularity of the Asklepieia**

The sick came to the Asklepieia in large numbers and Strabo (VIII vi 15 p 374 C) says that Epidauros was constantly crowded. The hope of receiving divine favor and directions for the cure of their maladies and the reception by experienced Asklepiad gave comfort and mental relief while the change of scene and rest and a simple regular life in the open air amid surrounding of unusual attractiveness and interest were conditions favoring an improvement of health and probably effected many cures without other treatment. Whatever may have been the element upon which the healing depended the benefic conferred by cultic practice were real and tangible that the votaries of the god increased in number and influence until the worship of Asklepios had conquered the whole of the Greek world and had to be reckoned with as one of the main religious forces of later Hellenism.

**Recreation**

Patient and visitor found much to engage their attention at the sanctuaries. If not occupied in carrying out the direction received for treatment the sacred precinct offered varied opportunities for recreation and religious.

---

\[117\] Fennell in ERE vi 418
devotion according to taste. There were ceremonies at the chief temple and the shrine of associated deities and heroes which were at times elaborate and interesting in the style of the temple or in the portico of the temple. The philosopher discoursed on matters pertaining to the cult and were ready to assist in expounding dreams, and my little as well as the miraculous cure of the god and his associate and there were poets always eager to recite their work (Artide op cit, Philostrato op cit, 13) Those who were able ascended Mount Kynortion and sacrificed to Apollo Maleate, and there were the Roman by the gymnasion in the stadium play at the theater musical chant and dancing.

Thank offerings

When uppliants were healed the thank offerings not payment became even more important than the preliminary propitiatory sacrifice. These offerings were made not only to Asklepion but to the other deities represented by the temple within the precinct who were supposed to have contributed to the cure including the auxiliary god Telephoros or Akesis representing convalescence and Hypnos and Oneiro presiding over sleep and dream or incubation, while it was also regarded a duty to make sacrifice to Hygieia. The offering (CLA ii 835-836) consisted of money payment or of some gift dedicated to the temple but it appear that for the most part the patient discharged their debt or expressed their gratitude, they pleaded and with great variety of gift. If the payment required could not be made, the time promises were accepted and the events fulfilled within the year, although in some the record of suppliants refusing to pay and having their affliction returned to them. The most common gifts were
model of the part healed in terra cotta ivory bronze gold or silver and these were sometimes in craved with the name of the donor There were relics of many kind A boy gave his astragaloi to the god and Alexander the Great left in a brea plate and spear in the temple at Gortys (Pausanias VIII xxviii 1) Others gave temple furniture bronze or ornamental objects such as a serpent in gold and silver one of the e being a gold snake coiled round a staff and there were many in craved tablets and works of art such as a terra cotta relief of the god and his attendant statue and painting (Frazer Paus., ii 238 239) Pausanias or a hymn of praise prayer and drama concerning the life of the god were dedicated to the temple At Athens such hymns have been found inscribed on stone (CIA iii 171 a) while it is said that Asklepios appearing to Sophokles commanded him to write a paean in his honor and part of one supper d to be by him had been discovered.

Public health functions

The public recognized Asklepios and Hygieia the power of protection of the health of the community in addition to their ability to serve the individual and they were regarded as a public benefactor. Neglect of the god might bring disaster upon the people in the form of pestilence or war and the State protected itself in such calamity by exercising supervision and control over the rites of prayer and sacrifice. The Council of Athens brought Asklepios and Hygieia from Epidaurus (cf. Hygieia) because of an existing plague and in gratitude for their service gave them the epithet of savior. Thereafter in addition to the yearly festival held in their honor sacrifices were made during the year in intervals fixed by law and the Boule decreed pecule 1 offer

1 Wito op cit., p 29
ings of a bull to Asklepios Hygieia and other deities of the Asklepieion for the health of the Council and that of the citizens and their families while public health was considered of such importance that early in the fourth century, the Council of the city assumed entire control of the administration of the Asklepieion. The Epidaurian made similar appeals each year with flowing hair clad in white and wearing wreath of laurel and orange blossom the noblest citizens marched from the city to the Asklepieion chanting hymns to Apollo Akepios, and Hygieia and on reaching the heuron they offered prayer and sacrifices for the health of the citizens and their families and for the welfare of Epidaurus.

Public festivals

Great public festivals known as Akepieia were held regularly with much pomp and ceremony in honor of the god at many of his sanctuaries. They were regarded as great fêtes and were exceedingly popular but the details concerning most of them are lacking. The best known were celebrated at Athens, Epidaurus, and Kos.

Festivals at Athens

At Athens two fêtes were held yearly for Akepios called the Akepieia and the Epidauria and both were under the direction of the State. The Asklepieia which took place in March or April was of minor importance compared with other festivals of the city as the Panathenaia and the Eleusinia but it was more religious than at Epidaurus and Kos since it was not accompanied by athletic games. The more important celebration was the Epidauria (Panama II 26v 8) which was held in August or September (possibly September fifth) during the Eleusinia. The festival was established...
to celebrate the initiation of Asklepios in the Eleusinian Mysterie and in honor of the relation between his cult and that of Demeter and Kore. According to an early myth Asklepios who was due to attend the ceremony was delayed in crossing from Epidauros arriving only on the second day, after all other had been initiated but was nevertheless accepted. The Epidaurus therefore began on the evening of the second day of the Eleusinian. The ceremony held in the Asklepieion lasted all night and in the morning the worshipper offered sacrifice with myterious rite. Nothing is definitely known of these ceremonies but it is noted that as they were in commemoration of the initiation of the god they were of somewhat similar character. Later in the day procession were formed and the sacred kastell, relics and relief were exhibited by bearer. It is asserted that a many a eighty acred dog figured in these feival. In the view of the Athenian Asklepios never lost trace of his original character of hero celebrated by the early poet and it is noted that the aspect of the god was honored by feival of which little is known the Heroa, which was held in the Asklepieion although it may have had a more general significance. In the e festival both political and religious organization joined e.g. the Council of the Areopagus, the Ephebe of Telephoros and the Orgeone who had a shrine of Asklepios in the deme of Paeon where they conducted a special ritual.

_Festivals at Epidauros_

The Megala Asklepieia (IG IV 1473) usually called the Apolloma and A klepieia or the shorter form Asklepieia and sometime Sebasteia [revered] A kle

---

11 Farnell _Cut_, iii 201
THE HEALING GODS

The festival (CIG 1186) held at Epidaurus every five years in the month of February and lasting nine days was the most elaborate of all the festivals in honor of Asklepios and attracted throng from all parts of Greece. At first it was conducted by the Asklepidae, but later probably after the administration of the sanctuary was taken over by the Council of Epidaurus by the Argives. The first day was given up to the preliminaries and the next to the religious exercises. All the temple and shrine of the heron were magnificently decorated and the whole precinct was decked for the celebration. Sacrifices were made to the several deities while great choir chanted. To Apollo Asklepios and all other divinities of the sanctuary. By an old regulation dating probably from the fifth century B.C., the sacrifices were made first to Apollo then to Leto and Artemis. The cock the fowl appropriate to Asklepios was sacrificed both to Asklepios and Apollo with barley meal wheat and wine. Asklepios received a bull, his male associate received a second one and his female as associate a cow. The image of Asklepios in a triumphal car was drawn through the precinct by Centaur carrying lighted torches followed by priest and acolytes chanting a hymn. In the procession a hymn by Ilylo was sung in Ionic stanza as giving the genealogy of Asklepios. The procession were in many respects similar to that of the Korybantes. The priest usually announced a few miracles which were received with loud acclaim. Later in the day there were feasts and the vigil illuminated through the night. The succeeding day were given up to athletic contests in the stadium. Race were thing

1 Nil on op cit, p 409
2 Ibl, oc cit
3 A few of the p a have been reversed, Witon op cit, p 29
4 1 No op cit, p 41
and other games plays in the theater competition in music conte ts of rhap odi ts and other entertainment Many of the best athletes of Greece contested in the games and at the close of the celebration prizes were awarded to the victor Other festival are said to have been held at Epidauro one especially possibly every third year in August or September within nine day after the Ithman games

**Festivals at Kos**

At Kos public sacrifice were offered monthly and there was a yearly festival to celebrate the consecration of the newly elected Hierus with game content of various kind and play in the theater in the city following the religious ceremony. Every fifth year the Meg 1 Asklepia a ceremony of especial magnificence was held in connection with the Dionysia (SIG, 677 line 4) For this preparation were made long in advance and the hieron was elaborately decorated for the entertainment of the throng of vitor There are few reference in the inscription to Asklepios that relate to the ritual but there was a celebration of which little is known except from an allusion in a letter of Hippocrates (ad Senatus Populusque Abderitanus, II) that was called taking up the taft (ιτω θ προ σηκ ντ σ) This rite was held during the annual fête and is presumed that it referred to the transfer of the symbol of priestly dignity in the yearly change of chief priest

**Festivals at Pergamon**

At Pergamon the festivals were observed with great solemnity A bull was sacrificed to Zeus, Athena and Dionysus.

---

1. Hippokrates, op cit, p 1274
2. Ponton and Hick, op cit, p 348 also Wixon, op cit, p 72
3. Nilus, op cit, p 411 not 4
and Asklepios and after being quartered on the re
wa placed before each statue while pith were ung to
each deity in turn (CIG, 3538) Telephoros was pe-
cilily revered at Pergamon and during the festival
pean were ung in his honor

Other festivals

In the later period when Asklepios had become popu-
lar he was named for him in many places. Alexander
the Great worshipped at Soloi in Cilicia where he
tablshed a magnificent festival. A festival was
celbrated both at Ankyra in Galatia and at Thyateir
in Lydia while temple at Pergamon and in the Leu-
kathion at which the city en wore wreath of laurel and
oleander and the acrifice the expenses being born
by the treasury of the god (CIG, 3641 b) At Tamyn 1 1
Euboia the god had a festival with acrifice which
hor emen and children under even year took part the
name of the latter being recorded Festival with god
were held also at Byrko on Karpatho Kalymn Ephe-
o Kyiko Proussia (d Hypium) Nikaia Lodikei
Rhodiopolis and Terme o

Medical progress toward scientific methods

The tradition of Greek healing tend to confirm th-
view that following the Trojan War the Asklepios con-
tinued as the chief exponent of the healing art and the
more thoughtful observer among them became increa-
singly impressed with the value of material remedy
such a herb root and hygiene régime The tradi-
tional development of the art toward more scientific
understanding followed the cult of Asklepios a the chief
line of descent until the dawn of Greek history after

Nis op c t, p 413
which it progre m y be more cle rly traced A the centurie pa ed the A klepiad evidently ende vored to put their experience to better u e by collating their ob ervation for the benefit of the clan Such effort are fir t made m nfe t m the work of their brethren of Ko and Knido the medical writer who e record th Corpus Hippocraticum, formed the ba i for later tudie and are the e rhe t y tem tic writing on the healing art that h ve been preserved to modern time Formulas that had proved ucce ful and wi e aying or medical phori m called Kndian entence were m cribed on the wall of the temple and dormitore for ready u e (Pliny op cit, xx, 100 Strabo XIV u 19 p 657 C) The responsibility of the physician wa recognized by th e tabl hment of schools at Kos Knido Rhode Kyrene nd Alexandri for the better in truction of the Askle pi dai Record were collected libraries were formed nd medical theorists and writers endeavored to discard error and to e tabl h a more accurate differentiation of di a e more correct progno i and more effective treatment de pite the trong religiou leaning toward the miraculou At Athens and Epidauro there were no uch school yet it c nnot be doubted that the thera peutic at the e anctuarie were at least on a par of intelligence and kill with tho e of the Dorian coa t The marvellou acts of the god recorded m a few cho en ca e must not be taken a true index of the character of the treatment of the thousands of patient applying at the A klepieia No record of cure have been found t Athens only inscribed ex votos (CIA u 835 836) and the only account of the method used there comes from Aristophane (op cit, 632 ff) Medicine m theory and practice became more r tional with the pas age of time and less dependent on faith and miracle In the late Greek period and after the Roman conquest during the early
centuries of the Christian era the Asklepieia were steadily becoming more like modern sanatoria and hospital and it is a notable fact that these were the only charitable institutions established by the Greek. Here patient underwent a more systematic medical and hygienic treatment under the direction of physicians and in a society with the religious rite of the cult Asklepios the rhetor underwent a three-month course of treatment at Epidauro and Asklepieia probably remained at the healing sanctuary a till longer time. Many of the sick at Pergamon the Serpent at Alexandria and numerous other shrines were treated by prescription given in dream and the healing art undoubtedly was cultivated in the religious dream of the Asklepios cult (Artemidorus iv 22 Iamblichus op cit, ρμ 3) while Farnell make note of the striking divergence between the European spirit of Hellenic religion and the Oriental spirit of Mesopotamia the Babylonian god practices magic the Hellenic Asklepios practices and fosters science and his cure at Epidauro how the beginning of ane therapeutic. The Asklepiads are credited with an endeavor to retain the knowledge of healing among them elves but this monopoly was never effective and it is known that from the seventh century onward many of the foremost Greek philosophers included healing among the subject of their speculation and practiced it independently with physicians.

The cult influence

From his earliest shrine the cave at Trikke in Thessaly the fame of Asklepios spread abroad and after the

10 Dihl op cit, p 331
1 Thramer in ERE vi, 543
2 In ERE vi 418
divine alliance with Apollo the cene of hı activitıe
ifted to Argohı, where at Epidaurus was developed
the most splendid and extensive resort for health and
pleasure in ancient Greece and the Delphic oracle declared
Thou O Asklepıo art born to become a great
joy to the world. The cult was limited to healing and
Asklepıo became the chief of all spiritual agencies mın
ıtering to theick He wa exalted to the rank of a high
deity and the spirit of divine beneficence for the relief
of suffering humanity radiated from Epidaurus through
out the whole of the Greek world so that his cult became
powerful influence among the Hellene. In the later age
the individual had a greater liberty in the god he might
choose and was no longer limited to the cult in which he
had been born. This freedom had already for some time
been offered by the thrasoi, and now in the Hellenic
world especially by the powerful and wide influence of
the cult of Asklepıo the idea was developed of a deity
who Healing and Savior called all mankind to himself
and it was thın significant cult phenomena that induced
Kerkıda [third century B.C.] to include II v the
Healer among the true divinitie who e wor hip ought
to upplant that of the older god

Recapitulation

Reviewing the history of the cult of Asklepıo one
cannot fail to be impressed with its progressive character
and with its ability to adapt itself to many changes in
thought and point of view and to lead in the art of heal-
ing during an extended period of intellectual develop-
ment in Greece. Receiving it in inspiration from a hero
of Thessaly becoming a cave or earth spirit and with
certain herb remedies and an oracle it gained from and

11 Fırın II, in ERE vi 422
THE HEALING GODS

reigned supreme in its sphere for many centuries. It leader continued as the 'blameless physician' dispensing health and happiness. Free from the frailties of other Greek heroes and deities devoted only to the interest of suffering humanity, he won the confidence, reverence and worship of an independent people and raised from the rank of a hero to that of a demigod was finally deified with generous and general acclaim. His descendant clan more helpful than others maintained the religious character of the cult, and benefiting by its experience established scientific methods and principles laying the foundations upon which all subsequent progress in medicine has been built. The cult withstood criticism and bitter satire and pread its methods of healing throughout Hella and its colonies. Asklepios was adopted by the Roman brought relief to their misery and held way their chief healing divinity during a considerable part of the Republic and for several centuries of the Empire until the cult of the old religions were submerged by the wave of early Christianity. The character of Asklepios was interpreted in art by the commanding figure and majestic countenance of Zeus himself expressive of supreme benignity and paternal sympathy.

The mystic Asklepios

Aklepios personified the mystic power of divinity over the healing force of the unseen world in both its uranic and chthonic aspects. His emblem was the serpent, the symbol of life, agacity and healing in which the people recognized the skill and majesty of the god. It is perhaps impossible at the present day to appreciate the mystic atmosphere in which the Greek ideals ed their divinities as possible. All supernatural powers. Modern materialism does not permit of feeling that sympathetic.

1 Sing r op cut, pp 0 2 ff
beneficent touch of the divine master of the healing art which drew all Hellenes and all official Rome to his feet so beautifully expressed by Pater. However the development of this divine personality associated with the period of the highest intellectual expression of the ancient Greeks is a most instructive example of the psychological attitude of the pagan world toward deity in the evolution of polytheism which may be more readily understood by an appreciation of the various tranformation of the religion aspect in which he was conceived and which may be formulated in several stages (1) the mortal. The salian physician who learned the healing art from Cheiron and taught it to his sons who applied it with distinction in the Trojan War (2) heroised after death his spirit conceived as an earth daemon a cave spirit with the serpent as its emblem continued his activities sending forth from the depth cure for disease and prophecy and celebrated by Homer and other poets (3) he became the son of Apollo and the great Epidaurian god of healing he was deified by thunderbolt of Zeus and a uranic a well a chthonic a pect with a cult that was recognized as dominant throughout Greece (4) the demigod and hero of Athenian tradition (Heros Iatros) honored by great festivals (5) and finally Æsculapius the god of healing rephrased by the serpent who faded from view in a new era.

AMPHIARAOS

Amphiaraos was a grandson of Melampous from whom he inherited his faculties of seer and prophet although according to tradition he first developed his mantic power after sleeping at Phlius (Pausania II xiii 7)

1 Op cit, 1 27 42
2 Rohde, Psyche, 1, 141 145
He was engaged in the Theban war and after the di a ter when pursued by his enemies Zeus saved him from disgrace by opening the earth which wallowed him with his charioteer chariot and horses (ib., IX viii 3) Because of his valorous deed Zeus made him immortal and he arose a god from the spring at Oropo (ib., I xxxiv 4) where the people worshipped him as a deity while Il Greece counted him a such (ib., VIII ii 4) 

Amphiarao was killed in divination he became known as a healing deity and his dream oracle at Oropo was held in high esteem According to inscription the Amphaireion at Oropo was founded at the end of the fifth century c (Frazer op cit., v 31) The temple which stood in an ample temenos, was ninety-five feet long by forty-three feet wide and had a broad portico with nine columns on the east side The cella had three alle separated by columns with colo al t tue of Amphiarao in white stone in the center In front of the temple was an altar of lime stone twenty-eight feet long and fourteen wide divided into five compartments each dedicated to several divinities One was consecrated to Zeus Paian Apollo and Herakle another to hero and the wife of hero and a third to He tia Herme Amphiarao and the children of Amphilocho a fourth to Ath n P ion (Kerameikos) Aphrodite Hygieia I o Pan keia and I on and the fifth to Pan the Nymph and the river Acheloo and Kephio Near by was a spring from which the god had arisen Northea t of the temple was an abaton, a open Doric colonnade with forty-nine column three hundred and ninety feet long by thirty-six wide There was a central line of Ionic column dividing the toa into two alle and along the inner stuccoed wall which was decorated with painting and in inscription there was a long stone bench Adjacent to the abaton was a building dating from the third century
containing ten bathrooms. Nearby the great altar was a low emicircle of Rings eat. Behind the abaton on the hill there was a theater with a stage forty by twenty feet and a chorus pace forty feet wide (Pau ana I xxxiv).

At the Amphipareion healing was effected through dream rather than by prediction of an oracle (ib). An ir of sanctity pervaded the hieron, and if anyone behaved he was subject to a fine. A neokoros took down the name and address and collected not less than nine obol from each patient (IG v11 235). All uppliants bathed and after purification partook of a special diet from which bean were excluded. Before incubation each one fasted without wine for three days and without food for one day in order to receive the oracle with a clear soul (Philostrato op cit, ι 37) and made sacrifice to Amphiarao and the other deities. The uppliants who could do so then killed a black ram and wrapping them selves in the kin passed the night in the abaton, the men at the eastern end of the women at the western end while a few slept on the east before the altar (IG v11 4255). Those who received the desired viion or dream and were healed were the subject of congratulation among general rejoicing. They threw piece of gold and silver into the sacred spring and made the usual offering model of diseased part. Ometime in gold or silver and other gift (IG v11 303 67 ff 3498). The daughter of th god Alexida and He tia at the Amphipareion were the subject of bitter satire by Ar tophane in η η Amphiaraoes, produced in 414 o.

Amphiarao was held in great respect his name apparently meaning doubly holy. A festival which was largely attended was held at the sanctuary every fourth year (CIGGS, 4253). The god was always more particularly identified with Oropo but had other shrine at
Rhamnous Argos Sparta Thebe and Athens In origin he seems to have been a chthonic daimon

APHRODITE

APHRODITE, originally a sea divinity was the godde of love and the reproductive power of nature, as well as the deity of bridal and married life in the highest sense. Her cult was generally au tere and pure and she was bidden by Zeus to confine herself to the offices of marriage (II, vi, 429) She was equated with Astart and other cognate Semitic goddesses of love and reproduction and with Venus of the Roman pantheon. Sometimes she was called Mylitta (he who bring forth children) the Assyrian name of the goddesses Ihtar (Herodotos 1 131 199 Frazer op cit ι 130)

She was a cherisher of children In the cult of Aphrodite Ctesylla in Keos and it legend there an allusion to her as a child birth godde especially a she related closely in worship to Artemi Hekaerge and in her worship under the title of Aphrodite Kolias on the coast of Attika she may have been regarded as bearing the same aspect It is possible she was invoked under the name Genetylth (qv) Her association with healing is further attested by the fact that she shared an altar at Oropo with Athena the Healer and the daughter of Asklepio (CIA vi 136) While in the form of a dove she visited Aspasia and cured an ulcer on her chin (Aelianos Historia Varia, XII 1)

APOLLO

APOLLO, the deity of light music poetry archery prophecy and healing (Plato Cratylus 47) was one of the

1 Farn II Cult, 11, 55 656
2 Hercher, ed Leip ig, 1866 (1870), p 117
great divinities of the Greek pantheon though seemingly originally the leading god of a people who migrated into Greece from the north in prehistoric time. He was the son of Zeus and Leto was the twin brother of Artemis and was born on the island of Delos. In Greek religion Apollo represented mental enlightenment and civilizing knowledge rather than physical light but he also typified physical health, manly vigor and beauty of form and as Phoibos Apollo he stood for truth the sanctity of the oath and moral purity. Farnell calls him the bright and most complex character of polytheism and his cult was both ancient and widespread in Greece.

Apollo was renowned for prophecy and his oracle the greatest in Greece was located in a cleft of the rock at Delphi in Phokis near Mount Parnassos (Pausanias X ix 1 Strabo IX iii 12 pp 422 423 C.) It was consulted on general matters but it was most esteemed for guidance in political affairs and individuals and deputations came from cities and states, far and near, to present their problems for solution. The authority of the oracle was so great that it was believed the inspiration came from Zeus himself (Aischylos op cit, 575) At Hysiai was a fountain sacred to Apollo where the hydromanteia was practiced those who drank the water became ecstatic and prophesied in the name of the god. A practice and a belief that prevailed also at Kl年龄.

Apollo was both a bringer and an averter of disease. In his anger the far darter sent pestilence and death among men with his arrows (II.1 45) and in his character he was worshiped at Lindos and called Pestilential (Loimios) Apollo and persons who were consumed by

---

1 Fox op cit, p 175
2 Farnell op cit, iv 98
3 Ib, iv, 222
4 L. Clerc op cit, pp 171
di ea e were Apollo truck or sun truck (Macrobiu Saturnalia, I xvi 15) In his favorable mood he averted di ea e (Pausania I iii 4) and as a tayer of pe ti lence curing di ea e and di pensing health he wa wor hipped a Oulio by the Mile Ian and Delians (Strabo XIV i 6 p 635 C) Mu ic of which he wa the in ventor was used to overcome disease Grecian youth ang sacred hymns and ong that weetly please to Apollo and topped a noi ome pe ti lence nd the Cretan Thaleta by music freed the city of the Lacedaimonian from a r ging pestilence (Plutarch de Musica, 14 10) It is not clear however that healing wa a part of hi early cult Apollo though often regarded a identical with Paian was not o de ignated by Homer or He 10d and it i believed th t they were di tinct per onalitie until in the 16th century B C an alliance wa effected with A klepio and he received the epithet Paian and there after Apollo Maleate w a ocated at Epidauro the upreme healer of the pantheon though the active healing wa delegated to hi on Asklepio A temple on Mount Kynortion overlooking the hieron of Epidauro wa dedicated to Apollo Maleate (Apollo of Malea) and held a fine statue of the god It i said that the old god whose temple wa on Mount Kynorton (meaning the dog itar) wa concealed under the Epi daonian Apollo Maleate It i as umed that the dog wa orignially peculiar to thi god (IG u 1651 SIG 631) and that from thi circumstance the dog appear first and mo t frequently in Epidauro a companion of A kle pio 141 Apollo Maleate was al o worshipped at Tegea Sparta and Athen Aischylo gives Apollo the epithet Loxia (of obscure meaning) and calls him an uatro

141 Nil o op cit, p 409 not 7 cf Fr d r Asklepios, pp 22 ff Thra r, in ERE vi 547
mantis or prophet leech and portent eer (op cit., 62) Sophokle address ed him thou healer from Delo (Edipus Rex, 149) Euripides refer to him a a healer (Andromache, 900) and Kallimachos in hi hymn (68) to Apollo speak of him as a teacher

And why not taught by him delay
The stroke of fate and turn delay way

Euripide (Alcestis, 969) say that Apollo gave example called for men to A klepio on and Pindar (op cit v 85) declares that

Phoibo dire dune cur
To eer nd apint matron how

Apollo Patroos was a divine ancestor of Ion at Delo he was called Genetor, the Father (Diogenes Laertio VIII 1 13 Macrobius op cit, III vi 2) and the people believed they were descended from him At Sparta he had the epithet Karneio (Pau ama III xiii 4) while at Sikyon the temple had an inner hrme con ecrated to him under the same title which only priest were allowed to enter (ib, II x 2) Apollo was called alexikakos (averting of ill) and this title was empha ed after the Delphic oracle had tayed the silence during the Peloponne Ian War He be endowed protection and healing by extending the hand and in consequence he acquired the surname Hyperdexion Apollo was an honored guest at the he ling hrme at Oropo and was equated with the Egyptian Horus

No public monuments to Apollo a The Healer have been discovered except one from Epidauros of Asklepios Apollo now in the Athens Museum Coin of late date from Thrace show Apollo vatros with laurel nd

14 Farrell, op cit., iv 233 ff
14 Holland r op cit., p 82 fig 32
bow and the attribute of a healer the staff and serpent while another Thracian coin portray him a grouped with Asklepios and Hygieia and the hooded figure of Telesphoro. According to an old tradition Apollo was killed by Python and was buried under the tripod at Delphi.

**ARISTAIOS**

Aristaios was one of the most beneficent heroes of ancient Greece. A periconification of the period of cooling Etelean wind which gave relief to man and beast during the burning dog days. According to the most current tradition he was the son of Apollo and Kyrene and in mythology he was treated as a Thesalian deity akin to Zeus and Apollo (Pausanias VIII 11 4) whereas in poetry he was reduced to a hero except that Hesiod identified him with Apollo who bore the epithet Aristaios at Keo. Pindar (op cit, 1x 64) identifies him with Aegeus (huntsman) and Nomios (herd man). Aristaios was a renowned pupil of Cheiron by whom he was trained in the art of manhood from the Nymph he learned agriculture and from the Muse prophecy and healing. He was a protector of flock and herd and cultivated the soil taught people how to cultivate the olive and he was celebrated bee keeper. Diodoros (iv 81) says he received divine honor for the benefit which he conferred upon man by his useful discoveries. He worshipped at Keo (his home) in Boiotia and in Thaly as Aristaios Zeus and Apollo Nomio. Aristaios was also celebrated for his knowledge of the healing art. He topped the plague at Keo after raising

---

1 F rm ll op cit, iv 325
1 Fr r Th Dyn g God, p 4
1 Fox, op cit, p 251
1 7 F rm ll op cit, iv 123 124 361
n altar and sacrificing regularly to Zeus Ikmaio (Apol lomio Rhodios 11 522) 14

**ARTEMIS**

Artemis was the daughter of Zeus and Leto a twin ister of Apollo and an offspring lovely beyond all heavenly being (Hesiod Theog, 919) She was a goddes of nymph of the wood and wilds a huntre queen and one of the great divinitie of the Grecian pantheon She wa n ethical and pirntal deity although her charac ter a seen in mythology wa contrary and difficult to understand Possessed of the gifts of health and trengt she was an averter of evil and alleviated the sufferin of humanity yet he ent plagues among men by her arrows and caused mental and nervous disorders while udden and untimely deaths especially among women were acried to her Women afflicted with certain dis ea es were called moon struck or Artemis struck (Macrobin op cit, I xvi 11).

A a healing divinity Artemi was scarcely if at all second to Apollo both having received their gift from their mother She was able to cure the di ease which he inflicted he restored Orestes to nity (Pherekyde Frag, 97) and a Artemi Koria tamed the daughter of Proito (Bakchylides x 98) who erected two temple to her at Lousoi in gratitute (Kallimachos 11, 234 cf Melampou) A a physician godde she had broad power and her methods avored so much of magic that she was regarded a allied to Hekate 14 She knew the medicinal properties of plants and was skilled in their u e he assisted Leto in dressing the wounds of Aineia (Il, v 447 448) and as Artemis Therma he wa con nected with the healing fountain at Mitylene (CIG

14 Fox op cit, p 252
1 Ib pp 182ff
In her medical aspect Artemis was however essentially a child birth deity one to whom women brought their clothe as an offering when a birth ended happily (Anthologia Palatina, vi 271) although Homer (II, xxi 483 ff) declared that she was dreaded by women in childbirth. Lucian (Dialogi Deorum xvi) cau e Hera in conversation with Leto to lure Artemis, saying that if he were really a virgin he could not even assist ladles in the traw. Kallimachos (ii 20 22) refer to her preference for the wild singing that he will mingle with people only when women haraed by harp-throe call on a helper. She encouraged child bearing and Euripides (Supplices, 958) say that Artemis Lochia would not greet childless women. In Delo she was known as one of the Hypoborean and aced rite were performed to her under the ancient name Oupis supposed to mean watch or watch of women in travail. ¹ half forgotten but revived by later poetry. In the Greek state Artemis and Eileithyia were in charge of the actual process of birth and Eileithyia was often regarded as a form of Artemis (cf Hera). Women in travail invoked her aid and many of her titles. Lochia at Phthiotis (CIG, 1768) and in Pergamon (Gambreion CIG, 3562) as well as Lochia or Lecho at Sparta (IGA, 52) Sooodina at Chaion (IGS i 3407 CIG, 1595) and Lysios (Hym Orph., xxxvi 5) fully attest her obstetric function and her interest in matter pertaining to the female sex. ¹ At Epidaurus she was Artemis Pamphylaia and Orthia

¹ L D ubner Birth (Gr k nd Roman) in ERE n 648
¹¹ F rnell, op cit, n 487 488 1 o Grupp op cit, pp 45 15 241
¹ F rnell, op cit, n 444 445 567 568 Thr m r, in ERE vi 548
and he frequently appear as Artemis Soteira while the gold silver and ivory models of limbs contained in the panelling of the Artemiseion at Ephesos testify to the gratitude of her suppliants.

Her cult was a primitive one in Attika Lakonia and Arkadia, but her worship extended all over Greece. Cretan worshipped her as a Britomartis Sweet Maid. At Lousoi there was a celebrated healing shrine which tradition assigned to her the Artemiseion (Pausanias VIII xviii 8) and she was also associated with the healing shrine at Ephesos beside presiding over one at Aiaphios in Ephi where suppliants bathed in near by lakes and streams and were supposed to be cured by a magical ablution. Artemis had a prominent place at Epidaurus where a beautiful temple was dedicated to her. By the Romans she was identified with Diana.

ATHENA

Athna, who is origin referred to the archaic period in Attika, was one of the most prominent goddesses of the Olympian circle representing mentality and wisdom and being a patroness of every art requiring skill and dexterity. She was worshipped with and devotion in all parts of Greece and was regarded as a national deity. A Pallas Athena he was the god of battle prominent in civilized valor and war in its defensive rather than aggressive aspect. A Athena Polias he was the guardian of Athens and the main胎 of the body politic honored by magnificent public festivals the best known of which was the Panathenaia. She was given the epithet soteira (savior or deliverer) and was identified by the Romans as their Minerva.

1 From p. 572 not 53 577 not 78, I. 0 Grupp op cit, p 12
2 Pop cit p 185
3 From p. it 1 25
References to Athena as a healer are somewhat vague but there are ample evidences of her connection with the healing art. In the gate of the city of Athens, there was a statue to the Healing Athena near those of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Pausanias I 11 5) and at the entrance to the Akropolis, close to the image of Asklepios and Hygieia. One to Athena Hygieia (ib I xxiii 4) erected to her by Perikles because she had healed a worker who had fallen during the building of the propylaea (Frere Paus I 277 ff Pliny op cit, xxii 44). The inscription on the base shows that it was dedicated by the Athenians and it is believed that it was in some way related to the cessation of the great pestilence. The Attic Athena Hygieia image is assumed to be the same as Athena Polia reproduced from an earlier period. Probably that of 500 B.C. (CIA I upper 362 CIA I 475). After Asklepios had been brought to Athens, the cult of Athena as Hygieia appears to have faded although a statue to Athena Hygieia now in the Athenian Museum has been found at Epidaurus. Effigies of Asklepios and Hygieia were grouped with that of Athena Ale in her temple at Tegea and the relation to health and healing (Pausania VIII xlvii 1) while as a healer she was honored at the Amphionion at Oropos and was called Athena Paionia (Pausanias I xxxiv 3) an epithet used in Athens. In Lebbo she received the epithet Hyperdextia (Stephanus Byzantino s.v Τπ Ρδ ζ ν) Athena and Hermes cured the madness of the daughter of Proutos (cf Melampous). She was the guardian of eyesight especially of children and at Sparta was called

1 P. Woltz Zur Ath. Hygieia des Pyrrho in MAIA, 1891 xvi, 153 154 Thran in ERE vi, 545
2 F. Rennell, op cit, I 317
3 Thb, I 1
Athena Ophthalmitus the keen eyed godde (Pau aia III xviii, 2) The aig her cred symbol was used in battle and for the purification of temples and in Athenian ceremony to se ed life giving power. At certain time it was carried about the city to protect it from plague and other evil and taken by the priestes to the house of newly married women probably to procure off primg. Also it wa placed in the lying in room to favor ea y births. In origin he appear to have been a weather deity.

**AUXESIA**

AUXESIA ( Increase ) wa a her name implies an earth godde promoting growth of crop. She wa clo ely a o ciated with Damia (q.v) and both were primarily local divinities of Epidauro. Their cult received its fir t im petu when in time of dearth, the Epidaurians were bid den by the Delphic oracle to make them statues of olive wood from Athika (Herodoto v 82 83) Thence their wor hip pre d to Aigina Sp rta and Troi en At Epidauro they had the joint epithet A osi or A e ioi (? Parching) nd their festival included currilou ong by two choir of women at each other (He rodoto v 83) At Aigina and Troizen they were c lled virgin and their fea t w the Lithobolia ( Stone throw ing Pau aia II xxxii 2) a purific tory and potropac rite. Later the pair were merged in Demeter Kore of whom they became mere epithet. From her original function of godde of increase Auxe ia became a deity of travail at Epidauros and Aigina.

1 F rn 11, op cit., 1 100, 273, 279 2
2 Grupp op cit., pp 11 6ff
3.4 Grupp op cit., pp 129 130
4 F rn 11 op cit., 11 93 4 113
5 Grupp op cit., p 901
THE HEALING GODS

DAMIA

DAMIA who e name appear at Epidauros a Mn[e]ia and at Sparta a D moia but which 1 of very uncertain meaning 1 4 1 almost always mentioned together with Auxesia (q v) with who e function and rite her own were identical They were goddes e of the cornfield and of child birth being them elves repre ented a on their knee in the act of bringing forth 1 The wor hip of Damia pread how ver omewhat farther being found also at Tarentum and Rome ( ee Bona Dea) and perhaps in Campania 1 In origin he was probably a depot mental deity ruling over a pecal province akin to th t of Auxe ia In an m cription from Thera he ha the epithet Lochaia being identified with a primitive Spartan godde of child birth who wa later merged in Artemi 1 7

DEMETER

D MET r wa a celebrated and beloved godde of the oil of fertility of vegetation and of agriculture and wa considered a form of Ge or Gaia She wa the daugh ter of Krono and the mother of Persephone who under the n me of Kore ( Maiden ) wa wor hipped with her e specally in Attika The cult which wa one of the most popular and renowned of ancient Greece included the My terie of Eleusi proffering the initiate the expecta tion of a happy life after death and celebrated twice yearly by great festivals the Greater and Less er Eleu mia with proce ion from Athens to Eleu 1 and secret religion rite In the Rom n pantheon Demeter wa identified with Ceres

1 4 Grupp op cit , pp 193 1164 Un r op cit , pp 4 129 130
1 F ernell op t , un 113
1 Gruppe op cit , p 370
1 7 Grupp b , pp 1133 1272 Ur op cit , p 144
The ling function of Demeter are seldom definitely referred to (Hym Orph xli 20) but he was the cherisher of children (kourotrophos) at Athen killed in the magic of the nursery and the treatment of ophthalmia and a child birth godde in a minor capacity. She was associated with Aklepio at Epidauros, Athen and Eleu and he also had a hrme (hydromanteion) at Patrai in Achaia where he was appealed to for divination and prophecy in case of illness. Tying a fine cord to a mirror upphant let it down into a spring which was before the temple until it was graded, the water and then praying to the goddes and burning incense they were able to read in the mirror the outcome of their illness (Pausania VII xxv 12). At Troizen Aigina and Epidauros Auxe and Dama (qq.v.) local goddesse of vegetation were closely allied to Demeter and Kore that they were regarded as identical though with different appellative.

At Tarentum and Syracuse he was named Eleutho and was regarded as one of the Eileithyiai (He ychio s v El uθω').

DIONYSOS

It is generally believed that Dionysos was originally a foreign deity most probably of Thracian origin who became prominent in the Greek pantheon. His name is plausibly interpreted as meaning Heaven Son primarily he was a divinity of vegetation especially of the vine and his cult found its way into Boiotia where Orchomenos and especially Thebes were its ancient

1 Farnell op cit, m, 81
2 Ib m, 113
17 Fo, op cit pp 215 216 Kr ctchr Einleitung in die Gsch chte der griechisch n Spr che, pp 240 242
171 Grupp, op cit, p 1409, who believe (p 1410) that god to h v b n of Boiotia n origin
Thence it rapidly spread throughout Greece and his festivals held during the winter and spring with their mysteries, orgiastic and phallic rites and processions at night with riotous orgies and obscene odes became popular especially in Attika, Corinth and Sicyon where they caused many scandal. Nevertheless, to the mysteries a to those of Demeter and Kore the Greek turned to secure the blessings of a life beyond the grave. Through his connection with the earth Dionysos was also the god of mining and industry and in Orphic theology he held a high place. Zagreus, the Great Hunter, the son of Zeus by Persephone or Semele.

Dionysos possessed the gift of prophecy and healing which were the inspiration of many oracles and his priest practiced healing by touch and dream reading (Plutarch Quæstiones Symposiaca, iii 3). The Athenians were directed by the Pythian oracle to honor Dionysos a phyics (Athenaio Deipnosophistæ, I xli) he was called nattros and received the epithet Paian while a Dionysos Epaphios he removed disease by the laying on of hand and aided childbirth in the same manner (Hym Orph, 1 7). There were renowned Dionysos at Marathon, and another at Amphikleia in Phokis where remarkable orgies were celebrated with phallic rites reputed to have been instituted by Melampous (Herodotus 11 49) and where the revelation by dreams and the oracle were announced by a priest acting as a katochôs, or mouth piece of the god (Pau ana X xxxiii 11). Dionysos had a large here in the Delphic oracle and it reported that he was buried near the golden statue of Apollo in a tomb on which was the inscription: Here lie Dionysos dead the son of Semele.

17 Gruppe op c t., pp 254 255, 70
17 Weins r ich p it., p 27
17 Fr z r op c t., p 3
EILEITHYIA AND CHILD BIRTH GODDESSES

Eileithyia, whose worship was ancient and wide spread, was the chief of the three foremost Greek goddesses of child birth, the other being Hera and Artemis. Both Homer (Il., xi 270) and Heiod (op. cit., 920) regarded Eileithyia as the daughter of Hera. The most ancient tradition that he developed from her representing her obliterating function a stinging in the physical process a divine midwife and possibly he was a detached form of the marriage goddess. She was, however, sometimes identified with Artemis and the two deities were frequently worshipped together. On an inscription found at Lebadeia a woman returned thank to the gentle Eileithyia whom he call Artemides. The name has an adjectival form and doubtless means She who hath caused to come, and primarily there was in all probability multiplicity of Eileithyiai a momentary divinity who later were united into a single divinity. At Athens accordingly the Eileithyiai were three in number. Homer (loc. cit.) refer to them in the plural and peak of the pain of a free-h wounded when the harp and piercing pang seized a woman in travail which the Eileithyiai daughter of Hera who preside over difficult child birth. End forth Pindar (op. cit., 11 7 10) describe the goddess a in attendance upon Korom at the birth of Aklepio.

While Eileithyia watch'd her mother cries
Pierced with the thrilling dart that flies
From the stern Lucin golden bow

17 Pr II r Griesches Mythologie, 1 511 ff
17 Fornell op. cit., 11 0
177 Bimck Arch Studi., 1 6 71 cf. Schulz Qast o e paca, pp 259 261
17 Uner op. cit., p 29
According to Delian tradition Eileithyia came from the Hyperborean to assist Leto at the birth of Apollo and Artemis (Pausanias I xvm 5) while the Cretans believed that he was born on the banks of the Amnisos river in Knossian territory. And Homer (Odys, xix 188) speaks of a cavern there which was accursed to her. For the Delians the mythical Lykian poet Olen wrote hymns to Eileithyia to whom he gave the epithet Eulinos (With the Goodly Thread) and whom he identified with Fate and these were ung at her altar (Pausanias VIII xxii 3) Pindar (Nemea, vii 1) refers to her as a dispenser of destiny. For the Dehans the mythical Lykian poet Olen wrote hymns to Eileithyia to whom he gave the epithet Eulinos (With the Goodly Thread) and whom he identified with Fate and these were ung at her altar (Pausanias VIII xxii 3) Pindar (Nemea, vii 1) refers to her as a dispenser of destiny.

The open right hand of Eileithyia on the abdomen favored delivery. Illu treated on Etruscan and Tyrian vase 17 the right hand was raised with thumb and two fingers open the last two closed or the upraised right hand with the palm opened outward gestures of blessing and all of natural magic 19. Besides her benevolent aspect, Eileithyia had a malignant character as a magician sorceress and poisoner and when angry she exercised her power to delay or stop labor by gesture digit inter se pectineiuncti 19. At the instance of the jealous Hera she availed herself of this mortal potency.

17 Warnich op cit, p. 15
19 Frn II, op cit, n. 13 614
to retard the birth of Herakle when she pressed her knee together and spread her hand with crooked finger and muttered charms (Fraer Paus, v 45 46) until Galmnthi, a maid of Alkmene (or Hestor daughter of Teireia Pausania IX xi 3) deceived her, released her knee and unlocked her hand. Whereupon Alkmene was promptly delivered (II, xix 112 ff Ovid op cit, ix 298 ff) Galmthi was punished and Eileithyia according to tradition was exiled to Thebe where her relief had been found representing her with the unfavorable trait Hera detained Eileithyia on Olympos for nine days preventing the delivery of Leto until the Delianent on a secret mission promising her a necklace nine cubits long of gold and with elektron and inducing her to come to Delos to as at the birth of Apollo and Artemis (Hymn Homerica, i 97 ff)

Eileithyia had many sanctuaries throughout Greece at Olympia, Argo, Arkadi, Boiotia, Mena and was everywhere held in respect and reverence especially in Delos. The goddess had her temple in Italy one of which was at Pyrgi (Strabo V 11 8 p 226 C) Associated with growth the Mourn and the fortune of the State he was an ater god and was always represented draped with a chiton, or with the chiton himaton, usually with her hand extended and holding a torch. In her temple at Athens her image was draped to the feet and at Aigion it was of wood except the face, finger and feet which were of Pentelic marble and was covered to the feet with a thin veil (Pausania VII xxi 5) At Hermione he was regarded with such sanctity that only priestesses were permitted to see her image (ib, II xxxv 11)

1 A mixture of gold and silver in the proportion of five to one
2 Frn II op cit, n 608 612
The attribute of the godde were the cord and torch and the torch because the pang of travail are like fire (\textit{ib}, VII xxiii 6) These emblems were likewise used to represent the obstetric function of other goddesses for Hera Artemi and Hekate which was also commonly indicated by adding the name of the divinity a Artemi Eileithyia at Chaireoneia (\textit{CIG}, 1596) and elsewhere in Boiotia and Hera Eileithyia at Argo and Athen was found in an inscription from Thoricos.\footnote{K K il, \textit{Attic Kult u I chriften Philologus}, 1 6 xxiii 1 W Dr xl r in R ch r p 2091}

In addition to Eileithyia and other deities of child birth above referred to who e worship was observed generally throughout Greece there were many local cults of child birth godde a of Locheia or Lecho at Sparta who i mentioned in two in cription of Lochn or Locheia and of Eilhon[\textit{e}]ia to whom the Argive acrificed dog for ea y delvery (Plutarch \textit{Quaestiones Romanae}, 52) Dione Rhea Ichnaia Themni and Amphitrite are mentioned a w iting upon Leto (\textit{Hym Hom}, 1 93) Auge (Radiance) seems to have been a birth godde who brought the child to the light of day or of life She is mentioned but seldom and may be an equivalent for Artemi.\footnote{\textit{V M R} Dr xl r in K S ii 185} At Tegea he was identified with Eileithyia who was repre ented in the market place by an image kneeling in the position of a parturient woman which was popularly called Auge on her knee (Pausania VIII xlviii 7)\footnote{\textit{Farn ll, op cit}, 1, 275 u 442 443 cf W l kr in K S ii 185} She al o appe r a a p rites of Athen Ale who w as ociated with health and healing.\footnote{\textit{Grupp op cit}, p 454} A th need for departmental deity of child birth dimin

\footnote{\textit{\textcopyright\textregistered}\textregistered\textcopyright\textregistered}
of her elf Eleutho\textsuperscript{1,7} al o child birth goddes (Hesychio \textsuperscript{1} s v Ελ ινθ') who wa identified with the child birth goddes Leukothea and who lat r wa equated with Iuno Lucina of the Roman Then there were al o divine nur es as the Samian goddess Kourotrophos\textsuperscript{1} who wa a protectre of new born children and po sibly a form of Hera the Horai who in a hymn of Olen mentioned by Pau am (Π xiii 3) are said to be the nurse of Hera\textsuperscript{1} and also of Zeu and Apollo (Plutarch \textit{Quaest Sym} iii 9)

\textbf{Epaphos or Epaphios}

\textit{Epaphos} (Touch) wa an ancient god the on of Zeu and Io who healed by touch nd the laying on of hand \textsuperscript{10} but lo t h1 independence by haring h1 power with other deitie and became merely a pha e n me H a 1 ted at child birth by the laying on of hand and in thi function h1 name 1 aociated with Saba 10 He 1 r cogn ed n the healing character of Zeu Epapho nd of Dionyso Epaphio\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Genetylli}

\textit{Genetylli}, her n m implie wa a godde s of child birth and a protectre of birth both a an independent deity and a a companion of Aphrodite who later ab orbed her thu becoming Aphrodite Genetylli Some time however Genetylli to whom a dog wa acrificed for easy delivery (Hesychio \textsuperscript{1} s v Γ ν τυλ(λ)ισ') wa iden tified with Hekate or with Artemi\textsuperscript{1} The name 1 al o

\textsuperscript{1,7} F rnell \textit{op cit}, m 1
\textsuperscript{1} U n r, \textit{op cit}, pp 124,129
\textsuperscript{1} Farn ll \textit{op cit}, p 196
\textsuperscript{1} Grupp \textit{op cit}, p 860
\textsuperscript{11} W inr ich \textit{op cit}, p 27
\textsuperscript{1} Grupp \textit{op cit}, p 1198, ef Ro ch r 11 1270 Rohd \textit{op cit}, 2d d (1898) p 1 1
THE HEALING GODS

Healing gods

were in favor among the women of Attika (Pausania I 15) who hung an olive wreath on the outer door if the child was a boy, and a wooden fillet if it was a girl. Aristophanes (Nubes 52) and Lucian (Pseudologistes, 11) refer contemptuously to the Genetlyllides who were characterized as powers of doubtful origin and character who maintained themselves on the luxury and superstition of married women and whom the husband regarded with suspicion and dislike. Lucian (Amores, 42) mentions them in connection with the Kohade (a name applied to a group representing Aphrodite Kolias the ob tetric godde of a grotto on the coast of Attika) in a tirade about the expensive divinities of midwifery.

HADES

Hades the ruler of the Underworld was the son of Kronos and Rhea, a brother of Zeus and Poseidon and member of the Olympian circle. He captured Persephone, the daughter of Demeter and carrying her off to the Underworld made her his wife (Heidop cit , 913). Believed to have control of life and death, he was invoked to prolong the former and to avert the latter. And though the healing cult of Hades and Persephone was of late development, it gained considerable renown. Their oracle was located at a cave that gave forth vapors, some ulphurous and usually noxious, the shrine being

\[1\] From op cit , u, 614, not b
\[1^4\] Ib, 11 519 655
\[1^5\] It is urned by authorities that Aphrodite Kolias and the other early gods prevailed in birth and that the usual pendant of the name from the portary 1 is tr (cf. Grupp op cit , p 1357 who have ill r ug no )
known a Ploutonia or Charoneia and uppliant for relief appealing through the medium of priest by incubation.

The most celebrated Ploutonion was within a cave in a fine grove near Acharaka in the Maiandro valley between Tralle and Ny a in Kar a the uppliant living near the grotto among the priest who slept in the open air and directed the treatment of the ick by their dream. The priest invoked the god to heal the ick and conducted the to whom the god had sent dream that they wished them to enter their shrine into the cavern where they remained for several days without food (Pausan X xxxii 13) but other sufferers observed their own dream and applied to the priests (oneiropo l o i) to interpret them and advise treatment. To all other the place was forbidden a fatal An annual festival was held at Acharaka during which a bull was let loose in the cave where it promptly died (Strabo XIV 1 44 p 650 C) Another Ploutonion was at Leimon above Ny a (ib.) At Hieropolis in Phrygia high in the valley which was an cavernous was till another Ploutonion at grotto about which was a railing. From the cave arose a cloudy dark vapor which cured the bottom and although the air about was innocuous animal entering within the railing died immediately only the Gallose or eunuch of the Great Mother God appearing to be immune (ib., XII vii 17 XIII iv 14 pp 579 629 630 C) A Charoneion was located near Thymbria on the Magne plain near the coast (ib., XIV 1, 11 p 636 C) and another Ploutonion was to be found at Ena in Mcedonia. The only shrine in honor of Hades was in Eii.

1 Fr r Ado 5, 1 05 20
2 Fo op c't, p 234
HEKATE

Hekate, a chthonic deity was a goddess of the lower order of Olympian divinities although Zeus esteemed her above all while he received honor from the tarry heavens and especially from the immortal god (Hesiod op cit, 412 ff) She was propitiated to those who sought her aid; he distinguished those whom he wished among the people giving wealth, victory and renown (ib) and Zeus made her the nursing mother of children (ib, 450) Hekate had power in the heavens on earth and sea and in the nether world and to this fact is attributed the triple form in which she sometimes represented a Selene in heaven Artemis on earth and Persephone in the Underworld (Vergil op cit, iv 510) It is claimed that Hekate was originally a moon goddess but she appeared as such only in the fifth century BC A a deity of the Underworld and of the night she was greatly feared whence in order to placate her anger and retain her favor people were accustomed to gather in large number at the crossroads on the night of the last day of the month and offer to her a sacrifice called Hekateuperper Small statues of the goddess were placed before many of the houses of Athen and at the crossroads to secure her protection Hekate was the teacher of all orcery and he practiced healing by magic and sorcery he was also credited with having control over life and death and was apprised to an oracular deity Hekate was closely associated with Artemis as birth goddess (Euboea op cit, III xi 23) and carried the torch of Eileithyia She was reputed to have covered continents Her symbol was the hound

1 Cf Gruppe op cit, p 1290
1 K F Smith Hkt Supp r in ERE vi 565 567
1 Prn II, op cit, n, 519
HELIOS

Helios (Sun) was the deity of physical light, the sun god whose myth goes back to an Indo-European origin. The island of Thrinakia (Sicily) where his cattle were tended was sacred to him (Odys, xi, 128). He gave light to god and men and seeing and hearing all things he had natural power of divination similar to that of Demeter and Hephaistos (Sophokles, Oedipus Coloneus, 868). He caused blindness as a punishment but he also restored sight as in the case of Orion (Apollodorus, i, 43) and his aid was invoked by the blind Polymester (Euripides, Hecuba, 1067). Helios represented the vivifying powers of light and the sun ray or heliotropic ray and his relation to the art of healing was recognized by a tablet of prayer and by a statue at Epidaurus while at Gytheion he was worshipped with Aulepus and Hygieia (CIG, 1392) and at Megalopolis he was called soter (Pausanius, VIII, xxxi, 7). His daughter Kirke and his granddaughter were killed in the use of herbs and were enraged. From an early period temples were dedicated to Helios in various parts of Greece but the chief festival of his cult was on the island of Rhodes where yearly festivals were held in his honor.

HEPHAISTOS

Hephaistos, a son of Hera (He 10d, op cit, 922) and originally the god of fire later became the divine artificer of metal and a teacher of his art (Odys, vi, 233). He delighted the deities with his artistic creation and Olympos was decorated with them (Iliad, xviii, 377–394) but though he was one of the Olympian divinities Zeus in anger threw him out of heaven with such violence that the injury which he sustained made him lame ever after ward (ib, 1, 593). His favorite abode was the island of
Lemno where he was a chief deity and exercised his powers of healing and delusion hemorrhage and bite of nakes being mentioned a having been cured by him. He had a temple at Athen and an altar at Olympia (Pausanias I xiv 6 V xiv 6)

HERA

Hera was the wife of Zeus and the queen of heaven the noble of goddesses beautiful stately proud and cold. She was the only Olympian deity truly married (Hesiod op cit , 920) but though the equal of Zeus he was obedient to him. She was jealous and quarrelsome and caused frequent disturbance in the royal ménage and though often victorious she was everlast punished by her power (Il, 1 522) She was identified by the Roman with their Ino.

Hera was represented a a gracious benevolent deity especially entrusted with the affair of women and being a motherly protectress she was the founder of marriage guarding the strict observance of it vow and punishing those who violated it duties. A god of fertility and childbirth he aided women in travail and it was he who ent the Eileithyi when their hour had come. She thus had the power of hastening or retarding birth and when excited by jealousy he exerted her influence to delay birth causing Leto to be in labor for nine day at the birth of Apollo and Artemi (Hym Hom, 1 97 ff ) and postponing the confinement of Alkmene giving the priority of birth to Eury then over Herakle (Il xix 112 ff Ovid op cit , ix 285 ff ) The obstetric func

1 Grupp op cit , p 1313
2 T P nofk Dr H 1gotter d r Grn ch n1 ABAW, 1843 pp 257 ff
3 Grupp op cit , 1, 1 0 f
4 Ib , 1, 181
tion of Hera was represented by Eileithyia who was often regarded as a development from or a variant form of Hera but who was in all probability originally a distinct deity and whom the Cretans claimed to be her daughter (Pausanias I, xviii 5) Hera's power to cause insanity was notorious and was demonstrated in the case of Herakles (Euripides Hercules Furens 830) and the e of Athama and Ino (Apollodorus iii 28) and he could pell over Dionysos (Athenaios op. cit., x 65) Hera had no oracular function.

Both Argo and Samo laid claim to being the birthplace of Hera and at Athens and Argo she was worshipped. A Hera Eileithyia At Samo a splendid temple to the Heraon was erected to her by Polykrate and here great festivals were held in her honor. She was also worshipped at Myken, Sparta, at Plataia in Boiotia well as in Ele Corinth, Euboea and at Aigion, where her image might be seen by no one but priests (Pausanias VII xxiii 9).

**HERAKLES**

H erakles is the most renowned hero god of ancient times. He was ranked among the lower order of Olympian deities. He was the son of Zeus and Alkmene and was born to the curse from gods and men but his birth was delayed by the jealousy of Hera (II, xix 112 ff Nikander in Antoninus Liberalis Transformationum cognitiones, 29) and in consequence of her anger he was subject to attack of madness besides being a sufferer from epilepsy which came to be known the disease of Herakles. In Hellenic tradition he represents morality combined with the indomitable courage that rights wrong and he was the real warrior who yielded to the gods in.

Grupp, op. cit., p 485
repentance and expiation. He performed seemingly im-
possible deed. In the Roman pantheon he appears a
Hercule

He 1od (op cit., 527) refer to his healing function, and
Prometheus be ought him to alleviate his grievous
wound while in the Orphic Hymn (ix 14) to Herakle
appeal 1s made to him. Come blessed one bringing all
healments of disease. He wa revered a a divine
physician at Erythrai and Hyetto in Boiotia (Pau-
sania VII v 5 IX xxiv 3) and in Mesene in Sicly
(Aristeid 1 59 D) and he wa recognized a a healer
by an altar at the Ampharéion at Oropo with other
healing deities while the Caucean adored him with
Prometheus a a deliverer from disease and epidemic.
He wa adored and given the title alexikakos (avertor of
evil) in the demos of Melite in Attika when he had
caused the cessation of a plague, and he stopped an
epidemic among the Eleans by changing a river's bed
to flow through and drain a low pestilential marsh
(Philotrato op cit., viii 7) He also received the epithet soter
(savior) in Thaso, and at Delos and Amorgos he wa
worshipped a apallaxikakos (deliverer from ills).
Owing to the evil designs of Hera on his return from
Troy he wa driven to the hore of Ko where accord-
ing to one tradition he settled and wa aociated (some
time confused) with A klepio in healing (II, xiv 250
xv 30) The A klepiadai of Ko claimed to trace their
genealogy to Herakle on their mother ide and his
own descendants. The Herakleidai were associated with
the healing art

Grupp op cit., pp 453 454

\[ ^{07} \text{Hirch 1 Co p d u der G schicht d r M dsc, p 29} \]

\[ ^{0} \text{Spring 1 op cit., 1 13} \]

A. Hauv tte B n ult Fouill d D lo 1 BCH, 1882 vi
342 1891, xvi 71
THE GREEK DEITIES

The Greeks had a tradition that the hot spring at Thermopylae had been created by Athena in order that Herakles might refresh himself and hot springs were frequently dedicated to him. Who ever heard of cold bath that were accredited to Herakles (Aithophane op cit, 1044)? He was especially renowned in healing as the deity of the hot sulphur spring (called Chytroös, or Hot Pot by the inhabitants) at Thermopylae which was a famous health resort (Herodotus vii 176, Strabo IX iv 13 p 428 C) and he also presided over the hot spring at Aidepo (Strabo IX iv 2 p 425 C) which were visited by Sulla for gout (Plutarch Sulla, 26). Medicinal plants were named for him. Herakles was sufficiently prominent in healing to cause Lucian (Dialog De or, xiii) to represent him as claiming precedence over Asklepios in heaven where they engaged in an unseemly quarrel and exchanged abusive language. Herakles terming Aklepio a mountebank, a paltry herb doctor skilful in palmimg off miserable drug on sick people while Aklepio recalled some unfortunate incident in the life of Herakles until Zeus intervened and settled the matter in favor of Aklepio because he had died first.

HERMES

Hermes, the messenger of the Olympian god was frequently called Psychopompos the conductor of souls to the throne of the chthonic deity (Odys, xxiv 1 ff). The divinity of trade of thieve of traveller and of shepherds and hence regarded a prudent and crafty though tricky and a thief (Hym Hom, iii passim) he evolved as a god of dream and magic and was called Oneiropompos whence the Greek poet refer to him again.

1 Fr r op cit, i 209 210
2 S furth r Gruppe op cit, p 1321
wand a bringing sleep and Milton (*Paradise Lost*, xi 133) calls it his opiate rod.

There are few references to his healing function but he was the deity of the gymnasium and athletic and a guardian of health. He assisted Athena in curing the daughters of Proitos of madness. Lucian (*op. cit.*, ix) represents him as performing the operation of Caesarian section upon Semele who thus gave birth to Dionysos at the seventh month and he was honored at Tanagra for topping the plague by carrying a ram on his shoulder around the city walls (Pan ama IX *xxiii* 1). He received the epithet *soter* (savior) and *alewikakos* (avertor of evil) but in a general rather than in a special medical sense and at Pharai he was called the Market God being represented by a mall square tone statue (an Athenian u age *ib*, IV *xxiii* 3) beside which was his oracle while before the image was a stone hearth with bronze lamps. Per on being to consult the oracle burned incense on the altar filled the lamp with oil and lighted them and placing coins on the altar which repeated the question to the god. Then topping the ear they left and when away from the place listened for the first word spoken in their hearing these being assumed to be the oracular response (*ib*, VII *xxii* 2 3). Herme was worshipped at Athen and throughout Greece but was especially revered among the Arka
dian who regarded him a their ancestor.

**HYGIEIA**

Hygieia (Health) the Greek goddess who was the guardian of health was generally regarded as the daugh

---

1. Grupp *op. cit.*, p 932
2. *ib*, p 1337
3. Farnell *op. cit.*, 1 318
4. *ib*, iv 221 f., nd compar th or cl of th Egyptian Apis.
THE GREEK DEITIES

333

ter of A klepio though he was sometime referred to as his sister or wife (Aristeide lxxix 5 Hym Orph., lxvi 7) She was the personification of physical health (Golden Health Pindar Pyth., in 113) but was not a healing deity The name was used as an epithet of Athena and Farnell has suggested that he may have been an emanation from or a detached and personified part of Athena originally representing mental rather than physical health Pausami (I xxii 4) mentions a tue to Athena Hygieia as standing near the propylaea the pedestal of which discovered on its original site in 1839 seems to date from the fifth century BC, the legend running (Plutarch Vita Perichs, xii) that Perikles dedicated a bronze statue to Athena in commemoration of her healing a ealou workman who had been injured by falling from the propylaea or the Parthenon during its construction The fragment of a vase has been found in Athens incribed to Athena Hygieia on which is emblazoned a serpent evidently part of a serpent creature belonging to Hygieia The character of the text suggests that the inscription belong to the 1rth century BC, and it is assumed to attest the antiquity of the worship of Athena Hygieia at Athens and long before the advent of A klepio to that city (Fraise Paus., ii 277 281) although this is disputed.

According to common tradition Hygieia came to Athens with A klepio from Epidaurus in 420 BC, but it is claimed that evidence of her presence there is lacking until about fifty years later Careful study tend to how that he had a development independent of A klepio

1 Grupp, op cit, p 1066
17 Op cit, i, 318
1 Harrison Th Mytology of Monuments of Ancient Athens, pp 389 393, i o U n r op cit, p 1
2 Thramer in Röcher iii 1486
with whom she appears at Athens in the fourth century BC (IG iv 1329) and if she did not come from Epidaurus where she is supposed to have joined the cult he came from elsewhere in the Peloponneso probably from Titane. Herme was sometime a sated with her husband (Kornouto de Natura Deorum, xvi) and they acted as guardian of health. On vases Hygieia was represented as Euexia (Wellbeing) and she was identified with the Roman goddess Salus in her capacity as a health divinity.

Hygieia, ever the chief of the divine retinue of Akephio, was represented as a young maiden frequenting Baal relief. How her as being in attendance upon the god, tending by him and receiving the petition of the suppliants or introducing them to the god at Athens, without her symbol or a caring for and feeding the sacred serpent. Those who were restored to health approached her with thank offering before leaving the Akephio. Ariphron of Sikyon wrote a hymn to Hygieia in praise of her power of exalting the happiness of life and Samuel Johnson quoting it remarked upon its beauty and force. Hygieia was the only one of the retinue of Akephio who shared his exaltation to divine rank and on a Greek gem they appear together as aavior deities. She was the intimate companion of the god and her statue was usually placed near the one of Akephio at Titane (P. Warne II xi 6) while the

6 Thra, in ERE vi 551
1 Holla d r op cit, pp 107 ff.
3 For r pr action of th godd in nce t rt, W Wroth
Hygi in JHS, 1884 v 82 101 l o F Ko pp D tti ch
Hygi in MAIA, 1 85 x 255 271
In The R mbler, No 48
4 E L Bl t 750 in cription d pi rr gr v' in MAIBL, p rti 1898 xvi 80 20
Athens he was the only partner of the deity in the Amphiarion. She was joint possessor of an altar in the Amphiarion at Oropo (ib, I xxxiv 3 IG vii 372 412). The worship of Hygieia was emphasized at Argos and Corinth.

ISIS

I was a well-known and greatly beloved deity of Egypt who the cult was one of the few of foreign prophetic gods which flourished in Greece. She was closely identified in function with Aphrodite and a shrine was built in honor of Aphrodite at Tentyra in Upper Egypt (Strabo XVII 1 44 p 815 C) while under her own name a temple was erected to her at Peiraeus in 333 similar to her fane in Egypt. Her cult being introduced into Hellenic prudence. Her worship was joined with that of Sarapis and when it had become more definitely a healing cult with divination especially through the dream oracle with interpretations of visions by priests (Diodoros 1 95) it had a rapid growth so that in the period of the Ptolemies a temple was built at the foot of the Akropolis to I and Sarapis. Many shrines were dedicated to the goddess in Greece. Although the one at Tithorea near the temple of Aklepio was considered the holiest of all (Pau ania, X xxxii 13) no man living near it, and none being permitted to approach it who had not been previously invited by a dream. Two festivals were held here in honor of I in each year. At Boi in Lkonia the temple of I and Sarapis was near the harbor at Kenchreai. The port of Corinth was sanctuaries of Isis and Aklepio (ib, II 11 3). The principal festival to I in Greece held on March 5 of each year to celebrate the opening of navigation there fully.
decribed by Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, xi 7 17) and during it a hip laden with spice and richly equipped was sent to sea from Kenchreai as an offering to the godde

**THE KABEIROI**

The *Kabeiroi* were a group of mysterious minor deities of obscure and probable foreign origin whose mysteries had long been in vogue in the fifth century BC, and are rather definitely traced to a home in Samothrace and an institution of a non Hellenic people. They were primarily three in number Aiôkeros, Aiôkersos, and Aiôker a, equated respectively with Demeter, Hades, and Persephone, although others held that they were only two corresponding to Zeus and Dionysos (*Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Káβ iρoi). Early writers connect them with the Pelasgians Samothrace Lemnos or Phrygia (e.g. Herodotus ii 51 Anthol Pal, vi 164 301 Nonno xxvii 121 ff.). The constant Hellenic synonym for them was *theoi megaloi*, and apparently means the Great One (cf. Hebrew *kabba* great) and it may be that this was translated by Phoenician traders of their original epithet which has vanished though the ancient derived it from the Kabirian Mountain in Phrygia. Later they were identified with the Cretan Kourois and Daktyloi (*Strabo* X ii 7 19 20 pp. 466 472 C) and still later because of their name they were supposed to be Phoenician and were held to be the eight on of Sydus (etymology of whom the eighth was Asklepios (*Ehnum* cf. Philon Byblio in *Fragmenta historiorum Graecorum*, iii 569 Dam kio quoted by Photios *Bibliotheca*, 532 b)

In origin they seem to have been chthonic divinities and with their worship (fostered in Adama, Imbros, Paro Miletos and generally in the Aigaian islands, a
well a on the Greek Coast while important Kabeirai
have been excavated at Thebes and Samothrace) there
were certain rite, of which there is no clear evidence but
which appear to have been analogous to those of Eleus
The Kabeiroi mysterie of Samothrace seem to have had
a moralising effect on conduct once those who had par
taken in them became more pious and just (Diodoro i
49) At the Theban Kabeiraion was a grove accredited
to Demeter and Kore, in which the Kabeiroi held to
which only the initiated were admitted and where cultic
myteries and healing were practiced (Pausanias IX
xxv 5 Fraer op cit, v 136) Suidas (sv akon) regarded them as healing divinities they were known as inventors of medicine and music (Philon Byblios Phaen
cum Historia, n 11) while navigator worshipped them
as deities of the sea and wind (Diodoro iv 48 ff)

KIRKE

Kirke was an ocean nymph a daughter of Helios and
mythic enchantress who enticed Odysseus and his com-
panion to her island where he retained them for a year.
She was killed in the knowledge of herb and imbible
poison (Odysseus, x 278 ff) and occasionally practiced
healing.? 

LETO

Lea, according to Greek myth the daughter of the Titan
Koios and Phoebe was the mother of Apollo and Artemis
who were born on the island of Delos after the jealousy
of Hera had delayed their delivery for nine days (Il, xix

For further reading on the truly difficult proble
Faulkner Kabeiroi in ERE vii 28 32 1 o Grupp Ind in op
cit, sv Kab( )rooi

? Grupp op cit, p 708
112 ff Ovid op cit., ix 297 ff) She had a knowledge of he ling as i ted women in labor and wa a protectre of children whence she received the epithet of euteknos and kourotrrophos (Theokritos xviii 50) while Homer (II, v 446) refers to her in a ocation with Artemi in dre sing the wounds of Aineia. Her home and the center of her wor hip were the 1 land of Delo. In the Roman pantheon she was known as Latona and she was po sibly in origin the Night

MALEATES

Maleate was the name of a h aing deity who was re puted to have been brought from the north with A kle pio 20 though the word i commonly ed an epithet of Apollo to indicate his healing function and F ernell 1 would upply Apollo whenever Maleate is mentioned Altar and sanctuarie were dedicated to Apollo Maleate at Tegea Athens and Trikke (IG iv 950 29) a well a t Sparta (Pausam 11il xii 8) but the mo t celebrated hrine wa erected on the ummit of Mount Kynortion overlooking Epidaurus (ib II xxvii 7) A acrificial rubric found at Peir eau and howing the name of Maleate u ed id by ide with Apollo (CIA ii 1651) 1 believed to indicate that he hould be regarded a a divin ity d tinct from Apollo and to uggest that the identifi cation with him came later at Epidaurus. Together with Apollo Herme Hygieia and her ter he received three cake as an offering

J G Miln, 'Gr k Inscription from Egypt,' in JHS, 1 01 1
20 f 1 o Fox, op cit., p 175, Grupp op cit., p 124
1 O thoff, 'Gr k Inscription from Egypt,' in JHS, 1 95 v 305 ff
Wilton op cit., p 20
1 C ts, iv 233 35 238
Thr r 1 ERE vi 547 f Grupp op cit., p 1442
Accordi ng to the u tual version the Mu e were the d ughter of Z e u and Mnemo yne and were in pired godde e of ong, poetry the art and cience and of well and pring Originally they appear to have been only three in number but after Hesiod there were nine (op cit , 75 79) From Thrace and Boiotia their cult pread to other part of Greece and became firmly e t b li ned Apollo wa thei le der they received in piratio from the Delphian god and they i nstructed Artaio in the art of prophecy nd healing (Apollonios Rhodion 519)

THE NYMPHS

The Nymp hs, Dryads Ham dryad Nereids and similar mythic per onage were nature pirit of the hill for e t pring and caves and their worship was u ually conducted in the open air Many were regarded a th d ughter of Z e u by unknown human mother and rul ing over pring w ll and tream which had medicinal propertie they wer credited with healing function Some were wor hi ped under a collective name Thu in the gian village of Heraklea at a spring flowing into th Kytheros river there wa a ntyuary to a group of nymphs who pre ided over it Kalliphana Synall xi Pegaia and Iasi collectively termed the Ionides or Ioniades and according to Pausania (VI xxiv 7) To bathe in the pring is cure for all kind of ickness and pains In the Triphylia district of Elis wa a warm ulphur pring is uing from a cave on the bank of the Amigros river over which ruled a band of nymph called the Anigriade These waters had an offensive odor which it 1 said they had acquired from the purific tion

Cf A C Pear on Mu in ERE ix, 3 5 Grupp op cit , pp 1075 1078
of the wound that Cheiron had received at the hands of Herakle and because Melampou had used its waters in cleaning the daughter of Proito of madness (Strabo VIII iii 19 pp 346 347 C Pausania V v 10) The springs were a cure for all skin diseases while the worship consisted of prayers, vows, bathing and the use of rational remedies. According to Hesychios (s v iarpɔ́) certain Eolian nymphs were termed phyician.

ORPHEUS

Orpheus a hero god a divinity of music and the father of poetry was of Thracian origin and was said to have lived before the Trojan War. According to tradition he was the son of Orestes and the Muses Kalliope but when he was awarded divine honor for his kill Apollo was credited with being his father. The train from the golden lyre of Orpheus and his songs fascinated all animate nature, that mankind the beauty of the field, the tree, and even the rock were moved (Pausania IX xxx 4). He was reputed to have visited Egypt and to have brought back and originated the religious ceremonies and mysteries of Greece especially the Mysteries of Eleusis while he was said to have taught the worship of Demeter in Lakonia (ib., III xiv 5) and to have imparted to Hekate her mysteries in Aigina (ib., II.xxx 2). His name became a collective term applied to his descendents and their traditions gave rise to a religious sect which advanced religious theories of purification, salvation, reward and punishment and the future state of the soul known a Orphim while within the sect were developed the thiasov, a powerful brotherhood who regarded the body as the prison of the soul and ought to diminish the influence of matter over spirit by sobriety and personal asceticism (Plato op cit 38).

The influence of music over certain diseases was recog
nized by the Greek from early time and Orpheus was chief exponent. He was a celebrated soothsayer and exercised healing powers by appeasing the wrath of the god through his incantation conjuration and magic formula (Euripides Alcestis, 966) The Thracian and Thessalian revered him as a divine physician and he covered remedie for disease (Pausania IX xxx 4) Orpheus had a famous oracle at Lesbo and there was a archaic statue to him in the temple of Demeter in Lako ma t Taygeto (ib, III xx 5)

PAIAN

Paian was the official physician of Olympus the divinity who dressed the wound of the god with anodyne cat plasm (Il, v 401 900) To the Greek the term ppe r to have meant a chant or song of victory and this connection with music together with the fact that Paian never developed a cult had led Farnell to infer that it was an old ppell tive of Apollo connoting his healing function Homer nd Heiod (Frag, 213) however t that Pian and Apollo a dtunct per onalitie and it only after the 16th century BC that the epithet Paian applied to Apollo found in literature led to the inference that originally he was a separate deity later amalgamated with Apollo Homer (Odys, iv 229) emphatically the kill of Egyptian physician by saying that they were of the race of Paian and the name came to be an epithet given to divine healer Asklepios and other. The word is derived from a ba e meaning to strike and construed He who cure maladie by his magic blow

*Farnell op cit, iii 201
Ib, iv, 234 ff Grupp op cit, p 1240
Bon cq Dictionnaire de l'etymologie de la langue grecque, pp 73 740
PAN

PAN, a god of pastoral life and of flock herder and vegetation was originally an Arkadian mountain spirit and a generative daimon of flock and herd who later became a full-fledged deity famed for his skill on the pipes. He had mantic powers and was even credited with having instructed Apollo in prophecy (Apollodoro 2.22) but in certain aspect he was supposed to cause panic nightmares and disease.

With the nymph Acheloo and Kephisos he represented the hygiene of nature at Oropo (Pausania I xxxiv 3) he tayed the silence of Troy by mean of his dream oracle (ib II xxxii 6) and at Sikyon the porch of the A klepieion was flanked by the figure of Pan and Artemis (ib II x 2). The epithet Pan was applied to him in the Orphic Hymn (xi 11) Pan had several oracle scattered throughout Greece one of which at Lykaion and another at Akakeion were especially well known (Pausania VIII xxxviii 5 xxxvii 11 12) and the latter he was assisted by the nymph Erato while his oracle was powerful in accomplishing men prayer.

PERSEPHONE

PERSEPHONE, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter and the queen of the Underworld was the wife of Hades who had found her gathering narcissus in a meadow and had carried her off to his subterranean realm (He 10d Theog 913 Pausania IX xxxi 9) but in deference to the sorrow and complaint of Demeter Zeus enforced compromise by which Persephone passed the winter with Hades and the remainder of the year with her mother on earth. As the queen of the infernal manion of Had
he was the dre d Per ephone (Hesiod ἱβ , 768) while on earth he was the maiden Kore and intimately associated with Demeter as a godde of vegetation in the spring. The cult of Demeter Kore which included the My te re of Eleu 1 and the great Eleu 1ian fe tival presented perhaps the mo t eriou a pect of Greek religious life and was the most prominent and popular in Greece tho e who had been initiated and had witne ed the e my te re being bles ed among men Persephone appear in the Roman pantheon a Pro rpina

A healing deity Persephone was associated with Hade at the variou Ploutonia and Charoneia in Greece and Asia Minor the mo t prominent being in the Mai n dro valley and the be t known being t Acharaka (Strabo XIV i 44 pp 649 650 C) Beautiful temple were dedicated to her in Lokri and at Ky kō on the Proponti while in Aigina Epidauro and Troe n he was known and worshipped with Demeter a a child birth godde in the cult of Damā and Auxe 1a and in the spect he was given the epithet Cheirogoma (Hesychio sv) At Patrai and el e where he received the epithet soteira ( avior )

POSEIDON

Poseidon wa one of the Olympian circle nd a god of the ea and all fre h water whom the Roman called Nep tunus Hi association with the healing art is light nd the inference concerning the healing practice of his cult may be illusory On the island of Teno which wa an Aylum he was called uatros (Philochoro in Frag hist Gr , 1 414) and the fact ha he n con sidered a ug ge ting that the priest of his cult practiced he lung at

Fox op cit, pp 230 231 Grupp op cit, p 1182 r g rd h th er c nt oo
Grupp op cit, p 1175
the health resort situated there. As tending to confirm the inference the Tenians had a tradition that Machaon and Podaleirios were the sons of Poseidon (Eustathio on II, xi 515) There are traces of a belief that he made the insane to whinny like horse and that he was one of the deities who caused epilepsy (Hippokrate de Morb Sac, 2) 41

PROMETHEUS

Prometheus originally to have been a deity of fire particularly in it beneficent and helpful a parent and later to have been conceived a creator divinity of the divine myth group while finally he was held to typify the end avor of man to gain enlightenment by subduing the forces of nature to his will and controlling them for his own purpose. A referring to creation according to a legend of the Alexandrian period probably of Babylonian origin, he mixed earth and water and making it pliable fashioned man having summoned Athena to aid in the work (Lucian Prometheus, 13 Horace Carmina, I 16 Hyginus Fabulae, 142) The most popular legend concerning him relates that he stole from Hephaistos the fire of heaven which Zeus had withheld from mortals and concealing it in a fennel stalk he brought it to mankind, thus incurring the wrath of the god (He id Op et Dies, 50) In punishment Zeus had chained him to a rock but Hera broke hisackle and set him free

Prometheus was associated with the early Greek art of healing and Aischylo (Prometheus Vinctus 478 ff) declare that he taught mankind not only divination but

40 Fr n ll op cit iv 13  
41 Ada op cit, n 337

4 Grupp, op cit, pp 441 442 1024 1026 1402 F x op cit, pp 12 14 Cook Zeus, 1, 325 330
al o the mixing of gentle remedies to replace the
drug which hitherto had made sufferers pine away
Mention is al o made of a Promethian alve (possibly
in origin a remedy for the venom of erpents) * with
which I son wa anointed by Medea before ploughing
the magic field to gain the Golden Fleece (Apollomo
Rhodios iii 845 Valeriu Flaccus vii 355)
At Athen he had an altar in common with Heph 1 to
and Athen (Ly imacho in Frag hist Gr, iii 341) and
he wa honored by a festival called th Prometheia
(Xenophon Republica Athenemensium, iii 4)

RHEA

RHA  a, the wife of Kronos and the mother of Z eu nd
other Olympian deitie repre ented th ame funda
mental conception of the Gre t Moth r the Mother of
th God the mighty earth godde e of fertility and
maternity of Oriental nation o that h wa ide tified
with the Phrygi n Kybele their name being u ed indi
tinguishably in literature to denote the ame divine per
onality and cult 4 Modern inve tigation at Kn o o
tend strongly to indicate that he wa of Cret n origin 4
Her cult wa emotional with pronounced orgastic nd
my tic feature which were repre ented by the noi y
band of Korybantes her ervant with whom the Kou
retes and Daktyloi were as ocated
There i little trace of definite healing in her cult
except that he invented liniment for relieving the pain
of children and had m ny remedie for them It w up
posed that th mu ice and dancing of her follower the
Korybante relieved mental terror vagarie and other
nervou di order

4 Grupp op cit, p 573
**F m ll op cit, in 28 ff
4 Ib, in 292 ff
THE HEALING GODS

SABAZIOS

Sabazios was a deity of Thracian (or Phrygian) origin who gave life to all nature and who e mystic and orgiastic cult was so similar to that of Dionysus that his name was regarded by many as merely an appellative of that divinity whence the two were identified as Dionysus Sabazios while Strabo (X iii 15 p 470 C) say that he may be considered a son of the great Mother Godde. His cult appeared in Athens about the fifth century BC attaching itself to that of Kybele and Attis and in Asia being finally merged with that of Kybele Persephone into the Mysteries of Sabazios wore his symbol an ornamental golden snake on their robe over the breast and Fraheruggested that this may be a trace of the belief that women could be impregnated by reptile. Notwithstanding harp criticism and opposition because of its mystery and their orgiastic feature the worship gained popularity, but it became the Sabaist festival held at night and eventually women took part in them with the Gallo-Roman licentious manner that the cult was not considered respectable (Aristophanes Vespae, 9 Demosthenes de Corona, 266) It prospered for a time but disappeared about the beginning of the Christian era. Sabazios was a healing deity but was regarded as important and chrism an imitator of Alope He represented a healing by the laying on of hands and aided child birth in this manner.

SARAPIS

Sarapis was a foreign deity allied with Isis who e cult.

---

4 Fm II op cit, III 297 v 4ff cf 10 Gr pp op cit, pp 1532 1533 Krtschm r op cit, pp 195 19

47 Adon s, 1 90, note 4

4 Cf pra, pp 284 285

4 Wmbich, op cit, p 18
wa brought to Greece during the latter half of the fourth century B.C. through the influence of Ptolemy I. He was a syncretic creation of the Graeco-Egyptian period by some regarded as a fusion of Hades with the Egyptian O or Hap (Osiris Apis) and by others held to be none other than the great Babylonian healing divinity E of Eridu sar apsê, God of the Watery Deep. It has been said that Sarapis had a Greek body haunted by an Egyptian soul.

Sarapis was aniatromantic deity who gained favor by the use of divination principally by the dream oracle or incubation. Suppliant incubated for them, else or their friend and priest who might also incubate for their patient, interpreted the dream and announced their ulti with direction to be followed. Though possessed or in pised by the god, the cult made such rapid headway in Greece largely because it readily granted favor to the suppliant that at one time it was popular and influence threatened the preeminence of the Akepion cult but it practice of my time can be seen. I brought it into disrepute and aroused active opposition.

The healing method of Sarapis and his, who were very like Akepios and Hygieia, bore a strong resemblance to those of A klesio and their worship were not antagonistic. There were indications of the use of hypnotic in cultic practice with incubation was a feature in both (Diodorus 1.25) the general type and divinity of A klesio and Sarapis were similar the staff and the serpent were symbols of both and a Aris teide (500 bc) a


them in a vision they were wonderfully like each other. Demetrios of Phaleron wrote a paean as a votive offering in honor of Sarapis in gratitude for the restoration of his right (Diogenes Laertios v, 76)

The temple of Sarapis and Isis (the Sarapeia and Ideia) were very similar to the Asklepieia. Sarapis had a temple at Athens (Pausanias, I, xviii, 4) and Sparta (ib, III xiv 5) a well as many other throughout Greece while at Boeotia both Asklepios and Sarapis had temples not far distant from each other (ib, III xxvi 13) and in the shrine of Apollo Aigeira the statue of Sarapis and Isis were placed near that of Asklepios (ib, VII xxvi 7). A priest of Asklepios in Daci dedicated a tablet to Sarapis (CIL III 1973) and the name of both gods have been found joined on the same coin.

TELESPHOROS

Telephoros, a minor deity and a sort of familiar tacked to the cult of Asklepios and although mentioned about the time of Hadrian was probably a very old figure for whose representation the Greek adopted that of the Egyptian Harpokrate. It appears that the Greek admired this divinity (Harpocrates Haru the Child) represented as a lame undeveloped child sitting on a lotus leaf with his finger to his lip and adopted the figure but changed the ble and set up a statue to him under the name of Telephoros Euameimon. Ake the attitude symbolizing the reserve customary concerning divine mysteries (Plutarch de Iside et Osiride 19 68). It is inferred that the priest attached him to Asklepios and Hygieia a having an in

Gruppe op cit, p 1579

Cf Müll r, Mythology, Egypt n, pp 117 243 l o Mn in ERE vi 379 380, Grupp op cit, pp 1562 1563 Sch nek D Telephoros Deo, Gotting n 1888
fluence over healing and a nagging the silence and
cracy which must be observed in respect to medical practice when he was called Sigalo (Silent) and
physician wore by him to hold inviolate the secrecy of their profession. He was worshipped at Pergamon and
elewhere along the coast of Asia Minor and was notified with Euamerion of Titane and Akesi of Epidaurus
(Paus. II xi 7) while at the latter site an inscription has been found in honor of Asklepion [and] Hy
giea Telesphoros. In a poem in his honor he is called bringer of life (zoophoro) but later his name
was to mean ventriloquius (e.g. Etymol. m g, s/v)
Telephoros is seldom referred to in literature and the
most of the information concerning him comes from
monuments and coins which indicate that his worship was prevalent throughout Asia Minor preceding from
Pergamon where he was especially revered and extending to Athens and Epidaurus. His function is not clearly
understood but from the accepted meaning of his name
Accomplisher it has been assumed that he was the god
of convalescence and possibly an incubation spirit
and it is known that patients at the sanctuary sacrificed
to him during their recovery. At Pergamon he gave Artes
tede a healing balm which was applied in the bath

Spr. gel op cit., p 136
Grupp op cit., p 1455 U n r op cit., pp 170 171
7 Baunck in SGAS, 188 19 (cf. other incription, rely
ntionng the name of T l phoros ib., pp 91 98)
Kaibel, d Epigr m t Grec ex apidis co l ct., o 1027
h 43
Prof. L H. Gray ugg t th ing of th h who will bring the perfect and that he was old 'dep r nt l god
who put the finishing touch to healing ady practically co pl t
W. Wroth T l phoros '1 JHS, 1882 m 2 3 ff al o J Zi
h Studn u d A kl pio r lef 1 MAIA, 1892 vu 241
while pa sing from the hot to the cold water 1 and Marmos (Vita Prokhi, 7) relates that the boy fair to ee appeared to the philosopher Proklos in a vi 10n while h was dangerously ill and touched his forehead where upon he was straightway made whole Telesphoro in a later period is represented on monuments and coins a child wearing a hood and a long cloak which cover hi whole figure except the face and he appear either alone with A klepio with Hygieia or with both His wor hip was recognized in Athens by a religious society named in hi honor the Ephebe of Telesphoros (CIA III 1 1159) Iami cos a hypothetical on of A klepio (Scholion on Ari toph nes Plut, 701) w another child divinity a ocated with the cult one of whom little i known and who e functional relation i ob cure On com and in marble he is repre ented a a mall boy nude or lightly clad tanding by the ide of the god or alone holding ome animal most frequently a goose ometime u ed ymbol of healing power

THEMIS

Themis wa the mother of the Horai and the Moirai (He iod Theog, 901 906) and a birth godde rec iv ing the epithet Them Eileithyia (Nonnos Dronysiaca, xli 162) At Troizen he wa wor hipped in the plural a the Themide and the countles nymph the Them iade (Pau ania II xxxi 5) and she received th oracle at Delphoi from her mother Earth but w di missed by Apollo or he passed it to Phoibe who pre

1 Bouch L r q op cit, in 302 Holland r op cit, pp 126 ff Dindorf, op cit, iv 228 230 Holland r p cit, pp 150 ff A S h iiff in P uly W ow vi 178 d 1 52
THE GREEK DEITIES

ented it to Apollo a birthday gift (Achylon Eumenid 9.4 Strabo IX iv, 11 p 422 C)

TROPHONIOS

Trophonios, a chthonic deity who predated over celebrated oracle at Lebadeia in Boiotia according to Pausania (IX xxxvii 4.5) and Strabo (IX 11 9 p 421 C) like his brother Agamede builder who erected temple of Apollo at Delphoi and a treasury for Hyrieus. He was reputed to have been a divinity of the Phlegyan and Cicero (op cit, iv 22) give him the same general ancestry as his brother. A klepio Late author have questioned the propriety of considering him a god but Celum clasped him with other chthonic healing deities such as Amphimachus and Mopos (Origene contra Celum vii 35) while Lucian (Dialogi Mortuorum, vii) spoke of him a compound of man and god. Farnell calls him a faded deity.

Trophonios had the same tribute as a klepio and the ceremonies of his cult seem to have been a picture of the early ritual of a klepio who had a shrine at Orchomeno in the same neighborhood but his ling function appeared never to have been developed beyond the primitive stage and to have receded as those of a klepio grew in importance. His oracle was near Lebadeia in a grotto on the side of a hill above the Herkyna river where there was an image of the god and his daughter Herkyna with serpents coiled around their scepters so that they may have been taken for a klepio and Hygieia. In the grove was a temple with statue of Trophonios by Praxiteles that resembled a klepios and there were also other shrines one to Demeter Europa and one to Apollo well an image of Kronos, Hera, and Zeus (Pausan IX xxxix 4.5)

Fm II in ERE vi 405
Those intending to consult the oracle whether for healing or other reason (ib, IV xxxi 5) lodged for several days in a building accredited to the Good Daimon and Good Fortune and observed rule of purity avoiding hot baths bathing in the Herkyna river and sacrificing to the several gods, to Zeus Basileus Hera the charioteer and other. A soothsayer inspected the entrails of the victim to learn if the suppliant would be graciously received by the deity and on the evening before going to the cave Agamede was honored by the sacrifice of a ram who e entrails must tell the me tale to give the suppliant hope. Those who consulted the oracle paid a silver coin into the treasury and offered ten cakes (CIGGS 3055) Anointed by boy he was then led by priest to two springs where he drank first of the water of Forgetfulness and next of the water of Memory (F Werner op. cit., v 198 904 Pliny op. cit., xxxi 5) Draped in white bound with fillet and wearing native boot the suppliant now approached the oracle and holding in his hand barley cake kneaded with honey a sacrifice to the serpent (Aristophane Nubes, 508) he descended feet first into the cave. To some it was given to see and to other to hear the oracle which was delivered by serpents. After taying in the cave a varying length of time sometimes more than a day the suppliant returned a he entered feet first and was received by the priests who eated him in the chair of Memory questioning him to all he had seen and heard. Later till overpowered by fear and quite unconscious he was given into the hand of his friend and returned to the House of the

7 Fmn II, Cults, 1 194
2 Fmn II, Cults, 1 194
3 For the incubation of the Trophonio cult E Hamilton op. cit., pp 93
Good Daimon and Good Fortune where he recovered his
wit and finally his power of laughter.

ZEUS

Zeus, the sovereign of the Greek pantheon and the chief
of the Olympian circle of deities, was the god of the
heaven, the potential ruler of the universe, the father
of god and men, and the undaunted master of lightning
and thunder who in his wrath used the thunderbolt
weapon of punishment. He was the bringer of both good
and evil and could assume the function of all other
divinites once his will was supreme.

The most ancient shrine of Zeus and the most venerable oracle in Greece was at Dodon in Epeiros (Herodotus 1, 52 ff.) where there was a celebrated oak accredited to him which Sophokles called the many-tongued oak (Trach, 1148) and which was commonly termed the whispering or talking oak, since the rustling of its leaves and the murmuring of the waters beneath it were believed to be the voice of the god. His priests, the selloi of the un, wa hen feet interpreted the sounds as prophecies and in truption, and inscribed many of the divine decrees on tablets of lead. Recent excavation have unearthed large numbers of these plates incribed with question
and prayer to Zeus Naio and Dione and some replica of these oracles from a site supposed to be that of the old sanctuary. These practices (Il, xvi 235) are a
umed to be evidences of incubation in the primitive cult
and the inscription indicate that the oracle was consulted by persons from far and near both for personal and for public affairs. When Odysseus inquired of it to learn

70 Car pano Dodone t runes, 1 S3 Pl t 34 3
71 Grupp, op cit, p 355
how he should return home (Odys, xiv 327 xix 296)
At Dodona Zeu appear a in the earlier tage of hi
development half barbarian whereas at Olympia he w
the center of the beauty, fancy and greater activitie of
the Greek life of the late centuries ὁ. His statue there wa
the highest expres sion of Greek art wa eagerly vi ited
by persons from every part of Greece and wa wonder
ingly admired by all (Pausania V xi, 1)

Zeu wa regarded a the helper of weak and unfortu
n te humanity and he was given many epithet among
them being Paian at Rhode (Hesychios s v Παῦ Z ú )
and apotropaios ( averter of ill ) at Erythrai both ex
pre sive of the ame idea of th deity ὁ but a a healer
he generally delegated hi powers to other for pphe-
station although the sick con ulted hi oracle at Dodon ὁ
He wa the divine phy ician at Rhode while volente
blets models of limbs dedicated to him in gratitude for
healing have been found at Athen in the Pnyx (CIA in
150 156) and al o in Melo ὁ The allotment of a p rt of
the altar at the Amphipareion at Oropo establishe h i
a sociation with healing there (Pau amù s I xxxiv 3)
P u an a (V v 5) intimate th t Zeu Leukaios he led
lepro y at Lepreo though th inference ὁ di puted ὁ
and he wa al o known a a god who aided child birth and
he led by the laying on of hands being assisted in thus
pha e of hi character by Epapho being called Zeu
Epaphos and receiving the epithet Hyperdexo ὁ

7 G âû ð e r o p c t, p 407 7 F rû b ù o p c t, i 67
7 Ib, i 40 7 P n f k in ABAW, 1843 p 258
7 Thô er, i ERE vi, 545 note
77 Weinr ic h o p c t, p 41 l o Grupp, o p c t, p
THE GREEK DEITIES

DEMIGODS, HEROES AND HEROINES ASSOCIATED WITH HEALING

Achille  Demión  Mopó
Agamede  The Dios kouroi  Moú aio
Amphilocho  Helena  Oíone
Amyno (Alkon)  Hero Iatro  Polyido
Antikyreó  The Korybante  Protesilaos
Apí  The Kourête  Toxari
Ari tomacho  Medêia  [Glykon the f 1
god or hero]
Baki  Melampou  Hemi
Cheíron  thea
Th Daktyloi

Supplementary List  Personalities not Discussed 7

Akei  Epimenide  Ion  Paíonaío
Ake 1da  Eribote  Iphykle  Panakei
Alexanor  Euroto  Kaira  Peleu
Al xida  Gorgaso  Kalch  Memede
Alkeid  H ktor  Lino  Phoko
Alkmen  I pi  Medeîo  Polyd ma
Amphitrit  I on  Medo  Prokrí
D rron  Ia (1)o  Nikom cho  Sphyro
Dione  Ichnaia  Ody eu  Telamon
Epimed  Idas  Or ilocheia  Teukro

ACHILLES

Achille, a celebrated hero of the Trojan War and pupil of Cheiron was not merely killed in healing but also taught other the art (II, xi, 839) In Eli he was hipped a hero possessing mantic power (P u

7 Note Th o o tao of the h ro d herin nd y th r with h g w light do 101 c pt for th d d nt of Aklpio P k1 nd th o of M h on but th ir wrk d th t of l ter Aklpi d 1 uffinetly indicât d 1 th t t
AGAMEDE

Agam de, the daughter of Augea, a prince of Elis who was a sorcerer and one who well understood many drugs and a the wid earth nour he (Il, xi 739)

AMPHILOCHOS

Amphilochos, the son of Amphiaraos and one of the heroes of the Theban War, inherited the mantic faculty of his father with whom he was worshipped at the sanctuary of Oropus as a healing hero. His oracle, like those of his sire, being imparted by dreams (Tertullian op cit, xlvi Dion Kasio lxxii 7) he joined with Mopso, one of his companions in the Theban War, to found the city of Mallos in Cilicia where they set up a healing shrine (Strabo XIV v 16 p 675 C) and Pausania says (I xxxiv 3) that this oracle was considered the most infallible of that day.

AMYNOS (ALKON)

Amyno (Averter) was a healing hero or a demigod who was worshipped at Athens before the arrival of
A klepio and who e cult appear to have been so ciated (or confu ed) with that of a legendary therapeutic hero Alkon of whom little i known except that he wa reared together with Asklepio by Cheiron (Vita Sopho chs, 11) and who i supposed to have occupied a temenos at Athens. The origin of Amynos and hi cult i un known and it is aid that he i not mentioned in Greek literature or by any of the Christian father except Euebios He had been forgotten until excavations by the German Archeological Institute in 1895 disclo ed a precinct on the western lope of the Akropolis between the Areiopagos and the Pnyx with in cription to healing divinity named Amynos. The precinct wa an irregu lar quadrangle about sixty two feet long by forty two wide. It contained a well and the foundation of an old chapel the style of ma onry ugging that it wa of the date of Peisi trato (eventh century B.C.) and that it w constructed on the i of a previou temple d ting back possibly to 1000 B.C. Remains of the older a well a the later tyle of pottery were discovered with natomi cal votive offering in marble and b relief the latter being of the usual character proving that the erpent wa the symbol of the hero while one of them repre ent a goddess probably Hygieia tand by a wr athed lar receiving homage from train of uppliant with a child. The e reh indicate that Amynos wa held in high e teem but they do not give any intimation of hi method of healing or whether or not incubation wa ed except that one tablet hows a man and woman approaching the god with hands raised in the attitude of uplication (Frazer op cit, v 499 500).

Amynos had failed to avert an existing pestilence and it wa determined to bring Asklepio who had gained an

Walton, op cit, pp 29 30

1 Kort in MAIA, 1893 xvii 251 256 189, 1, 287 3
enormous pretige in the Peloponnesos to Athens and it is believed that he was first made a guest at the temenos of Amynos and that later he absorbed the cult. In cription of about the fourth century B.C., found in the temenos, indicate that Asklepio was al o worshipped there, though as a secondary deity and that there was al o a third divinity called Dexion (q.v.) who had a separate chapel. It is asumed that as the fame of A klepio increased in Athens Amynos faded until he was forgotten. The hero Alkon had a shrine at Sparta.

ANTIKYREOS

Antikyereos was Greek healing hero who was reputed to have covered hellebore in Phokis and with it to have cured Herakle of m dne

APIS

Api, king of Argos, founder of the city of Apia, in Argos and a matromant who had freed his state of monarch was a son of Apollo who came from Naupakto to Argolis where he settled and cured it people whence it was called the Apian land (Alcylos Supphcess, 250-260) He seems to have been in reality a hypostasis of A klepios his name being abbreviated from Apiodoro (Giving Mild Gift)

ARISTOMACHOS

Aristomachos, a heros latros of ancient Greece and rcgognized such at the Dionysion at Marathon had a healing shrine at that place and was worshipped at his grave.

Hrm on Prologome, pp. 345-346
Pnoffk in ABAW, 1843-257 ff
maniae, op cit, pp. 172, 1441, 1452
Thramr in ERE vi, 553
Bakis, one of the most distinguished deities of Greece was a diviner and a purifier while his reputation as a prophet equaled that of Melampus. He was said to be possessed by a nymph (Pausanias X xii 11, Aristotle, *Pax*, 1071) and his oracle in hexameter like those of Delphi and the Sibyl of Cumae were later collected (Pausanias IV xxvii 45). Though a Boiotian, he was held in high esteem in Athens and since both Athenians and Arkadians boasted of having a deity named Baki (Suda s.v. B'κις) it is entirely probable that the apppellative became a collective for a family or was adopted by others. The Boiotian Baki is reputed to have cured a Laconian of a mental disorder by myterious ceremonies and he was recommended by Apollo Pythios, a one who could purify the Laconian women of the madness they possessed (Suda *loc. cit.*).

Cheiron, one of the most celebrated heroes of ancient Greece, the most just and wise of the centaur (Il. xi 830) and great hunter lived in a cave on Mount Pelion in Thessaly until driven out by the Lapithai when he found refuge in the mountains of Lakonia (Apolloodorus ii 5). Although generally ranked as a hero, he was a local divinity possibly very primitive or pre-Hellenic god who was aborbed by A格力o. The name derived from a root meaning hand may have referred to his skill in the arts or the hand which he used with magical healing effect. Cheiron was learned in all branches of human knowledge and was the reputed master of such sciences as botany, prophecy, healing, music (Plutarch *de Mus*, 1).
a tronomy and legislation while many of the Greek heroes were his pupils among them Achilles Aktaion Kator Polydeukes, Aristaios Theseus Amphiaraos Ia on Nestor Telamon Teukros Peleus Ody eu nd Aineias Accidentally wounded by a poioned arrow from the bow of Herakles Cheiron transferred hi immortality to Prometheu (Apollodoro, loc cit) and wa placed by Zeu among the tars a Sagittariu thu being deified and ometime classed a a god (Sophokle op cit, 714 715)

Cheiron in tructed Herakle and A klepio in the art of healing Pindar ing hi prai e (op cit, iii 45 67) and ums up his in truction to A klepio whom he re ceved babe a he ling by urgery internal medic tion and incantations He knew the medicinal properti of all plant and root a well a their application (Il iv 219 xi 830 832) nd was, accordingly worhipped by th Magne i n who acrificed the fir t fruit of plant to him a a divine phyician (Plutarch Quaestrones convn viales, III 1 3) and hi teaching applied by hi pupil during the Trojan War and their de cendant were without magic (Il ib) He iod wrote a poem con cerning the Precept of Cheiron for the in truction of Achille (Pauania IX xxxi 5 of Frag bust Gr, 182 185) Cheiron cured Phoimix of a blindne that wa thought to be meur ble (Apollodoros iii 13) in arch ic time he wa cla sed as a birth god possibly becau e of hi pain allayin hand (IG XI iii 360) and he wa regarded as the discoverer of the healing art (Hyginu op cit, 274 Pliny op cit, vli 196) A tribe inhabiting the region of Mount Pelion claimed de cent from him and maintained that their knowledge of herb and healing wa hereditary and acred

Cheiron wa a pecialist in herb lore and repre ent the true forerunner of the rational chool of therapeutic
in it transition from the occult to practical medicine which Hippokrte ought to establish.

**THE DAKTYLOI**

The Daktyloi were fabulous beings who lived about Mount Ida in Phrygia or Crete were superhuman in strength and were numbered from one to one hundred. The discovery of iron on Mount Ida was credited to them (Fraer op cit., iii 484) and they were killed workers of metal by fire but they were also the servants of Rhea Kybele and were connected with her or the Phrygian rite whence they were related to or identical with the Kourete, the Korybante and the Telchune (Pan an V v 6 Strabo X iii 7 92 pp 466 473 C) Like these group the Idai and Dktyloi were famous magician and practiced the art of healing by magic possibly after the tyle of medicine men.

**DEXION**

Dexion was the king hero who was worshipped with Amyno and Asklepio at the Athenian Amyneion. Sophokles had been a priest of Amyno and had been influential in bringing Asklepio to Athens and on returning entertained him at his home (which may have been the temenos on the western slope of the Akropolis at which it may have been used Asklepio was granted until the Amyneion on the south slope had been prepared). After death the poet was honored under the name of Dexion (Etymol mag., s i Δ ξ ν) and given distinction to the Amyneion Asklepieion (Marino op cit., 29)

**THE DIOSKOUROI**

The Dioskouroi, better known as Castor and Polydeuce were twin sons of Led Zeus being regarded as...
father of Polydeukses and Tyndareus of Kastor though they are frequently referred to as the sons of either. They excelled in athletics and feat of arms and were known for their bravery and dexterity, while at Sparta they were the exponents of heroic virtue and valor. In Lakonia and in Arkadia they were ranked as gods (Pausanias III xii 1 VIII 11 4). They were not only given the epithet soteres (e.g. Theokritos xx 6) but were also termed guardians (anakes, e.g. Plutarch Theseus xxxii), and in this character they were identified with the Kabeiroi as protecting seamen from dangers. In Athens their sanctuary was known as the Anakeion (Frazer op. cit., ii 164).

The Dioskouroi were healers and their cult widely diffused was very popular in the late period, their cures being performed through incubation and the interpretation of dreams (Fag. hist. Gr., iv 149 15). There is a possibility that they were sometimes regarded as helper in childbirth. In the late Roman period their principal temple were in Byzantium and Rome.

HELENA

Helena, her name implies was a moon goddess who was worshipped in the Peloponnese (though possibly a spirit or a local daimon only) and who in Homeric mythology was the daughter of Zeus and Leda, and of Kastor and Polydeukses and one of the most beautiful women of ancient Greece. Paris stole her from Menelaus, her husband, and carried her off to Ilion thus causing the Trojan War.

For the meaning of Schul op. cit., p 505
For the ll 1 ERE vii 30
Grupp op. cit., pp 1 686

Parker, H. Roman Gods (Greek and Roman) in ERE vi 654.
Helena was a healer who was skilled in the knowledge of the medicinal qualities of plants and used nepenthe as a soporific akin to opium and relieving sorrow and mourning of which she learned from the Egyptian Polydama and which she gave to Telemachus (Herodoto ii 116 Odys, iv 219 ff). She is said to have changed an ugly child into a beautiful woman (Herodotos vi 61).

**HEROS IATROS**

In the vicinity of the Theseion at Athens was a temple to Hero Iatro (Demosthene Orat., xvii 129 xix 249) who referred to a the Hero of the city in an Elen incription of the fifth century BC (CIA iv 286 a p 145 f). Whether this dedication was in honor of a definite personality or of an ab tract character is not known but the inscription how that the cult was not overshadowed by that of Asklepios and that it was flourishing in the third century AD (CIA ii 403 404) Silver offerings to the divinity were melted down into aed vesels from time to time.

**THE KORYBANTES**

The Korybantes were daimon or a mythical people of uncertain origin who later were intimately connected with the cult of Rhea Kybele as her servants and priests especially as regarded her healing function probably in the context as medicine men driving away icknes and evil spirit. They were aociated and perhaps identical with the Kouretes the Idaian Daktyloi and the Telchines (Strabo X vii 7 21 22 pp 466 473 C) and were prominent in the public festivals and procession of Rhea Kybele appearing in women's garb.

Unr, op cit, pp 149 153

J E H rmn on Th Kour t nd Korybnt ERE vii 75
ment with drums and cymbal dancing through the streets and conducting the orgiastic rites of the cult

THE KOURETES

The Kouretes were daimons or a mythical people of Oriental origin aid to have been brought to Greece by Deukalion and to have been the original inhabitant of Akarnania and Aitolia. They were identified with the Korybante the Telchine of Rhode and the Idaian D ktyloi as servant of Rhea Kybele who entrusted the infant Zeus to the Cretan Kourete for protection from Kronos (Pausanias V vn 6) A followers of Rhea Kybele they had their head and wearing women garment assisted at the festival of the godde in conducting the noy orga tic Phrygian rite of her worship (Strabo X in 19 22 pp 472 473 C) They were the juggler of Crete but were active in advancing the art of civilisation and taught the healing art

MEDEIA

Med ia, whose name connect her with such healer a Agamede Epimede Perimede and her on Medo wa according to the usual ver ion of her legend the daughter of Aiete King of Kolchi a priestess of H kte and a witch celebrated for her skill in magic and orcery She fell in love with Iason (al o in origin a healing hero as hi name implies and the son of Poly mede) to whom he gave not only a magic salve which protected him from iron and fire but also a magic potion with which to put the dragon to sleep thus securing the Golden Fleece She then fled with Iason whose wife he became

* Harr on in ERE vn, 758 759
* U ner op cit, pp 160 163
Evidently a healing heroine of much importance in the earlier period Medea was reputed to be especially skilled in the knowledge of drug (Pindar *op cit*, iv 233) She cured Herakles of his madness (Diodoro iv 55) and rejuvenated his aged father. She was apotheosized at Corinth (Scholion on Euripides *Medea* 10) and at Antioch a famous statue was erected in her honor (Malalas p 263). She is said to have discovered colchicum.

**Melampous**

Melampous, one of the most celebrated eers of ancient Hellas was said to have been the first Greek endowed with prophetic power. He lived before Aklepio at a time variously estimated at from 150 to 500 years before the Trojan War or as more definitely stated about 1400 B.C. He was an Argolian shepherd whose ear, according to the legend, were cleansed by a serpent while he slept in the field, and he thus gained remarkable perception under understanding the language of animals, interpreting the song of birds, and acquiring the gift of prophecy. The name became collective for his family and descendant, many of whom were prophet (*Odys*, xv 225) and healer, a Polvido his nephew and Amphiaraos his grandson, while his lineage was divided into two branches: the Iamid and Klytid, the Elean eer (Iamid) being most famous. It is claimed that Melampous was deified, but it appears more probable that he ranked as a hero or a demigod.

Melampous who possessed the knowledge of all remedies was the first Greek phyleian and was called divine. He had an sanctuary at Aigeion where a yearly festival.
val was held in his honor but where no divination was practiced either by dreams or in any other way (Pausanias I xiv 5) He was famous for his cure of insanity healing the women of Aigina of madness and being granted a large share of the kingdom in commemoration (Herodotus, ix 34) He gained his great fame however by curing the daughters of Proito of their madness by the use of hellebore which was named melampodion after him Pliny says (op cit., xxv 21) that they were healed by the milk of goats fed upon melampodion and Ovid (op cit., xv 326 ff) that they were cured by herbs and incantations It is claimed that this took place at Sikyon (Pausanias II viii 8) at the Amigrian spring into which Melampous threw the thing used for their purification thus giving the water its bad odor (ib., V v 10 Strabo VIII iii 19 p 346 C) or a more generally accepted at the sanctuary of Artemis at Louoi (Pausanias, VIII, xvi 7) where the water had been polluted in the same manner so that persons drinking them lost their taste for wine and could not bear the smell of it (Frazer op cit., iv 259) A reward Proito gave Melampous one of his daughter Iphiana in marriage as well as a large part of his kingdom Melampous is reputed to have visited Egypt and to have brought back the orgiastic and mystic rite of Dionysos (Herodotus ii 49)

MOLPADIA HEMITHEA

Molpadia Hemithea was the daughter of Staphylos of Thrace While she and her sister Partheno were guarding her father's wine pots they broke and to avoid his wrath they threw themselves into the sea Molpadia being later accorded divine honor and becoming celebrated for her dream oracle A temple was erected to her at Kastabolo in the Thracian Chersonese which became popular
re ort for invalids to whom the means of cure were indicated by incubation. She gained great repute for her assistance in child birth and was appealed to especially by women who feared the difficulties and danger of labor (Diodoro v 62)

MOPSOS

Mopsos, the son of a Cretan seer named Rhakio on of the hero of the Theban War and later joined Amphi lochos in founding the city of Mallo in Cilicia where they set up an oracle Mopsos was worshiped a healing hero both at Mallo and at Oropos and was a prophet superior to Kalcha who died of chagrin when he re 1 1 ed his defeat (Strabo XIV 1 27 XIV v 16 pp 642 675 C)

MOUSAIOIS

Mousaios, a mythical bard and priest of prophecy Homeric time was the son of Orpheus and Selene or a sometime claimed of Eumolpo and he was usually considered one of the Eumolpidai. Atophne (Ranae, 1033) make Achiylos ay tht Mou aio taught oracle and th healing of diseases

OINONE

Oinone, a daughter of the river god Kebren and a rival of Helena for the love of Paris had been given the art of prophecy and had received from Apollo the knowledge of healing herb (Parthenio, Erotica, iv Ovid Hero ides, v 145 148) She alone could heal Paris when wounded by Philoktetes but he refused to go to him Repenting he arrived too late and in her sorrow ended her own life (Porthenio, loc cit)

S furth Grupp op cit, p 553
POLYIDOS

Polyidos, a descendant of Melampous and a celebrated ear of Corinth Argos or Megara, raised from the dead Glaukos on of Minos who had been strangled by falling into a vessel of honey. Shut in a room with the dead child, he killed a snake that had entered and noticing that it companion had revived it by placing on it a certain herb or grass he laid the same on the body of the child thus restoring it to life (Apollodoro III 1 1). The revivification however often ascribed to Asklepios.

PROTESILAOS

Protesilaos was a healing hero whose hrine was located at his grave on the shores of the Thracian Chersonese (Antipho in Anthol Pal vn 171 Philostratos op cit., n 15). He was lain by Hektor and descended to Hade but returned to life for a short time.

TOXARIS

Toxaris was a Scythian who came with Anacharsis to Athen, where he was honored for his skill in the treatment of fevers. He was called a hero physician and in gratitude for topping a disastrous plague the Athenian revised white goat to him on altar at which they annually sacrificed.  

Supplement to Chapter VI

GLYKON

[Glykon was a false deity a pretended reincarnation of Asklepios who appeared about AD 150 when a certin

\[ \text{S} \quad \text{pr}, \quad \text{p} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{251} \]

\[ \text{W W Godwi Th Hero Phy 101 n in AJA, 2d ran 1900 iv 1 8} \]

\[ \text{01 Thr m r in Ro ch r 1 24 3} \]
Alexander of Abonouteichō in Bithynia on the shore of the Black Sea having learned magic and orcery from Apollonios of Tyana set him up as a physician after the death of Apollonios buying a tame snake in Macedonia and conceiving the idea of establishing an oracle in his native city. He accordingly buried a bronze tablet in the temple of Apollo in Propontis which when conveniently discovered declared that a klepios was to return to earth and take up his bode in Abonouteicho. A temple was later built there and a klepios duly appeared in the form of a snake on the finger of Alexander. Notwithstanding the brazen imposition he gained adherents and won popularity again. Violent opposition against a certain Roman senator A entered the cult and under the name of Glykon it was introduced into Rome where it had a vogue for nearly a century before it was forgotten. This pretended god of medicine in the form of a dragon with a human head called Glykon was propounded for public veneration.
CHAPTER SEVEN

ROMAN GODS
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT ROME

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

*Foreign influences in Roman religion*

ALMOST from its earliest period the religion of Rome was constantly subjected to strong foreign influence. During the centuries of her growth and preeminent power she adopted the gods of other people who were brought under her domain supporting them at their home altars inviting them within her own walls welcoming other gods and permitting the deities of other countries to find an abode at her capital. She neglected and forgot her native divinities and finally yielded to the moral upremsacy of other races of more advanced civilization who represented a different race of more advanced civilization who came to her in large numbers and visiting strange lands she held the pantheon of the world and during the Empire the clamoring of interests of many types of religions eventually made Rome the great religious battleground in the final contest between paganism and Christianity. The devotees of many foreign cults, often fanatical and barbaric, sought in many tongues to translate to the mass a great diversity of religious beliefs and customs and to enlist their support. Thus Roman religion presented an ever-changing kaleidoscopic aspect.
Any study of the gods of Rome, mingled as they were in a great religious potpourri of encounters unusual complexities. The Hellenization of the old Roman cults observed their original character and the invasion of numerous Oriental cults which finally exercised a dominating influence over Roman religion added many perplexing facets for consideration. The Greek myths furnished the key to the character of the Hellenic cults that came to Rome but the loss of the liturgies and much of the mythologies of the great nations of the East, which were wept away in the fall of paganism left a void that has been very imperfectly spanned by the recent discoveries of ancient record. Although the religions of Rome have been diligently studied the healing function of their worship appears to have escaped the comprehensive examination which has been given to their other more general phase. With the exception of a very few cult the healing of the sick was a minor or insignificant part of their religious activity and perhaps for the reason that it was a part of the mysteries of cultic practice, it received only cursory mention by contemporary writers. Even the comments still remain to be properly collated critically studied and adequately presented. They form the basis of the present study, which however resolves itself in great part into a survey of the religious healing rite of the Romans as practiced by the foreign worships in Rome which may often be better understood by reference to their native religions.

The early Roman religion

The Roman originally a small group of agricultural and warlike people in close contact with other tribes or clans of similar peoples in a like stage of civil and religious
giou development grew in number and power by th
bsorption of neighboring community. Their deities and
ultic wor hip were much alike in conception and a the
p ople c me together, their religions were ea ily adju
ted. Some god of other tribes were accepted as an integral
part of the common religion and other were forgotten
or blended so that their name when retained were
either tho e of independent deity or repre ented differ
ent ph e of more comprehen ive divine per onality

The spiritual world

The Roman religion dev loped from a pand moni m
or multivum to a polytheism but alway retained
many of it earlier characteri tics. The people believed
that they were surrounded by a world of supernatural
being spiriual power or numina, of undefined nature
known only by their activities. The e being were cold
colorle b tract concept with no per onality no
hum n fections or relation except ritualistic and
their ttitude toward man wa ever doubtful. The early
conception w imply th t of prit and it function
only at a later tage did it develop into a god. Even when
the e power reg rded a both the ma ter and th
lave of the people were personified they excited no
emotion. They were never the companion of man nor
did he eek to know them for the rel tion between man
and hi divimitie wa imp ersonal and merely contractu l
until the later period when there came a tendency to
con crate one elf to the perpetual ervice of the deity.

The deities as the supre me lords

The Roman believed that the god re upr me lord

1 F wlr The R go us Exp r c of the Ro P op , pp 14
1 1 o Au t D R Relegio d r Ro r, p 19 1 C rt r Th R r-
gi of Np p 11
and governor of all things and that all event are directed by their influence wisdom and divine power (Cicero de Legibus, ii, 7), so that all things came from them whether for good or for evil according as their disposition toward man was favorable or hostile. Mi fortune were a punishment for neglect or for some of fen e and were the expression of the wrath or di pleasure of some divinity and the people went in constant terror and uncertainty concerning the unseen powers.

Functions of deity

Some divinity presided over every human affair (Cicero de Natura Deorum, in 18) and a spirit was a signed to everything existing to the man to the tate to th family storeroom the counterpart of the natural phenomena in the spiritu l domain. Th great divinitie represented the larger spheres embraced in the abstraction and there were le er god and a warm of numina, named and unnamed each with a definite circle of activity a certain thing to do whence the number of god became o great th t Petronius remarked (Satyræ 17) th t Italy was o filled with numina that it was easier to find god than a man. The greater number of numina remained as vague and dimly outlined forces anim t yet carcely personal but others received thinly transparent name significant of their function the result it is said of priestly elaboration and are found in the pontifical litane. The names given the e subsidiary deitie and numina often appertained to a greater god indicative of the capacities in which the divinity might function and were recognized by the sacred law as belonging to one god but among the common people it frequently

Mom Th History of Ro , 1 34
L R F rm ll Gr k Religion , in ERE vi 394
4 Wowa Di Religion und Kultus der Rom r, p 23
happened that they were looked upon as ep rate deities. Such functional numina for each minute detail a si ted Iuno Lucina and Diana in child birth and in the super vision of childhood, Antevorta provided a position favor able to delivery Opigena aided the birth Potina ought the infant to drink Edusa to eat Sentina gave it under standing Locutiu taught it to speak correctly and Op said paga hardened the bone. Similarly there were no le than twelve sub idiary deities between the eeding and the harve t the numina agentes Tellu w the mother earth who received the eed and bore the fruit Saturnu repre ented the eeding Flora the blooming Cere the growth Pomona the fruit and Con u and Op th h rve t

The nature of the religion

Religion con ted in acrifice and in divination by bird to which was added prediction by or cle (Cicero op cit in 2) For all practic l purp e it con ted in knowl edge of the right power to be invoked nd in knowing the manner time nd place for propiti ng the divinity by performing the ritual of wor hip. The spiritual power concerned were often confu d and once they could not alway be determined all the god were frequently in voked le t if one be addressed other interested deities might be neglected The rite were both private and public in character and were for purification and expiation of involuntary act of omi on or commi on while by their observance the people ought to appea e the wrath of any divinity who were offended to gain their favor and avert the evil which might eman te from malevolent spirit and to establi h and maintain a pax deorum Having performed the e rituals man had ful filled hi whole duty to the god a understood by the

W1 ow op cit, p 53
contract and the deities having accepted the homage were expected to fulfil the duties pertaining to their sphere of activity and to preserve man from all harm. This religion was exceedingly practical, prosaic, grave and unemotional. A religion of duty. In the early day there were at least so far as the records go no myths or poetic tales to stimulate an interest in the gods, these came later with Hellenic influence.

The great gods

The center of the early religious life was the household. Vesta, the hearth, was the central divine figure. Ianus was the door; the Dī Penates represented the storeroom, and the Dī Parentum the ancestral. Lar guarded the field and family property and the paterfamilias was the priest. The oldest order of gods was Ianus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and Vesta, and this order was succeeded by the first triad, Jupiter, the sky god who furnished the rain, the chief of the pantheon. Mars, the god of war, and Quirinus, the god of Mars in a civil capacity. Varro at later time divided the pantheon into three categories: the celestial or sky gods, the deities of the earth, and the deities of the Underworld.

The early sanctuary

For the first century of the city until the sanctuary of the reconstructed triad was established on the Capitoline (circa 532 c. Livy 1 55 56) the deities were not represented by pictures or statues, and there were no divine dwellings except that of Vesta, which was roofed to protect the sacred fire. Pits for receiving the acerifices, acred groves, altars, and fanes (loca sacra) were provided for worship from public consecrated ground.

W W Fowler "Rom n Religion," in ERE 823

7 Wissow, op cit., p 28
Di Manes, Genius, and Juno

In the early belief of the Roman two classes of being intervened between man and his god. The spirit of the dead, the Di Manes or kindly deities, still had an influence over the living, and their power were o dreaded when they returned ghost and pester that offering were made to them to induce them to refrain from visiting man and doing him harm. Further there was the personal divinity or double the Genius of the male and the Juno of the female, who came into being with each individual to initiate him into the mystery of life and who remained until death a counselor and guide.

Organization of religion

Romulus had instituted divination and Numa had established sacrifice the observance of these rites causing the god to be propitious and enabling Rome to reach the height of her grandeur (Cicero op cit, i 2). The divine l w (ius sacrum) being a part of the civil code (ius civile) concerned the safety of the State and made in separable from it religion organized by Numa very early became a State institution and the king, the father of the State was the chief priest. The catalogue of gods recognized by the State was the di indigetes, or indigeneous gods who were determined and closed forever and their festivals were fixed on the calendar. All deities subsequently receiving official recognition were termed di novensides, or newly settled gods. Each divinity worshipped must be publicly acknowledged or he was looked upon with suspicion and his rites were deemed new and strange (Cicero de Leg, ii 8). All religious affairs were under the control of three pontifices, who were organized into.

Fowler, in ERE x 845; O Prell, Romische Mythologie, i 78 ff; Wöll, op cit (d 1902) pp 154 ff
a college with a pontifex maximus, the number being afterward increased to eight to nine and, till later to fifteen. The flamines conducted the worship of the sever 1 gods and were subject to the pontifices, while the king was the rex sacrorum until the establishment of the Republic when the chief priest of Ianu assumed that office. The religious authority which was then separated from the civil being given to the magistrate.

The rituals

The pontifices arranged the rituals of worship and the ceremonies for festival and other religious celebration. The ritual were simple without pomp or extravagance but traditional in form and it was essential that they should be performed with exactness and with attention to the minute detail in word, voice, and gesture. If the deity addressed be offended for the slightest error, it was repeated with particular offering. Purification was obtained by the rite of lustration and expiation and was the symbol for divine favor, and the sacrifices consisted of agricultural product of animal a of sheep, wine, cattle, and dog, while for certain purposes the blood of the October horse was used. Public festival were usually in honor of particular god and were held on their natal days which were kept sacred for the purpose as the Felicia to Vesta on June 9 and the Matralia to Mater Matuta on June 11. Additional sacrifices, supplications, festivities, and holyday (festa) were ordered by the Senate in time of public emergency for famine and pestilence or to avert the calamity of war and for thanksgivings while on some occasion vows were made by the people (vota publica) to propitiate the divinities (Livy xxxi 9). Such extraordinary appeal to the deities were usually ordered on the advice of the augur after they had consulted the aus.
piusa, or the Sibylline book, had the ceremonies prescribed included special application and acrifice for purification and expiation for the preparation humiliation processon with chorus, extra festival and holiday with games, play and other pectcle.

**Augury**

In the early religion, there were no or cle but the god sent mes age to man by the flight of bird. th action of num l, the entrail of victim celestial phenomenon and ill omen of nature (providia) that indicated their disposition, propition or otherwise. Pre age were expected to be tt ched to ll thing nd it w of the utmost importance for the safety of the State and of the individual that they should be correctly interpreted. Three official diviners were appointed to consider every omen and prodigy to determine its meaning and to divine concerning measures needed to appease the god to void disaster and to take advantage of their favor. No enio bu me, public or private, was begun without first consulting the auspices to learn the attitude of the god and any action contrary to the omen was to bring punishment or death (Cicero de Divinatione, I 30). The ign of the heaven proceeded from Jupiter divine will augury was a part of his cult, and the augurs were his servants (id., de Leg., II 8). A college of Augures was formed and their number was increased to nine with a rex, but they had no part in the worship though with the pontifices, they formed the consulting staff of the king and of the Senate. The highest trate had the right of spectuo, or taking public auspice, and they joined the pontifices in conciliating the god, but ill doubtful and important matter were referred to the augur. The religion of the State was thus
regulated by the two great collegia of Pontifices and Augures the king and the Senate, this organization remaining practically unchanged after the abolition of the Kingdom and throughout the Republic

The Etruscan haruspices

Following the accession of the Tarquins to the throne the Etruscans on the north of a different and more oriental type of civilization began to exercise an influence over religion and Mars and Quirinu were displaced in favor of Juno and Minerva who with Jupiter now composed the great Capitoline triad. Thenceforth until the third century of the Empire they continued to be the supreme deities of Rome who e temple in the Etruscan type was for many centuries the center of Roman religion and authority. The Etruscans were master in the art of divination and magic (Cicero de Div., 1 41) which in their cult strongly resembled those of Babylon * and their specialty was the interpretation of the ign of the heaven of portent and of prodigies by reading the livers and entrail of victims. Their method were different from the Roman auspice, and on several occasion alarming prodigy were referred to their haruspicia for interpretation but little reference was found to the use of Etruscan divination until the third century B.C., when the Disciplina Etrusca came into vogue and Roman youth of patrician families were sent to Etruria for instruction in the art.

The oracle of the Cumæan Sibyl

From early times the Romans had recognized the Greek as masters of divine lore, and the Sibyl of Cumæ who had become renowned for her oracles which had

1 J. Trow, De R. igio Babylon ens und Assyr. ns., 11, 213 ff
11 Fowl r, Religio Exper e ce, pp 292 311
acquired such an authority that they were a cribed to the Delphic Apollo, po sessed Book that were believed to enshrine the precious result of Hellenic experience, Terquimus Superbus who had consulted her when the native god had not availed ultimately obtained her prophetic book placing them in the custody of the Capitoline temple in charge of two augurs the Duoviri Sacri Faciundii who not under tanding their contents which were expressed in enigmatical term ent for two Greek interpreter (Dion Ka 10s 1 75) These volume re-puted to contain revelation for the future were used a religious pre-erptions for ceremonies in time of public emergency, and Cicero says (op cit, 11 54) that an ordinance of their ancestor required that the book should not even be read except by decree of the Senate and that they were to be used for putting down rather than for taking up religious fancies The oracle was Greek nd naturally advised the introduction of Hellenic deities and ceremonies so that the use of the book was thinned to change the form and content of Roman religion In this movement the worship of Apollo was naturally the leader The rite of the foreign god they came to Roman differed from the Italic cult and while the latter were under the control of the pontifices the former were placed in the charge of the Duoviri Th number in charge of the book was increased to then to ten the Decemviri (367 B.C.) and, in the last year of the Republic to fifteen, the Quindecemviri

Three types of divination

In their excessive fear of the spiritual power the Roman had introduced the science of divination from

1 J S R jd Wor hip (R man) in ERE xi 809 l o F w l r in ERE x, 850 851 Mrquardt, Ro isch St tsverw litung, m 352 ot 7 Fowl r Religious Exper. ce, p 247
Etruria, like many forms, was neglected and had three kinds at their command: their own auspices, the Etruscan, and the oracle contained in the Sibylline Book (Cicero, *ib* 1.2), while in addition they occasionally consulted the Pythian oracle at Delphi (Livy, 1.56 v 15 xxxix 10). The Romans had thus accepted two foreign teachers in religion: the Etruscan who had moderate early influence and the virile aggregate Greek of Magna Graecia.

**The religious invasion**

Before the Republic, prominent Italian deities such as Minerva of Etruria, Diana of Aricia, and Hercules of Tibur (Livy, 1.45) had been received in Rome without disturbing the obriety of the religious, nor did the end of duty of the citizen to their god and when, in the first year of the Republic, famine threatened (496 BC), the Senate followed the direction found in the book invited three Greek divinities: Dionysus, Demeter, and Kore to Rome. They were given the name of similar old Roman deities: Libera, Ceres, and Libera, but their cult remained entirely Greek and once the city was revered for atype god, these foreigners were given temples outside the *pomæranum* which marked the sacred limit (Livy, 1.44). In time, Ceres displaced the old earth mother Tellus and set an example for Hellene deities to overwork our native divinities. For some years, other Greek gods came to Rome but then a reaction followed and the book was silent for nearly two centuries. The immigration practically ceased except that Apollo (a Apollo Medicus) was introduced very early and Aphrodite arrived under the Italic name of Venu. The old officials deities remained unchanged but new foreign prevailed, and once the ancient divinities proved ineffective, they were neglected the worship of new gods.
Strange ceremonie becoming such a public disgrace that in 425 the dile was in trust d to see that the citizen should worship no other than native deities (Livy iv 30)

Greek and Semitic deities

Foreign influence had an early effect on religion shown by the worship of both Greek and Roman deities by the more emotional Greek rite (\textit{vitus Græcus}) observed the first lecisternium (399 BC) which was ordered by the Duoviri ex Sibyllini libri on account of pestilence (Livy v 13) in 293 BC by the advice of the Decemviri Aulepio was invited to Rome to stay pestilence and thenceforth the immigration of Greek gods was renewed with increased vigor so that by the end of the third century BC there was a host of Greek divinities outside the pomerium. Meanwhile Semitic deities were introduced from Syria (Atargatis and other) by lave and merchant and the Roman uncertain of the identity of the deities but with the protection of the State from the malevolence of any of them accepted di novensides freely. Many were enrolled by the magistrate State god and legal obligation to them were summed.

Magna Mater

In 216 BC when the people were in despair because of many prodigies and through fear of Hannibal devotion to their cult gained the upper hand to such an extent that the authority could no longer control the people and the Senate ordered that the II book of ooth ayers must be given up so that no sacrifice could be made according to new and foreign rite (Livy xxv 1) When in this emergency the Decemviri finally had recourse to the Sibylline book they reported that only the Idaian

\footnote{\textit{Cu o t Th Ore t Religion Ro P g, m, pp 103 ff}}
mother goddess (Mater Deum Magna Idæa) Kybele (Rhea) of Pes ìmus could free Rome and Italy from her enemies (ib xlix 10 11) Accordingly brought to Rome in 204 B C as Magna Mater, she was received with acclaim and was accorded the highest honors including a temple within the pomaërwm on the Palatine. She brought relief and fulfilled all the promises made for her but the orgiastic and barbaric character of her cult and the conduct of her followers (the emaculated Galli') on the streets scandalized the Romans and she was the only Oriental deity invited to Rome. The people and especially the youth of the city were contaminated by the demoralizing influence of her cult and shortly afterward, when the mysteries of Bacchus were surreptitiously introduced very many yielded to their enticements. The debaucheries under cover of the frequent Bacchanalia were finally disclosed to the Senate (186 B C) the guilty were severely punished and the cult was officially placed under heavy restrictions (ib, xxxix 8 19)

**Oriental influences**

The acred barrier of Rome had been invaded. Any foreign deity was now permitted to have an altar in the city and it became difficult to find a contrast between Roman and Græco-Roman gods. Cults of Semitic divinity Oriental Magi Chaldæan mathematic or a trologer Greek philosopher physician craftsmen and merchants from all parts flocked to Rome exploiting their intellectual and religious ware and giving counsel. On the other hand urgent protest against these alien influences, which were rapidly undermining the old faith of the Roman the obriety of religion and the citizen sense of duty to the State were not lacking. In 173 B C the Epicurean were expelled in 161 all philosopher were forced to leave, and in 139 the Chaldæi were
THE ROMAN DEITIES

driven from the city and Italy by order of the Senat (Valerius Maximu I, ii 3) In 155 c philosopher came to Rome on a peaceful mission and Stoa in which though sceptic laid strong emphasis on ethics appealed as the best among philosophie with the result that it became the national philosophy. Nevertheless it came too late the ancient virtue and conservate it of the Romans which had caused them to keep a jealous supervision over their native religion were enfeebled and their ideal were becoming antiquated while under the influence of Greek religion and philosophie the people generally were lacking m duty to their god. The definite spiritual conquest of Rome had begun during the third century B.C. and during the second century the State religion had difficulty in holding its own against the adversary influences. The Chaldean philosopher had never lacked defenders and patron and when they returned to the city their teachings attracted more and more the attention of the serious minded Greek art and literature filtered through many agencies but after the victory over Macedoni the Hellenization of Rome proceeded more rapidly and without effective resistance.

Decline of native religion Greek influences

The old Roman religion was disintegrating and all the influence of Hella combined for a comparison between her deities and the Roman god thus leading to confusion of the two pantheon. It was anumed that parallel existed between the deities of the two States and a these were ascertained their divinities were fused or adjustments were made so that a blending was effected Roman gods for whom no similarities were found and for whom no compromises were possible were displaced.

1 CRT op. cit., pp 123ff
2 Ib., pp 112ff
and forgotten both a name and function unless they were recorded on the old calendar. Temple to divinities under Roman title were actually shrines of Greek deities, the processes of syncretism being fostered by Hellenic art and mythology, and the substitution continued during the first two centuries of the Republic until all the Roman god had been upplanted except Vesta (a symbol of the State vitality) who appear throughout to have retained her original character and name. Little of the Roman religion remained except the old household cult.

By the end of the first century B.C., the identification of the old Roman deities with the impossible and Varro was obliged to include in his list many divinities for whom no function was known. The god of Rome who had risen above the class of numina and undignitamenta, who always remained in the amorphous twilight of religious perception 17 had now acquired a personality and many had become anthropomorphic. So that Greek craft men represented them in art, though always after the Greek pattern. Similarly Greek myths were adapted to Roman deities and used by poets and other writers formed the basis of Roman mythology while Greece furnished Rome with her philosophers and physicians and her teacher educated the Roman youth.

Emotional cults

The many Oriental cult coming to Rome from Phrygia, Persia, Syria, and Egypt contributed very largely to the religious unretained Semitic deities with their followers priests, lave, and merchants and the closely related Chaldaean with their Oriental lore. Had long been resident in Rome while a sailor and oldier returning from the war in the East brought with them other cults.

1 W1 ow Re go, p. 72

17 F rum II \( \text{ER} \) \( \text{E} \) vi 404
of the Orient with which they had come in contact notably those of Mithra of Peria and the goddess Kom na of Pontu originibly Mâ of Cappadocia who was equated with Atargati and Kybel and who was imitated to the ancient war deity Bellona whom he upplanted and who e name he assumed though tingui hed as Mâ Bellona. About the same time the partially Hellenized Egyptian divinities I and Serpi came from Southern Italy. The Eastern religion had encouraged a tat for the sensational and the people came to care more for Bellona and I than for all the gods of Numa. The devotees of the Nieuw Oriental cult were inclined to give expression to their xuberant enthusiasm for the emotional religions but as they became aggressive and gave offense sharp measures were taken to suppress them. The latter of I were repeatedly destroyed by order of the Senate and often restored by the zeal of her followers until finally the Trumvir employed a phantastic attitude. The doctrine brought in by the cult was strange to the Occident and mde strong appeal to the imagination of the ancient cult. Under lying the orgia tuc feature emphatically by fanatical followers was a content that appealed to the conscience and tified the craving of the heart and appealed to the heart and rm for those who penetrated their mysterei.

**Further decline of the Roman religion**

The emotional attraction and demoralizing influence of the Oriental religion as well as the scepticism of Greek philosophy had weakened the State religion.

---

1. Carter, *op cit*, pp 137 ff
2. *Ib*, p 141
3. *Ib*, pp 13 ff
subjected as it was to politics and debauched condition and had hence its decline as an effective agency of government. The people had grown indifferent toward it and those who had supervision over it were themselves doubters that losing faith in its efficacy. The priesthoods no longer avenues of advancement fell into partial and some into complete neglect. The administration of the temples had grown lax, the priests shirked their duties, and many flaminius became vacant and were not refilled. Sacrilege and thefts of statues and other sacred objects occurred, many temples were neglected and in ruin. The cults losing their vitality failed to uphold their obligations to State and people. Without standards for uprightness and incentives for accord came a general lowering of personal morality. Corruption was cultivated as a science. Wickedness in high place was unabated and a strong proletariat was drifting into turbulence.

Religious tolerance

Although scepticism was rife among the educated and influential classes of Roman city, the various people of the city gathered around their several altar and worshipped their own gods in their own fashion. It has been expressed by a Christian controversialist (Minucius Octavius, vi 1). Other city worshipped their own god, but the Romans worshipped everybody. Gibbon states in well-known passage that:

The various mode of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people a qually true by the

C. r. r. op cit., pp. 124 ff.
Fowl r in ERE 838 83, al o C. r. r. Th. Religious Life of
A. cre t. Rome, pp. 53 5

4 More The History of Religions p. 57
5 Th. Decline d F. l. of th. Rom. Empire, 1. 30 32, f. Tout 1
Les Cutes p. ven da s' pur rom in, 1, 232
philosopher equally and by the magistrate equally useful. Thus toleration produces not only indulgence but venligious concord.

The union of the people was not bitter by a mixture of theological rancor nor was it confined by the chime of any peculiar temple. The devout polytheist, though fondly tt ch d to his own rite, admitted with implicit faith the different religion of the earth. The deities of thou and grove and thou and stream poets in peace their local and respective influence nor could the Roman who depredated the wrath of the Tiber deride the Egyptian who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The vital power of nature through the element were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governor of the moral world was inevitably cast in similar mould of fiction and allegory. Such was the mild spirit of antiquity that the nation were less attentive to the difference than to the resemblance of their religious worship. The Greek the Roman and the Barbarian met before their respective altars equally perished. They adored the same deities. The elegant mythology of Homer gave a beautiful and lovable form to the polytheism of the ancient world.

**Religious reforms**

The reform in religion and politics which were urgently demanded (Horace *Od. i. 6 Epod. xvi*) were planned by Iulius Caesar but the task of guiding the disordered State fell upon Augustus. He at once endeavored to reestablish the authority of the State religion he solicited and received the aid of historians and poets (Horace *Od. i. 6*), he drew the attention of the people to their old familiar deities and sought to restore their ene of religio and pietas to renew the appreciation of.

W1 ow op cit, p 235 Fowl r, Religio *Exp r nc*, pp 9 174
their duty of service to the god and their obligation of loyalty to their ancestor and the State. It was too late to bring back the simplicity and content of the old faith but he effected as far as possible the appearance of a return to the religion of the forefathers. He rebuilt the temple (Ovid Fasti, ii 59) and revived the ancient cults and forms of worship as well as the venerable sacrificial priesthoods and sodalities all under the direction of the recognized authority of the colleges of Pontifices Augusti and Quindecemviri. Apollo had become the official god of prophecy and Augustus had adopted him as his personal and family deity. He erected a temple to him on the Palatine and exercising his prerogative as Pontifex Maximus he directed the Sibylline book to be copied and the original (the book a rewritten after the fire of 81 B.C.) to be removed from the custody of the temple of Jupiter to that of Apollo on the Palatine thus making this shrine the headquarter of the new Graeco Roman religion. Heretofore the Greek divinities had been subordinated to the Roman deity but now Apollo was brought into direct rivalry with and made equal if not superior to Jupiter Optimus Maximus who though the great national deity had always been more of a political than a religious god Augustus depended on religio, that which bound, to revive the waning sense of morality and public duty and to secure tranquillity and stability to the State. The old Roman religion had been rehabilitated in large measure and after his death his successor on the throne conscientiously endeavored to continue his policies and make them effective.

*Growth of Oriental influences*

Rome was drifting under the influence of doubt and of the philosophic platitude of Neo Platonism then current.

*C rt r, Num*, pp 14169
among her citizens high in authority while the middle
and lower classes wore tired and careless of the cold
prosaic and impersonal faith were feeling the strong
attraction of the oriental Oriental cults. Roman religion
was be et by enemies and the spirit of a new era
now under the nominal direction of imperiai in wa
evolving momentous religious activities that were be-
ginning to excite the passion of the Occident and were
d tuned to undermine the old order that Greece and Rome
had ealou ly built up. The conservative Roman little
concerned by the undercurrent remained officially faith-
ful to their ancient god. The temple were kept in rep
and the flamines continued to ob erve the old form of
worship in all their minutiae for upward of two centuries
before they yielded to the subtle influence of the Orient
Antoninus Pius was honored for his care of the antique
rite but even then the spirit of Roman religion was
gone.

Oriental religions

During the imperial period the Oriental faith and
custom (the ritus peregrini) were steadily making
headway in Rome and the Latin province. The e reli-
gions were first confined to the foreign minority prin-
cipally slave and freedmen but by degree converts were
attracted from the better classes beginning with older
and sailors their officer and minor government official.
The worship was individual and the ceremony was
attended uually in secret by their but enthusiastic
group at private altar in cellars or mall underground
chapel (speleae). They gave little outward evidence of
activity but they grew stronger on cult (notably

Tout 1 , op cit, vol 10 Fr r A do vs, Attis, Osiris, 1 29
312 A C arson Moth r of the God (Greek and Ro )
ERE uin 850 851 Cumont op c t , pp 2 ff
Mithraí m) developed an organized propaganda chiefly through army channels and made rapid progress both in the city and in the provinces. Although the immoral practice of the rite of Isis had been repressed and everely punished and although the worship of the god still aroused indignation among many she was allowed a temple in the Campus Martius in AD 39 which had been voted eighty-two years before and shortly thereafter she received favors from Emperors. The exotic cults from the East at first despised were permeating the more educated classes and finally made their way into the highest circle gaining the avowed support of the most authoritative citizen and highest officials.

Astrology

Notwith standing the liability of the Chaldaeán (mathe matica or genethlaciát, Aulu Gelliu i 1 x 6, XIV 1 1) to expulsion and other severe penalties (Tacitus Annales, i 32 xii 52 Historia, i 62 Dion Kasios LXVI 1 x 2) which did not materially diminish their activity (Juvenal, Satirae, vi 553 ff) they et forth Babylonian astrology and magic with such persuasive skill that they won over the minds of Rome and these arts were used by Em peror a trilogy in particular being declared to be an exact science in predicting the future both in public and in personal affairs. The old auspicia and haruspicia which could not compete with it in authority were consulted less and less, even the Sibylline books were neglected (Cicero op cit, i 15 de Nat Deor, i 3) the oracle became silent and were abandoned, and the new science of the heaven upplanted the old form of divination.

Ca op cit, p

Ib, pp 12 ff
Seductions of Oriental cults

All the countries of Western Asia and Northern Africa were represented in Rome by their numerous deities and the people were offered the choice of a great diversity of heterogeneous doctrine of various value many of which gained authority at the vitality of the old religion declined. Gods from the province streamed into the city and Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII iv 13) spoke of Rome as the sanctuary of the entire world (templum mundi totum). The traditional fabulous wonder of the Ea temple held a seductive charm for the Occidental mind inured to practical affairs and an impersonal worship of duty and the Semitic cult with its orgiastic features appealed both to the conscience and to the intelligence. They aroused latent hope, offered alluring prospect of attaining the most ardent aspiration of the soul and satisfied the thirst for religious emotion. Side by side with Christianity they promised them mitigation in their mystery purification redemption from salvation and blessed immortality as the reward of faithfulness. Of all these worships the one of Mithra I and Magna Mater attained the greatest prominence leading in the struggle between paganism and Christianity but Mithraism which was foisted under cover of Chaldaean wonder presented the highest type of heathenism and penetrated to the better classes of Roman society. The Chaldaean Persian religion foretold a sublime dwelling place for all purified souls in the heavens from which they had come hedging their celestial attributes on the way. After initiation and cleansing they received the sacred word for the guardian of the gateway and deifying them elved of acquired passion and in chinnation at death under the conduct of P ychopompos.

1 Cumont op cit., pp 230
they returned to the heavens. The seductive mysteries of the Oriental cults were enhanced by ceremonies, impressive in their solemnity, profoundly suggestive in their symbolism and appealing to the eye and ear while the fascinating pomp and magnificence of the procession accompanied by languishing melodies and longing songs obtained the ardent enthusiastic support of their worshippers. During the cultic festival realistic drama were performed based upon the myths of the lives of their respective deities symbolizing their struggle in overcoming unrighteousness as well as their sufferings, death and resurrection all being enacted in detail during the several days of the festival and arouing the deepest emotion among those who witnessed them from profound grief and sorrow to ecstatic joy.

*Supremacy of Oriental Religions*

The progress of this religious invasion had been slow but by a peaceful infiltration the Oriental religion had finally won the support of the patrician and of the masses until in the third century of the Empire they attained their eminence and held undisputed sway. Under Caracalla all restriction which had excluded the worship of foreign deities within the limits of the sacred city were removed and they entered Rome on an equality with the old State gods. Roman idolatry was dethroned. The ancient religion and the national ideals had been overthrown by the deification of the Oriental. The Syrian sun leader of the planetary choir, became king and leader of the whole world, and the Aurelian State cult of Sol Invictu Jupiter Cælu displaced Jupiter Optimus Maximus.
a the supreme national deity. The pontifaces, augur, consul, and Quindecemviri were now regarded as archaic, and the whole of the old religious organization lost every vestige of vitality.

**Downfall of paganism**

With the gathering of popularity and power, a conflict was engendered between the pagan worship by the very imularity of their doctrine and bitter antagonism. Dives were developed as each struggled for supremacy, but the cult of Mithra and Magna Mater finding a common ground in their fierce opposition to Christianity were foremost in the final fight for paganism. The new faith was definitely triumphant only in the closing years of the fourth century, when the defeat of Eugenius, the last open defender of the old religion, gave the authoritative strength to enforce the edict of Theodosius (A.D. 391) and effectually to suppress the procried pagan religion throughout the Roman world.

**Remains of the Roman faith**

The temporary supremacy of the Oriental religion in the Occident and the victory of Christianity could not once and entirely destroy the tenets of the Roman gods in their old and tried divinities. Their temple were preserved when Constantine visited Rome in the fourth century, and many votive inscriptions of that period give ample evidence that belief in the great triad and in other deities such as Apollo, Diana, Mars, Hercules, and Fortuna still survived.

**No specific healing deities**

Although the Roman were convinced that every affair in nature and human life was directed by some peculiar divinity, so that the pantheon was crowded with
functional gods and *undiges*menta, no specific deity of healing has been identified among the *di undigetes*, and the trend of belief suggests that none were required. It has been surmised however that the Romans always worshipped powers of healing although their name under the old régime are not known except possibly a they were connected with the Lymphæ (divinities of the healing power of water who were upplanted by the Greek nymph) or with god of prunus and waters a Fumanu and Albunea of Tibur. It appears that the early Roman were satisfied with the general apotropaic power of their gods for the preservation of their health; and the people having performed their duty in observance of ritual and sacrifice, the deity were bound to preserve them from all harm including physical ill. When *di ea* e nd suffering came and death threatened they regarded it as a visitation of the wrath of one offended god or god or the malevolent *ct* of one evil spirit or deity. God who were supposed to have ent *di ea* e must be appeased and in epidemics the State consulted the auspex to determine if possible the identity of the divinity concerned and the measure required to effect a reconciliation with the deity or to drive away the malignant spirit. Peace and harmony must be restored, the health would return the further course of the disease and the convalescence requiring no act of competence or direction by a special healing divinity. If the appeal was not followed by relief the proper god had not been addressed the ceremony had not been correctly performed or possibly the old deities had failed and new one must be sought.

*W* 10 *op cit*, p 182 (d 1902)
*C 10 r op cit*, p 83
*F Ki 1 D* symbol h *Med. Sem. der Ro in J us, 14
*Mi 46 ff*
THE ROMAN DEITIES

Early efforts for healing

The relation of the individual to his god in the matter of disease and the relation of the State in respect to pestilence were essentially the same but implicit. They appeared they were full of perplexity and difficulty. During the reign of Tullus (640 B.C.) alarming prodigies occurred which were interpreted as divine warning because of neglect of certain religious rites and an expiatory festival was ordered. The prodigy recurred however and a festival of nine days was held but later a pestilence came among the people. Tullus himself was ed with a lingering illness and observed many religious scruples without avail but receiving no help the people became replete and wished to return to the old precept of Numa (Livy i 12) thinking that the only relief for their ickly bodies was by obtaining pardon and peace from the gods. The king turned to the commentaries of Numa and learning of a secret and solemn sacrifice to Jupiter he had himself up and went about its performance. Though the rite was duly conducted he received no favor from heaven but on the contrary Jupiter exasperated the impropriety of the ceremony truck him and his home with lightning burning them to he (Livy i 31) Infernal deity from the realm of Di and Proserpine released frightful maladies upon mankind and death was their active agent.

Diseases as deities

Since it was often impossible to determine the identity of the god ending the disease the Roman when perplexed priritualized the matter. He himself and addressed it raising it to the rank of a deity building temple in it honor and sacrificing to it as to Feburi representing

Un op g orp mbu r het \ p v m qu b \ p tr t t
fever and to Mefiti and Cloacina as apotheo of nox iou vapor caus ing di ea e and death Thu it came bout that practically each form of illness wa o wor shipped and invoked for relief but when a malady di ppeared the wor hip and temple fell into di u e thi being illu trated by an altar une rthed in 1876 dedicated to a previou ly unknown god Verminu (Wormy) t a time of plague among cattle (CIL vi 3732)

Pestilence nd deity

Pestilence of a virulent character killing without illness occa ionally dev taiated Rome driving her citi zen to gloomy terror and de pair Such course were looked upon a my terion natural phenomena and re g rded a an e pecial cal mity to the State depriving it of its mo t valued a et it citi en At uch time the Senate and public official in tituted inquirie to ascer tain the cau e the god offended nd what mu t be done to propitiate them and to avoid further di a ter Tarquen had preferred Greek oracles to Roman eer and follow ing hi example of lack of faith in native divinities the Senate when their own deitie failed directed the augur to con ult the Sibylline book for the remedy In 462 c the mortality t Rome by di ea e w not le than by the word of the enemy the Con ul and eminent men died the mal dy pread extensively and the Senate de titute of human aid directed the attention of the pe ple to the god and prayer ordering them to go with their wive and children and earne tly implore the pro tection of heaven They filled all the hrine and the pro trate matrons weeping the temple with their hair begged remission of the divine displeasure and termina tion of the pe tilence (Livy vii 7) During the plague of 433 432 c, Apollo Medicu wa invoked and a temple

W1 sowa op cit, p 55
wa vowed for the health of the people (ib, iv 21 25)
In 399 B.C., on the occasion of an intractable plague the
Duoviri after consulting the books reported that a
*lectisternium*, or banquet of the gods must be held in
which both Greek and Roman gods should be honored
according to the Greek rites. Three couches were accord-
ingly prepared with the greatest magnificence; image
representing Apollo and Latona were placed on one
Hercule and Diana on another and Neptunus and Mer-
curii on the third. Generously applied with food were set before them. For eight days the peo-
ple implored the gods for relief while solemn rites were
performed in public and private and general hospitality
was observed. The door of all houses were thrown open;
strangers were invited to meals and lodging; prisoners
were released; all refrained from quarrelling and every-
thing was held in common (ib, v 13). During the plague
of 364 B.C., which continued the next year the third *lec-
tis sternum* was ordered by advice of the Decemviri but
the violence of the disease was alleviated neither by
human measure nor by divine interference. Scenic play
were for the first time instituted in Rome, and actors
were brought from Etruria to conduct them with dancing
to the measure of a musician in a graceful manner after
the Tuscan fashion; native performance being added
with gesture, chant, and dialogue which by practice
were converted from a source of mirth to an art. The e-
play as first introduced were intended as a religious
expiation but they neither relieved the minds of anxiety
nor the bodies from disease and they were interrupted
by an alarming inundation of the Tiber which overflowed
the Circus and excited the people to terror indicating
that their efforts had not oothed the wrath of the god.
The official were anxiously searching for other expia-
tions when it was learned from the memory of the aged
that a pestilence had formerly been relieved by a nail driven by a dictator. The Senate therefore appointed a dictator to fix the nail according to the ancient law written in antique letter and word which declared that a nail should be driven on the Ides of September and it was accordingly truck into the right side of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the part con e crated to Minerva since it was urmised that it originally marked the lap e of year nd number w the invention of Minerva (ib, vii 1 2 3). The nail w again driven in 330 B.C. to re tore the unity of the people who w re terrified by fatal poi onings at the hand of Roman ma tron (ib, viii 18) Upon the advice of the Decemviri after an in pection of the book the fourth lectister mum wa held becau e of the pe tilence of 347 c (ib, vii 27) nd the fifth in 325 B.C. in honor of the s me god (ib, viii 24) The lectistermnia were oberved later for other public emergencie but the custom then declined until Marcu Aurelius celebrated one for even day during the great epidemic which preceded the war with the Marcomann 1

**Äesculapius and later epidemics**

During the evere plagu of 293 c, A klepio of Epi d uro invited to Rome to stop it was brought to the city under the name of ÄE culapiu and on the In ul Tiberina wa erect d anctu ry which wa dedicated to him in January 291 c (Livy Epitome, xi) During the Punic wars a plague occurred and in 212 B.C., by th advice of M reu confirmed by the book Apollinari n g me according to the Greek cu tom were held to check it pread thi being the u al belief although

Fowl r Ro F t v s of th P rod f th R p b c, pp 4-5

1 W1 w p it, p 42
Livy (xxv 12) held that they were for victory in war and not for the restoration of health. These games were first celebrated by the prætors each year for single occasion only and on no certain day and the sacrifice were made to Apollo and Latona. In the summer of 209 or 208 B.C., a grievous plague occurred more protracted than fatal a supplication was performed in every street in the city and the people vowed that Apollinarian games should be held on a certain day forever. July 13 being thereafter kept credited for that purpose (ib., xxvii 23). The vow which was made to Apollo and Æculapius was frequent in epidemic (CIL vi 2074 i 23 ff.)

*Holidays as expiations*

Again in 183 B.C., pestilence carried off many distinguished men. The Decemviri consulted the book and a they advised the Senate ordered throughout Italy a supplication for one day and a cessation of work for three days (*feriae*, Livy xl 19). In that supplication Salus was included with Apollo and Æculapius and in gratitude to the god the officials erected a temple to Apollo Medicus (ib., xl 51) while the Pontifex Maximus ordered gilded statue of each of the deities to be placed in it (ib., xl 37). In 176 B.C. a pestilence left a serious order among those who recovered turning into a quartan ague and by direction of the Sibylline book a supplication of one day was ordered, the people as embarking in the Forum and vowing that if the ickness and pestilence should be removed from Roman territory they would solemnize a festival and thank-giving of two days continuance (ib., xl 21). In times of less danger the officials assumed the responsibility and directed ceremonials of prayer and processions to avert epidemic

Cf. Wiow *op cit.*, p 383
The Roman received early instruction from other in primitive method of healing a they had in matters of religion. The Sabine contributed their folklore medicine and the Marsians ent their seer and enchantresses to Rome with their remedial herbs. Etruria was a land of magic and magicians and it people had taught the Romans who had adopted their haruspice to apply the art of divination and magic as well as the use of incantations, song, and chant in the healing of disease knowledge of which according to tradition they had received from the Greeks of Arkadia and Phrygia. 

Elsewhere magic and religion were inseparably related but the Roman endeavored to differentiate between them regarding the god who were officially recognized by the State and their ceremonial a orthodox other being heterodox and their practice of sects or magic. Faith that had been upper ed became magic. Magic had a bad name it was made illicit and proscribed but it could not be uppered. There are many evidences of its use in connection with the treatment of disease but it would appear that in the early day of Rome at least it was more an integral part of the religion as it was an adoption from other peoples and that the intimate relation of magic with religious healing in the later period was largely the result of foreign influence. Pliny ascertained (Historia Naturalis, xxx 16) that magic had its origin in medicine as a higher and holier branch of it yet he regarded it the most deceptive of all arts frivolous lying and containing only the shadow of truth and he does not connect it with religion.

4 Ki el, in J n s, 1848 m, 96 l o Sprngel Histv de ed at , i, 177 178

44 K F Smith, Magic (Gr k nd Rom n) in ERE viii, 269 276
THE ROMAN DEITIES

Patrician healing customs

The Roman had no theology to guide them but appear to have placed quite a much reliance if not more upon their ritual of worship a upon their god and in the matter of die e e of the individual they did not tru t entirely to either but like other primitive people combined their religious ceremonial with re ort to th imples of herb lore The ma ter of the Roman home the paterfamilias, was the doctor for the member of the family un le a in many of the larger hou ehold he appointed a lave or fre dman who bow ed an aptitud for medicine to c re for the family and th often hap pened to be Greek phy ian Cato the Elder who w vener ted for hi pr i in virtue and con ervati m left records (de Agri Cultura, 134 139 141) indicating th popular family practice of hi day (third century b c ) which had undoubtedly come to him from early tradi tions of addre ing cert in deity a Mar Iupiter, nd Ianu and all the god ( si deus, si dea es) with upplc tion ritual proc ion nd crifice to protect hi f mily hi cattle and hi crop and to ward off the ho tile pirit that ent maladie 4 When di ease came appe l were made to the divinitie and variou remedie were u ed with magic incantation Of the many remedie used the everal kind of cabbage (brassica) wer mo t prominent and their dietetic and therapeutc merit were extolled a panacea for both ill and injurie (Pliny, op cit , xx 78) It i urmised that a monograph of Chrysip po 4 a Knidian phy ian was the source of Cato con fidence in the cabbage (op cit , ch 156 158) especially a he used similar prescription consisting of cabbage with water for fistula with honey for sores (Pliny op

4 Fowl r in ERE x 829
4 M W Iman in P uly Wis ow in 2510 no 15
If a bone was dislocated a cabbage poultice was applied and if this failed magic was used during manipulation. A green rod four or five feet long cleft through the middle was used as a conjuring rod and while the patient was held by two men the following incantation was recited and repeated: "mota v ta darie dardarie asiadande una pete or mota v ta darie dardares a tatarie dissunapiter. If this failed another incantation suggestive of more violent manipulation was spoken and repeated: "huat haut haut ista i tarsi arannabou dannaustra (C to op cit, 160 cf. Pliny op cit, xx 33 36)."

Other sources of information concerning the use of remedies with magic are found in the *de Medicamentis* of Marcellus, probably intended for home use; the later *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*, poem of Nikandro the long sage on nakes in the poem of Lucan (ix 607 937) and the detailed compilation by Pliny (*op cit*, xviii xxxvi) of the many remedies of his day. The belief concerning them the manner of preparation and their use with magic and incantation. The efficacy of the remedies for cures in many instances depended on the purity of the per on gathering and demini singing them their duty often being deputed to a boy or girl or to the Ve tal (ib xxvi 60).

**Healing in general**

When a Roman was ill, the auspice and soothsayer (Pliny *Epistola*, ii 20 2ff) were consulted. Diviner studied the sign of the heaven the conjunction of planet the constellation the movement of the cloud the breeze in the tree the action of a bird the man...
ner in which fowls took their grain and the conduct of domestic animal and bees or they examined the entrail of sacrificial animals especially the formation of the liver. The leaf circumference in nature might be an important guide to the proper manner of treating theick. Other form of magic were used as words of power incantation ong chant symbolism substitution of a victim binding and looking analogue sympathy talisman and amulet. There were many popular belief e.g. that the foot of Caesar had healing power when Vespasian cured blindnecess and restored a cripple by placing his foot upon the uppliant (Tacitus op cit., iv 81. Suetonius Vite Vespasian, 7) Ki sing a a mean of cure one curely mentioned and blind woman reputed to have been cured by ki s ing Hadrian's knee. Geode ætites or eagle stones were supposed to possess a magic power and facilitate propagation and healing. Attached to a woman or placed beneath the kin of an animal they prevented miscarriage but it was necessary to remove them at the time of parturition else it could not take place (Pliny Hist Nat., xxxvi 39). Dream were highly esteemed by the Roman and per on seriously ill were often brought to the atrium or peristyle of the house where they were given a sleeping potion in the hope of exciting a dream that would convey indications of a method of cure. Contellation were believed to have the good and bad qualities of the mythical beings whom they represented and thus to influence human life. A serpent in the northern heaven (the contellation Ophiuchus) was held to be the author of cure because the reptile was sacred to Æculapius. Hydrotherapy was always considered of great value among the

Wirsch, A t k Heilungsw d r, p 73
Cumont op cit., p 173 also cf Hyginus Astrono i, n 14 for the identification of the constellation with the god
Roman who not only frequented hot and cold bath in the city but ought the medicinal fountain of the province over which nymph and divinity presided and near which acred serpent often lived The pring Tibur were popular and Augustus reorted to hot sulphur well the Aqu Abulæ where were at a later time temple to I Hygra and Apollo a well a tately b thhou e

Æsculapius and charlatans

Upon hi arriv 1 in Rome Æsculapiu had become th chief h aling divinity of the State nd hi wor hip mi ti ted a n w epoch in the medical hi tory of th city a being the fir t to care for spor die d i e e and offer healing to the individual Apollo h d been a healing d ity in the bro der en of an averter of p tilence but it i beli v d that hi function of actual he ling wa not de veloped until long after Æ culapiu wa settled in Rom The cult of other foreign divinity who w re known a h aler cult in which he ling wa incident l or minor part of their ctivitie reached Rome from time to tim while claimant of divine rank reputed he ler charl t n and impo tor m querading under their own or under Greek character often u ing the name of Æ cul piu and pretending to hi method practiced he ling in Rome nd claimed the patronage of the people The foreign cult that practiced healing h d each it own rituals and ceremonie and at least until the second century AD when Roman citi en were no longer re trained from officiating in the e rite they were con ducted by native priests, with whom ecrecy wa habitual in the u e of divimation in the my teries of their magic and in their mode of he ling Th detail of cultic prac tice do not app ar to have been d i closed and cannot be definitely t ted but allusion by satiri t and other
writer and in cription of late date afford ample proof that the method followed at Rome were essentially tho e of the Orient (Fe tus p 110) All info rmation obtainable indicate that the chief feature of their healing practic consisted in the use of divination the dream oracle (incu bation) with official interpretation by connectores, and acerdotal magic with material remedies

Divination

Cicero tudy of divination and dre m how that the Roman held the ame views concerning them a did the Greek that they were nearly akin divinely in pired nd prophetic Cicero (de Div , i 30) quote Poseidonio a imagining that men might dream in three way under the impulse given by the god (a) the mind intuitively per ceve thing by the relation which they bear to th deities (b) the perception arri e from the fact that the ar i full of immortal spirit in whom all sign of truth are tamed and visible and (c) the divinities them elve converge with leeper e pecially before death ince the oul when di entangled from the care of the body perceve forewarning of the future Divination by dream wa simlar to the pre entment which happen to the diviner when awake and con ted in th bility to discern and expre the sign given by the gods to man portent while interpretat on wa the power of r vealing tho e thing which the deite ignify in dream (ib , i 63) Evidence of the antiquity of the dream oracle in Rome afforded by Vergil in relating the con ultation of King Latinu with hi prophetic ire Faunu in hi notary at Tibur Serviu (ad Æneidem, vii 85 92) in commenting on thi p age define incubation and Tertullian (de Amma, 94) called tho e who leep in temple for dream incubatore fanorum

I cub r dieu tur hi qui dormiunt ad ceip d re pon
Temple sleep or incubation a practiced by the cult was preceded by ceremonial purification and by fasting from wine and food. Pallets for the sick were placed in the porticoes of the temple and after the usual sacrifice the priest offered a prayer and the patient slept. In Greece and probably in Rome the patients were visited at some time during the night by a representative of the god and by attendants with the sacred animals and possibly a few words were passed concerning the disease or the disordered part of the body was touched or anointed or licked by the serpent. Celsum (contra Celsum iii 24) that both Greek and Barbarians as erted that they had seen and till aw the deity daily in his own person healing the sick. gravel men and foretelling the future. In the morning the dream and visitation of the night were reported and were interpreted by the priests as divine monition for effecting a cure. There were lway ugsstion of the marvellous power of the divinity supplemented by direction for the use of up posedly potent remedies which were considered a th hand of the god to be used internally and externally with bath rubbings with ointment, diet and other hygienic regimen. The cures were announced as illu traction of the superhuman powers of the deity and were pread abroad a miracle of healing serving as pioular to trengthen the faith of the clientele and to for ward the propaganda of the cult. It would appear that in the Roman practice there was less of personal healing by the god and more use of symbolic magic and suggestion than in Greece. Those who were not cured at once remained under the charge of the priest for treatment or further temple sleep. It ha been claimed that many

1 Hamilton, Incubation, pp 5368
of the priests practicing in the temple of Aë culapius and especially in that of Serapis were educated phyician

Laying on of hands

Sacerdotal magic with suggestion was common to all Oriental cult and was doubtless freely used at Rome in connection with material remedies. The laying on of hand was regarded as a most efficient means of transferring the divine power for healing, especially in the cult of Aë culapius and Sabazius. The patient was propped and the right hand was applied, the open right hand or thumb and two fingers open and the other two closed as often used in blessing and portrayed on vases as being potent while the left hand had a maleficent influence. The position of the hand and leg was important among the Roman both in council and in religion. In council at sacrifice and during prayer no one was permitted to sit with leg crossed or hands clasped a such posture impeded what was going on (Pliny op. cit., xxviii, 17). The touching of a sacred object the altar or the image of the god frequently conveyed to the individual the power of healing him self. Flagellation was used in the cult of Faunus and Magna Mater for the febrution of women to drive away the spirit which prevented pregnancy.

Sacred serpents and dogs

Sacred serpent and dog were kept at the healing temple of Rome (Festus p. 110) and their ministration were highly esteemed. The licking of ulcers and other external diseases by the tongue of either animal was regarded as particularly efficacious. Women resorted to the temples for the relief of sterility and there were several legends of impregnation by the god in the form.

Fower op. cit., p. 104
of a serpent as in the tradition that Atia the mother of Augustus Caesar asserted that he had been engendered by intercourse which she thought he had had with Apollo in the form of a serpent while he slept in his temple (Dion Cassius xliv 2 cf Suetonius Vita Augustae, 94 Aulus Gellius VI 3 Livy xxvi 19) Pliny states (op cit, xxix 22) that the sacred Æsculapian serpents were first brought from Epidauros and were commonly raised in the house of Rome to such an extent if they had not been kept down by frequent conflagration it would have been impossible to make headway against their rapid increase. The original Epidauran reptile were harmless but Pliny says that these were water snakes and venomous and that their liver were used to remedy the ill effect of their bite. Other part of the serpent were also used as remedies. The serpent a dwelling in a hole in the ground and often under the house came to be regarded as the guardian spirit of the house hold and hence a symbolizing Genius and Juno.

Votive offerings

Those who had been healed at the temple not only paid fees when able but left donaria of various kind as an expression of their gratitude. The object covering a wide range from works of art and inlaid tablets to relics and silver, bronze or terra cotta model of the part diseased.

Greek medicine in Rome

While religious healing was gaining popularity among the citizens of Rome the germ of more scientific method of treatment of disease had been transplanted from Knidos, Alexandria by many Greek physicians.

J. A. M. C. Wilkins (Introductory and Practical Medicine, 1902)
Notwithstanding the violent hatred of the Elder Cato and other Roman toward the earlier Hellenic doctor and despite the cold reception given them they came in in crea-1ng number in ny of them gaining respect influence and pop-ularity. It appear that the great majority of the educated Roman eventually preferred their traditional medical treatment or the phy-ician such as they were to the religious healing of the temple which they regarded with scepticism and corn often a being too plebeian for personal patronage at least until long after the establishment of the Empire. The Greek doctor had their office on the street and in the Forum and accepted patients at their homes. During the second and third centuries AD, the cult of Æculapius gained materially in the estimation of the better classes of Rome and it became a common practice for the wealthier families to seek the aid of the Greek healing god elsewhere particularly at sanctuaries of Epidauros and Pergamon.

Scepticism toward cult healing

That there was a widespread scepticism toward all religious medicine among the more intelligent citizens of Rome especially among the follower of the Stoic philosophy evidenced by the concluding remark of Cicero on the subject of dream and divination. Now whence come this distinction between true dreams and false? And if true dreams are sent by God whence do the false one arise? What can be more ignorant than to excite the minds of mortals by false and deceitful visions? What authority is there for making such a distinction a God did this and nature that? (op cit., 11. 62) How then can it be reasonable for invalid to seek healing from an interpreter of dream rather than from a physician? Can Æculapius or Serapis be by a dream prescribe to u
THE HEALING GODS

cure for weak health? And cannot Neptune do the same for pilots? Or will Minerva give medicine without a doctor and the Muses not give dreamers knowledge of writing and other art? But if healing of feeble health were given all these things which I have mentioned would be given. Since they are not given neither is medicine and if that be the case all authority of dreams is at an end (vi 11 59). Let this divination of dreams be rejected with the rest. For to peak truly that superstition spreading through the world has oppressed the intellectual energy of nearly all men and has ed upon the weakness of humanity. Thus I have argued in my treatise On the Nature of the God and I especially labored to prove it in my Divination On Divination. For I thought I should be doing a great benefit to my elf and to my countrymen if I could eradicate that belief (vi 11 72). Cicero expresses himself definitely in respect to religious healing. I believe that those who recover from illness are more indebted to the care of Hippocrates than to the power of Æsculapius (de Nat Deor, vi 38)

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

The here presented include the name of the chief deity who were concerned with the healing art in ancient Rome and who cult and activities are considered in the following section. The classification adopted is an arbitrary one which has appeared to be the most convenient for the discussion of their special function in connection with the sick and the preservation of health.

In Supplement to the chapter on the minor deities and the present treatment of divination with the sphere of great gods and illustrating the subdivision of function is regarded to subordinate the divinities.
THE ROMAN DEITIES

I Roman Deities

(A) Deities of General Functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angeronia (or Angeromia)</td>
<td>Fecundita, Picu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angitna</td>
<td>Feronia, Salu (or Hygia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Perenn</td>
<td>Fortuna, Saturnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bona De</td>
<td>Hercule, Soranu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caia C cilia (or Tanaquil)</td>
<td>Jupiter, Strenia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clitumnnu</td>
<td>Mar, Vacuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa cinu</td>
<td>Meditrina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna (Fatua) or F tuell )</td>
<td>Minerva, N ptunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faunu (Fatuu) or Fatuellu or Inuu )</td>
<td>Norti, Pcumnu and Pilumnu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) Child birth Deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carmenti (or Carmenta)</td>
<td>Genita Mn, Natio (or Iuno, Na cio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitia</td>
<td>Luciun )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D11 n</td>
<td>Iuturn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egeri</td>
<td>Mater Matut, Virbiu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(C) Underworld Deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carn</td>
<td>D1 (D1 Pater or Orcu ) Lare, Pro erpin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(D) Deities of Disease

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Disease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angina</td>
<td>Clo cin, Febri, Mefiti, Scabi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(E) Deities with minor functions related to healing, but not discussed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abomu</td>
<td>Hono, Pavor, Spe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordi</td>
<td>Orbona, Pax, Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicitæ</td>
<td>P illor, Pudicitia, Virtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adonis  Hygia  Mithra
Æsculapius  I  Saba
Apollo  Magn  Mater  Serpens

Not Th lit of yf th d in not only Rom n but
Gr o Ro nd Or nt l xt nd d t th onfi of th L t
prov b t u u lly th y ontu u d tru to th Ro typ though
fr qu tly ymer ti d with loc l god F r d t il  Tont i op cit

I  ROMAN D ITI S

(A) Deities of General Functions

ANGERONA (OR ANGERONIA)

Ang on(i)awa n anc n Rom n godde who e fun tion had become o ob cure that her re l character w
practically unknown A tatue in the temple of Volupia repri ent her with her mouth bound with fillet
(Pliny op cit, iii 9) prob bly implied ignorance of her true nature but it led to the fancy th t he ymbol d
fear and the silence inculcated by the early Roman con cerning religiou matter Hence she wa uppo ed to
h v been the gu rdian divinity of the city of Rome nd to keep inviolate it secret and aced name whil
through popular etymology Angerona wa regarded a another name for Angitia and some behaved he wa
call d Angerona bec u e Roman afflicted with the di
e e called angina (quyn y or angor) were cured fter
m king vow to her (Macrobiu Saturnalia i 10 Paulu
pp 8 17) and he wa invoked for relief from plague
(a pellendis angoribus) A a matter of fact ince her
fe tival wa celebrated on December 21 7 he wa prob

L Cl r, Histo re d  'decime, d 1702 p 65
Wis ow op cit, d 1 12 p 241
7 F wlr p et, pp 274 275
ably in origin the godde of the winter ol tice and her name hould be interpreted The Up Bringer (of the Sun)

ANGITIA

ANGITIA though primitive Italian godde (especially Mar 1 n) w r puted to be of Greek origin the 1 ter of both Kirke and Medei and identical in character with the latter (Serviu op cit., vii 750) She w a beneficient deity of healing killed in knowledge of medicinal proper tie of plant nd the discoverer of their poi on and their antidote be 1de being a sn ke ch rmer and u ng her magic to cure the people of venomou bite The chi f e t of her cult wa in the Lucu Angiti on the hore of Lake Fu cinu which bounded with he ling h rb (V rgil Âeneid, vi 758 759) but after th conque t of the Mar 1an nd the neighboring tribes (304 b c) her wor hip did not find favor in the Roman State pantheon though he continued to be reverence by individu l even in Imperial time Her name which 1 probably connected etymologically with the Latin undiges, p pear in the plural in an incription (CIL ix 3074) from Sulmo in the Paeligni n region in th Dis Ancitibus of an incription (CIL ix 3515) from Turfo in the Ve tin 1an di trict and po 1bly in the Acetus of the Inguvine Table (II a, 14) and the godde wa probably identic l with the O can Anaghtia Diva as well a the Paeligni n Anceta

ANNA PERENNA

ANNA P r nna wa an ancient It li n godde of th ye r and thu came to be regarded a the giver of

Le Cl oo c t, lo Wi ow op cit, pp 49 50
W ld Ety o ogis h Wort rb ch der 3 usch Spr c, p 3
F r hyp th o rm g h r W ld b, pp 44-4
health and plenty and a one of the earliest deities to watch over the life, health and prosperity of the adult. Nevertheless her origin and identity were obscure whence she was the subject of several speculative myths. To the e Ovid refers (op cit, in 543 696) relating one story that he was Anna the sister of Dido who came to Latium and there met Æneas, another that he was a nymph, a daughter of Atla, a third that equated her with the Greek Themis and lastly that he was an old woman (anus) who befooled Mar. Her festival was held on March 15 (the beginning of the Roman civil year) in the Campus Martius near the Tiber with the licentious common to New Year celebrations and was attended by the plebs who paired off and passed the day in drinking, dancing and carousing (ib, in 523 540).

**BONA DEA**

Bona Dea was a renowned but mysterious goddess who was not otherwise identified. Though he was generally popular and greatly beloved. Originally he was probably an earth spirit who gave health and blessing and developing under a variety of names and names and cult of other divinities he represented chiefly the earth and its bounties aborning the names and of other divinities it is also suggested that in the beginning he was an attribute of Fauna with whom he became identified a Bona Dea and evolving an individuality under the title the surname finally upplanted that of Fauna though it is sometimes urged that the development was in the reverse order.

1 Hrtung Dr Religio der Ro, n 22, l K 1 l l J
1848 in 596
Fowl r op e t, pp 50 ff
Ib p 10
Bon Dea was essentially a deity of women symbolizing their fertility and was very nearly akin to Juno and Genet. She was closely associated with Mater Matuta Ops Terra and Tellus and was originally of a nature similar to Silvanus Pales and Ceres though later he lost her rusticity in her organized city worship. The Greek Dama was identified with Bon Dea and the rite of her worship were similar that the cult usurped the name thus a suffix in eliminating that of Fauna while the priests of Bona Dea were called Damatrix (Paulus p 68).

Bona Dea the symbol of health and life was a prophetic deity with an oracle and practiced healing. Her chief temple in Rome on the slope of the Aventine beneath large rock was a sort of herbarium tore with medicinal herbs and acred serpent were kept there but neither myrtle nor wine was allowed in her shrine owing to the legends concerning Fauna except that wine sometimes taken there in honey was under the name of milk (Macrobius op cit, I xii 25 f.) The temple were cared for by women. Women conducted all cultic ceremonies and only women took part but the cure were not limited to the female except inscription how that ailment of men were also treated. In her therapeutic aspect, Bon Dea was identified with the Greek Panakeia while a a healer of eye he was called Oculat Lucifera and of the ears Bona Dea Aurita (CIL v 759 vi 68). The great festival of Bona Dea was held on May 1 but she was also honored at the festival of Fauna especially at the Faunalia Rustica on December 5 which was celebrated on the Insula Tiberina. Bona Dea likewise enjoyed a worship with sacrifice that did not appear.

Fowl r op cit, pp 103 104
Ib. p 101 1 Wł ow op cit, pp 216 219
Fowl r op cit, pp 255 256
on the calendar this taking place early in December on the third or fourth in the house of a praetor or con ul not in temple nd being attended by ve tal and women only. This was probably a survival of an old custom when the wife of the chief of the community her daughters and other matron in de acrifice of a young pig or pig to the godde of fertility. It was originally a decorou rite and o continued until the acrilege of Clodius who inv ded the ceremony in female attire wearing the mitre but under th Empire it was accompanied by orgie to which Juvenal refer (op cit., ii 86 ff vi 313 ff.) Bona Dea may also be the same a Cubrar mater. Good Mother of a hort Umbrian in cription found at Fo ato di Vico

CAIA CÆCILIA (OR TANAQUIL)

Caia Cæcilia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was apo theo 1 ed after her death and became a healing godde A. A statue reputed to be of her tood in the temple of Semo Sancu Diva Fidia on the Quirinal a the ideal Roman matron and in her girdle the people found healing herb (Fe tu p 234)

CLITUMNUS

Clitumnus, an Umbrian river god an or cular deity who was highly revered had an anctuary near a pring in a fore at the head water of a stream of the am name (Pliny Epist., viii 8) His cult flourished especa ly during the Empire and many votive tablets have been found expressing the gratitude of those to whom he had revealed the future and given aid in illne

7 F w1 r op t, p 254 1 o W1 owa op cit, p 0
Conwy Th It c Delects, p 610 1 o Buch 1 r U br , p 173
W1 ow op cit, p 224 1 o Hopf De Hötter und H e tatte des Altert , p 44
Fascinus, a Roman divinity representing the phallus, was identified with Mutunus Tutunus and often regarded as merely another form of Lar. His cult was similar to that of the Lare, and as they guarded the property of the State, he watched over the home. He was a symbol of the power most efficacious in averting evil influence and was the protector against sorcery and malignant demon, while as a healing deity he protected the member of the family from illness and women until they had conceived. Children wore his image round their neck to avoid witchcraft and envy and he was invoked just before the marriage ceremony by young women who sacrificed their maiden clothing to him. The State set up a statue in his honor.

Fauna (Fatua or Fatuellia)

Fauna was an ancient Italian goddess described as the wife or daughter of Faunu (Fauna Fauni) and a deity of women. A Faunu was of men. According to legend, he was beaten to death by Faunu with myrtle branches because his wife drank to excess or his wife or daughter and a virgins, he would not drink wine and submit to hisince tuou love. She was regarded as the symbol of the genii or Manes who give life, and in another legend was impregnated by Faunu in the form of a serpent.

Fauna personifying the earth and its fertility was originally an agricultural and prophetic divinity who bestowed health and blessing through her oracle. She was closely related to Op and Mater Matuta and was identified with Lar and Wodan.

70 Ki 1 in J nus, 1848 in 28 629
71 Wisow, op cit., p. 243
7 Fowlr op cit., p. 103
7 Prellr op cit., p. 340
tified not only with Tellu Terra and the Greek Damia but especially with Bona Dea so that it was supposed that the name clinging to her and finally supplanting her own was regarded as her cult becoming known as that of the Good Goddess 74 Fauna hared the honors of Faunu festival the Faunalia Rustica on December 5 and in far a Fatuu was regarded as identical with Faunu, she was also known as Fatua and Fatuelle.

FAUNUS (FATUUS FATUELLUS OR INUUS)

Faunu (Kindly One speaker or foreteller) an ancient Italian deity of the woodland pasture and of shepherds identified with the old god Tellumo (earth) and with the Greek Pan was one of the legendary founder of the Roman religion. He had a complex character and neither his origin nor his development has been clearly followed or definitely interpreted. Faunu appears in various aspects and under several names apparently of other independent divinities with whom he was syncretized or more probably whose characters were nearly akin that he was identified with them and assumed their name. 7 He was regarded as dangerous to women and children and if offended he would call upon Silvanus and his woodland nymph or upon the Fauni who caused fright and panic mental disorders and cramp, and in this aspect he was known as Incubus and Ficariu (Augustine de Civitate Dei, xv 23). 77 In his capacity as an earth god he was said in one legend to have assumed the form of a serpent when he impregnated Fauna. 7

74 W1 ow op cit., pp 21 219
7 Fowl r op cit., p 256
77 K1 el in Jan s, 1 48 m 609
7 Pr ll r, op cit., p 340
F'unu was the second State deity of healing and a prophetic divinity giving his divination in verse and being known therefore a Fatuus' (Servius op cit, vii 775) and Fatuellus" he practiced healing with his oracle and by the use of the magic remedies of his father Picu. His most celebrated sanctuary was in a sacred grove at Tibur where was a sulphur spring over which the nymph Albunea (said to be of divine origin) preceded. Those seeking his counsel lay down on a heap of mith and the fume from the spring caused hallucinations which were interpreted as the revelations of the god (Vergil op cit, vii 81–91 Ovid op cit, iv 660 ff.). A similar healing or celestial shrine was located at the hot springs of Abona, southwest of Padua, where many inscriptions to the spring god Abonius have been found (Lucan, vii 193) Faunu also possessed a sacred grove on the Aventine and on the Cælan a circular temple surrounded with columns. Introduced into Rome in 196 BC, Faunu averted a pestilence and unfruitfulness whence in recognition of his services a temple was vowed to him erected on the Inula Tiberina and dedicated in 194 BC (Livy xxxi 42 xxxiv 53). His festival the Faunalia Bucurta was held there on December 5 (Horace op cit, iii 18) ¹

One of the old Roman feasts was the Lupercalia celebrated on February 15 (Ovid op cit, ii 268) Chiefly because of its name it has been assumed by some that a god Lupercus was thus honored but it is generally agreed that there was no such deity and that the festival received its name from the priests of Faunus who were known as Luperci (also called priests of Pan). The ritual involved... ⁷

⁷ Cf Fowler op cit, p 25
  W1 ow, op cit, p 211
¹ Fowler op cit, p 25
  Ib, pp 310 321
  W1 ow op cit, pp 208 216
cate purification and expiation with the magic favoring and attending impregnation. The characteristic feature of the ceremony were the Luperci (called _crepini_, he goats Festu p 57) young men wearing only a goat skin girdle who ran around the Palatine hill in opposite directions and struck with thong of goat skin all whom they met especially the matrons who when sterile submitted their backs to the la h (Ovid _op cit_, xii 425 428 445 448) or, placing themselves in the way held out their hand to the nimble Luperci (Juvenal _op cit_, xi 140 142) Thy was the februation of women which was supposed to drive away hostile spirits that prevented fruitfulness and failure in their duty to the family and State (Ovid _op cit_, xi 31 32 427 ff v 101) Because of this rite Faunus received the name of another god Februn and appears as the god of impregnation whose priest came into relation with Iuno Lanuvina as the goddess of conception. Faunus was likewise identified with another early Italic divinity Inus (Livy i 5) probably a deity presiding first over the coition of animal and then over conjugal union of human beings.

**FECUNDITAS**

_Fecunditas_ was an aspect conception representing fertility and was appealed to as an independent divinity for impregnation. Sacrifice were made to her after successful parturition a in the case of Poppaea on her return to Rome after the birth of her child by Nero and in celebration of the event the Senate built a temple to the goddess in AD 63 (Tacitus, _Ann_, xv 23)

---

4 Fowl _op cit_, pp 29 318

_Ib_, pp 17 302, 318-321 _Not_ The Lupi were not boh h d u till th ti of An t in th 1 th c ntury AD

W1 ow _op cit_, p 185

7 H St udmg, _in Ro ch r _ii, 262 2 3

W1 ow _op cit_, p 33
FERONIA

Feronia was originally a deity of the Sabine and other central Italian non Latian tribes who presided over the harvest and market while at Præneste where her festival was celebrated on the same day as that of Fortuna. She represented fertility and plenty. She was beloved by the freed slaves (Servius *op. cit.*, vii 564) by some he was considered a god of liberty (Livy xxii 1) and in inscriptions declare her to have been a nymph of spring in Central Italy. Like Febris she appeared as a mediator between man and the deity of light and darkness according to whether they purified for life and health or for death and she brought healing by fire though it differed from that of Febris in being external.

Feronia was a goddess of Capena in Etruria and her principal sanctuary in the Lucus Capenatus or Feronitium, the foot of Mount Soracte where her priests like those of Sorana walked with bare feet over living coal unburnt (Vergil *op. cit.* vii 800 Strabo V i 9 p 226 C Pliny *Hist. Nat.* iii 51) was attended by Sabine Etruscans and Latins becoming so rich that it attracted the attention of Hannibal who plundered it in 211 B.C. (Livy xxvi 11) She also had a celebrated temple at Terracina as well as at Trebula Mutca in Sabine territory. After the conquest of the Veii by Rome she became a State deity and was given a temple in the Campus Martius and in 917 B.C., during the Punic War, the women of Rome made a collection for her (Livy xxii 1) Her festival *Feroniae in campo* was held on November 13.

Fowler *op. cit.*, p 199

Wolow *op. cit.*, pp 285 286

Kiel in *J. Hellenic*, 1948 iii 616 617

Fowl *op. cit.*, pp 952 264
FESSONA

Fessa, a godde who gave aid to the weary and restored their strength was invoked for health and strength by those having chronic and exhausting diseases (Augustine op cit iv 21)

FORTUNA

Fortuna, an ancient Italian goddess of Etruscan origin who presided over an old and famous oracle seem to have been originally a deity of women's character. For Fortuna the fickle goddess of Fortune being a later development this view is supported by the oldest known inscription to her at Praeneste one (nations cratia, nationus cratia, CIL xiv 2863) from a matron in gratitude for child birth which mention her a the first-born daughter of Jupiter and another in which he is represented as suckling two infants (Cicero de Div 1 41 85) (popularly but probably erroneously regarded as Jupiter and Juno) and it may possibly be strengthened by the etymology of the name which is connected with the Latin fero, bear birth

Servius Tullius who considered him self a favorite of the godde (Ovid op cit vi 573 ff) erected two temples to her in Rome one on the bank of the Tiber and the other to Fortuna in the Forum Boarium (ib, vii 775 ff) the latter shrine containing a veiled wooden statue assumed to be Pudicitia (Festus p 242) the protector of the purity of the marriage relation. Another temple to her a Fortuna Muliebria was located at the fourth mile stone on the Via Latina and none but women who were living in their first and only marriage (uni
were permitted to enter this sanctuary and to touch the statue (Livy x 23) Her temple in the ox market was near one dedicated to Mater Matuta with whom Fortuna was closely related and their festivals the Matralia were held at the same place on the same day June 11 (Ovid op cit, vi 569)  

The chief seat of the earlier worship of Fortuna were at Antium and Praeneste As Fortuna Primigenia she had splendid temple at Praeneste where she presided over an oracle foretelling the future by ortilege (CIL xiv 2989 Cicero op cit, ii 41) Here she was the object of special devotion from mothers and from women expecting children and praying for an easy safe delivery It is urged that Primigenia was originally an independent deity presiding over the first parturition Thus cultivate at Praeneste was not acceptable to the Romans until after the second Punic War when Fortuna Primigenia was brought to the city (circa 199 BC) a temple being erected in her honor on the Quirinal in 196 BC (Livy xxxix 36 xxxiv 53) 

Fortuna had many aspects and titles A Fortuna Virginalis the devoted of maidens were dedicated to her (Arnobius adversus Natones, ii 67) a Fortuna Virginalis she was worshipped by newly married women and a Fortuna Virili she gave good luck to women in their relation with men (Ovid, op cit, iv 149 ff) She was called Fortuna Balneorum, as Fortuna Salutaris (CIL vi 184 201 202) she was connected with health and healing a is clearly shown by the votive inscription of Godber (CIL xiii 2 7994) Fortun Salutaribus AE culapio Hygiae and as Fortuna Mala he had an altar on the Equiline (Cicero de Nat Deor, iii xxv) Fortuna was equated with the Etruscan goddess Nortia and

7 Fowl r op cit, pp 154 156
Ib, p 17
under that name was adored at Vol inii Her fe tv l which was popular with the plebs freedmen and lave
was held on June 24

HERCULES

Hercules, an old Italian divinity of Tibur, one of the di
novensides, was believed by the Roman to be in one
fashion a survival of the same religious conception that
was represented by the ancient divinity Semo Sancu
and Dios Fidius (Ovid op cit, vii 213) fidelity the sanc
tity of the oath and possibly the male principle expres
d in the conception of Genius very early akin to or imper
onation of cert in a pect of Iupiter 
In the conception of his character a deity of men Hercules was
placed in opposition to Juno the female principle and all
women were excluded from his worship As the repre
entative of the male he was honored at birth a table
(mensa) being prepared for him in the atrium (Serviu
Eclogae, iv 62) Men made pledge and swore by the
Genius by Iupiter by the oath medius fides, or by Her
cule in the open air in the form me hercule, the e being
the synonymou familiar form of oath 

In the O can Tabula Agnonen i (line 13 41) 

the true and an altar re mentioned a et up for Hereklui
Kerruii (Cerealian Hercule) in a grove of Ceres, and
since she was a godde of the fruitful earth and other
divinitie recorded in this inscription were likewise connected with fertility. Hercules also must be conceived in
this capacity

Fowl r op cit, pp 161 ff and for furth r d tail concerning the
godd W o w op cit pp 257 262 l o W W Fowl r For
tu (Roman) in ERE vi, 8 99

1 o Fowl r F stw Is, pp 137 138
11 Ib, pp 1 144
1 Conwy op ct, pp 191 192
The earliest appearance of Hercule at Rome was at the first lectisternum, in 399 B.C., when he with other deities was invoked to stay his silence. He was the preceding divinity at healing springs and in cription and votive tablet dedicated to him for his cure have been found at some of these places. Hercules Dome tu guarded the welfare of homes and kept away all ill (CIL vi 294 297 etc).

Hercule also called Salutifer and Salutan (CIL vi 237 338 f) was assimilated to the Greek Herakle and was related to Silvanus (CIL vi 288 293 295 297 309 310 etc) while the goddesses Febrī and Orbon are said to have belonged to his retinue. He had two temples in Rome. The principal one built in 82 B.C. by Sulla was near the Circus Flaminius and the worship there was similar to that of the Greek Herakle Alexikakos, the dedication being held on June 4, the other around his temple to Hercule Invictus stood between the river and the Circus Maximus near the Port Trigemin. Dedicated by a festival held August 13 Hercule also received in the honor paid to Dēus Fidius on June 5.

**IUPIT R**

Iupit , or Iuppiter was the chief deity of the Roman pantheon to whom a the divine guardian of the city and State the fir name and fame of Rome were entrusted. He was a imilated to the Greek Zeus and was associated with Juno in a ritual relation though not a husband until Greek influence prevailed when he was identified with Hera. In origin a sky god whence the eagle was sacred to him his particular domain was the upper atmosphere and the heaven with its lightning and thunder a conception which was common to all Italian.

1. Hopf op cit, p 8
2. Fowl r op cit, pp 135 201
people. He developed in one aspect into a divinity of justice, fidelity, and solemn contracts witnessing oath taken in making treatises of State. This phase of his character being represented by Deus Fidius, and he was invoked by the common Roman oath medius fidius. A guardian of mankind, he gave his psychic emanation in the form of the numen Geni (symbolizing the developed powers and capacities of man) to every man—a divine spirit which accompanied and guided him throughout his life comparable to the Fuvone of women. His temples were on the ummits of hill—the earliest in Rome being a small shrine on the Capitoline consecrated to him a Jupiter Feretrum (Livy 1, 10) but this was overshadowed by the later temple on a different part of the hill dedicated to the triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva which became the center of the religious life of the nation the seat of the power of Jupiter and of the authority of Rome.

Jupiter had broad general powers and many specific ones which were indicated by his various name-urname and form of cult. His function extended to healing both in a general and specific manner, so that the mother of a child who had been ill and confined to bed for many months appealed to him. O Jupiter who endeth and removeth all the terrible suffering (Horace Satire, II in 288-292) He had a temple on the Insula Tiberin erected in 196 c (Livy xxxiv 53) to which he appeared a he ler. He was given the epithet Salutari (CIL xii 240)

The Ides of every month were sacred to him as being
the night of the full moon and he was also honored at many seasonal festival

LIBER (BACCHUS)

Li er, a member of the olde t cycle of Roman god and the name of an ill defined pint may have been n emanation from or a cult title of Jupiter developing into an independent deity who e nature wa overgrown with Greek idea and rite but the Liber cult later b came attached to that of Jupiter ¹ Primarily he appear to have been god of impregnation both of plant and animal and he wa honored by a phallu carried about the country in a wagon (Varro in Augu tine op cit vn 21)

When in 496 c, on account of famine Demeter Diony o and Kore were brought to Rome they were Latim ed by the name Cere Liber and Libera and a temple the de Cereria erected to them at the foot of the Aventine near the Circu Maximu wa dedicated in 493 b c (Livy iii 55 xli 28) The consort of Liber w Liber nd their fe tival the Liberalia wa held on March 17 ¹¹

It w only fter this identific tion with Diony o th t Liber wa as ociated with the culture of the vine nd hi character then underwent a change so th t the cult took on my tic and orgastic feature which became familiar under the more common cult name of B cchu When th people had acquired a taste for sen tionali m in religion

¹ Fowl r Fe tiv l, pp 54 55 338 Note In list of l v n god on bron found in Pr n tin to b Liber i nho d di tinct divinity long with Iouo Apolo Minu ru t (CIL xiv 4105) d reh e in erption fro Pr uru (CIL i 174) h dedic t ion Lebr (Conw v op c t, pp 318, 434)
¹¹ W ld op c t, p 42
¹¹¹ F w l r op c t, p 54
fter the arrival of Magna Mater in Rome the e aspect were developed in the cult and were urreptiously introduced in many gathering of it wor hipper finally lead ing to wild debaucherie in the frequent Bacchanalia which were exposed to the Senate in 186 B.C., the re ult being imposition of evere re traction upon the cult nd it Orphic and my tic ceremonie (Livy xxxix 18.19) Augu tu organi ed a new cult of Liber half Oriental and orgia tic and erected a temple to the god on the height of the Velia near that of M gna Mater which referred to by Martial (I lxx 9) During the second century A.D, th cult played an import nt part in the ecret cult of I is Magna Mater and Mithras and e pe cially of Hekate during the third century,11

Healing wa practiced in the name of the cult and impotence madne bladder and venereal disea es are among tho e mentioned being tre ted The priest of Bacchu conducted office for the 1 of drug and prayer to the god one of which w situated in th Forum 11

MARS

Mar ranked next to Iupiter in the old Roman triad a one of the three highe t deitie of the State nd th gr t god of war he w equated with the Greek Are Originally he ppear a a vegetation divinity to whom hu b ndmen pr yed for the pro perity of their crop nd twice yearly (in March and October) acrificed to Mar Silvanus ( Mar of the Wood ) for the welfare of their cattle11 C to (de Re Rustica, 141) m ke a broader appeal not only for the afety of hi cattle and to prevent

11 W1 w op c t, pp 297 304 378
11 Bruz n op c t, p 13
11 Fr r The Scapego t, pp 299 ff Fowl r p c t, pp 41 4
48 64 24
bad weather and failure of his crop but for defense again disease and the preservation of the health of his family.

March was the first of the State deities associated with health and healing as a protector rather than a healer. Since it was one of his duties to protect the people from epidemic, summer, pestilence, and disease and the preservation of the health of his family, he was the first of the State deities associated with health and healing. At times he was a protector rather than a healer because it was one of his duties to protect the people from epidemic, especially summer pestilence. He also entertained such diseases and thus in the Carmen Arvale he entered neither let plague (nor) run fall on more bated. Of fierce March (CIL 1 28). His priest twelve in number called Salii (Leapers) were expellers of evil who in rites of leaping dancing and miting their held with their taffs were intended in part at least to put to flight the host of demon that lurked in the house temple and other edifice for transference to scapegoat and to counteract all maleficent activities which injured the prospect of the former. It asserted that in his civil capacity he was a seer or prophet who diagnosed disease and decided upon the manner of its treatment.

March was the time for opening hostilities. He was named for him and his festival was held on the first of the month the commencement of the old Roman religious year. Numerous temples were dedicated to him the chief of which was out side the Porta Capena on the Appian Way the next in importance being erected in the Forum of Augustus to Mars Ultor in 2 c.

MEDITRINA

Meditrina is mentioned by Festus (p 123) as an ancient goddess of viticulture and healing, but modern writers deny any real evidence of such a deity and hold that he had her beginning in the speculations of grammarians. She is sometimes described as though she were

\[114\] Fowl r op cit, p 239

\[115\] Wis ow op cit, p 115
sister of Salu and related to Mar and was reputed to restore health by the use of wine herb and magic formulas. The Meditrinalia on October 11 was a festival at which the wine of the new vintage was tested and the ceremonies were conducted under the auspice of the Flamen Martialis who consecrated the wine as a remedy by repeating the following words: Novum vetum bibo novo veteri vino morbo medeor (An old man I drink new wine with new wine I cure old disease) The name Meditrina is cognate with Latin medeoor, I heal.

MINERVA

Minerva, an ancient Falerian goddess was one of the novensides and had a temple on the Capitolium before the formation of the second State triad of which she was a member. She was a divinity of handicrafts of artificers and workmen guild and was the special tutelary deity of physicians. Although she was known as Minerva Medica in Rome, it is not clear that her cult with a temple on the Esquiline practiced healing in Rome, but it was common for leeches to appeal to her for guidance and power to cure the sick and Cicero (de Div. II 159) even remarks that Minerva will give medicine without a physician while in a crypt found at the temple of Minerva Memoriae et Medicinae Cabardiacen in near Placentia indicate that there she prescribed medicine healed disease of the ear and even restored the hair.

(CIL XI 1292 1310)
Toward the close of the Republic the cult of Minerva was blended with that of the Greek Athena who was known as Minerva and Minerva Fatidica or Medica and who practically upplanted the old Roman goddess during the Empire Outside of Rome however the cult of the Italian Minerva continued in its purity and extended even to Britain where figures of the goddess now preserved at Chester have been found. She was worshipped at the State temple of Jupiter on the Capitol in the right cella of which was dedicated to her and she also had temple on the Esquiline the Cælian and the Aventine At least one of the e was consecrated on March 19 her natal day and the festival of Quinquatrus (Festu p 257, Ovid op cit, vii 809) held from March 18 to 23 was in her honor while he was also associated in the ceremonies of Feriae Iovem on June 13. During the epidemic of 363 B.C., a nail was driven in her temple on the Capitol in the hope of checking the pestilence (Livy vii 3)

**NEPTUNUS**

Neptunus, god of the streams, and fresh water had the same attribute as the Greek Poseidon with whom the Roman identified him. With other divinities he was honored as an averter of pestilence. The first lectisternum in 399 B.C. (Livy v 13) and inscription found at Como in Italy and at Plombiere in France indicate that there he was regarded as a healing deity. His festival the Neptunalia was held on July 23 and it has been conjectured that it was in fact utilized to propi

---

1. Wi ow , op cit, p 254
2. H Barn , On Roman Medicine and Roman Inscription found in Brit in PRSM, 1913 1914 vii 80
3. Fowler op cit, p 5
4. Ib, p 158
5. Hopf op cit, p 45
tiate the divinity of water andpring that the di
trou heat and droughts of summer might be averted

NORTIA

Nortia, a Tu cap goddes who had healing function wa
a pecial deity of the Vol o (Tertullian Apologeticus, 24), nd it wa cu tomary to drive a nail m the wall of
her temple at Volsinin each year a ndices of the num
ber of year (Livy vii 3) This statement ha re
cently been confirmed by the discovery of the rem in of
the temple at Pozarello near Bolsena and votive t blet
found there bear witness that he was a healing divinity
alled to Fortuna Votive poem (CIL vi 537) and m
cription were addressed to her (CIL xi 2685 f ) but
he was not admitted as a State goddess at Rome

PICUMNUS AND PULUMNUS

Picumnu and Pilumnus two divinitie aid to be
brother and declared to be alike in character acted
beneficent deite of matrimony With Intercidona nd
Deverra they protected parturient women and their chil
nen from evil prirt and from attack of Silvanu and
when a birth had taken place a couch (lectus) being
pread for them a de conuges, they were worshipped
a de infantium, who attended to the proper development
of the child (Augustine op cit, vii 9 Serviu ad Æn,
ix 4 x 76 Nonno p 528)

PICUS

Picu wa an old Latin prophetic deity uppo ed to be the
on of Saturn (Vergil op cit, vii 48 49) and clo ely

1 Fowl r op cit, pp 186 187
2 It, pp 172 234
3 Wil ow op cit, p 288
4 Ot R P r, in Ro cher u 197 199 213 215
a ociated with F unu (Ovid Metamorphoses, in 291 ff Plutarch Vita Numa, 15) He had n oracle at Tiora and healed the ick

SALUS

Salus (Welfare) originally a Sabine god hea p pear in the Roman pantheon a a divine imper onation of the general welfare of city and State Primarily he was associated clo e ly with Semo Sancus Div Fidius for an elevation on the Quirinal near the shrine of the latter deity wa called Colli S lutari, while the gate leading to it wa named Porta S lutari and she her elf wa occasionaly termed Salu Semonia (e.g Macrobiu op cit, I xvi 8) In 302 b.c, a temple wa dedicated on the Quirin 1 to her a Salu Publica (Livy ix 43) it wall were painted in 269 b.c it wa struck by lightning t least four times and it wa burned to the ground dur ing the reign of Claudius.

It wa onl y after the Greek godde Hygieia came to Rome that Salu through identification with h r be c me a divinity of health r ther than of welfare Thi H llenc deity wa the only one of th divine a ociate of A klepio who appeared in Rome and her name wa Latin ed to Hygia During the pe tience of 180 b.c Salu wa invoked with Apollo and Æculapiu (Livy xI 19 37) howing that he wa being tran formed to a likeness of Hygieia and he was afterward equated with Hygieia a S lus Hygia being repren e ted in statues and pictures with the characteristic drapery of the double garment of the Greek godde Inscription to this cult companion of ÆSculapius were sometime addressed to Hygia and sometimes to Salus and occasionaly they

1 Fowl r, op cit, p 11
2 W1 ow op cit, p 337
were definitely distinguished as Salu eius (CIL vi 164) and Hygia (CIL ix 17.19 20234) An altar to Æsculapius and Salus for the health and safety of the Roman was found at Chester England in 1779 and a votive tablet to these deities was unearthed at Binchester in 1879. A temple at Lambea by Marcus Aurelius was dedicated Æsculapio et Saluti (CIL vii 2579 f. cf al o Terence Hecyra, 338) but it would appear that the name and ultimate character of Salus were more properly represented by the Marsian deity Valetudo (CIL ix 3812 3813 cf Martianus Capella i 16) under which title Salus was addressed (CIL vii 7279 cf also vii 5149 vii 9610) be ide being so represented on a denarius of M Acilius Glabrio It seems probable that Valentia a deity of the Umbrian town Oriculum was a similar divinity of physiological health (CIL xi 4082 Tertullian op cit, 24).

The later functions of Salus were those of a goddess of health attending upon her chief and caring for the sacred serpents but he never appears as a healing divinity. She is represented as holding a branch of laurel or with a cup and a serpent standing or sitting by Æsculapius and a statue of the goddess a Salu Publica stood in the temple of Concordia (Dion Cassius liv xxxv 2).

SATURNUS

Saturnus, an ancient Italian agricultural deity who presided over the sowing of the fields was later assimilated to the Greek Kronos Saturnus and his descendant was a seer and healing divinities aveter of ills and especially entrust with the welfare of each citizen. His temple was on the Capitolium but an altar and evidence of an older temple were located at the foot of the hill. The festival the Saturnalia began on December 17 and

---

1. Brun in PRSM, 1913 i 14, vii, 7
2. Fowl r op cit, p 26
SILVANUS

Silvanus was an ancient deity of the wood and wild an off hoot of Mars and in many respect similar to Diana (CIL iii 7775 13368) but was reclaimed and brought into useful and friendly relations with the farmer. He was at time associated with Liber (CIL vi 462) and was closely akin to Faunus and Fauna, or Bona Dea (CIL x 5998 f) while like Faunus he was dangerous to women and children and in the aspect the term Incubus was applied to him whence the divinities Intercidona Deverra and Pilumnus were believed to protect young mothers and their infant from attack by him (Augustine op cit, vi 9 Servius op cit, ix 4 x 76 Nonnos p 528)

In one of his aspects Silvanus was regarded as a healing deity and sacrifice were made to him in that capacity while he was occasionally associated with Hercules at healing spring and with Hercules Dometius (CIL vi 288 293 295 297 etc) Cato (op cit, 83) addressed a prayer to him for the health of his cattle and in later day he was admitted to the cult of Mithra a the protector of horses and agriculture

SORANUS

Soranus, an ancient Roman god apparently of Sabine origin and possibly a chthonic deity a mediator between man and the higher divinities bringing health and

1 Fowler op cit, pp 268 273
2 Ibid, pp 55 201 262
3 Spreng l op cit, 1 184
4 Cumont Textes et monuments figures relatifs uxyst r Mithra, 1, 147 and The Mysteries of Mithra, pp 6 112 137
The Healing Gods

440

Deliverance from disease by the purification of external fire. He was usually identified with Apollo and the chief seat of his worship was on Mount Soracte near Falerii where he was called Apollo Soranus (Vergil op cit, xi 785). He priests the Hirpi Sorani (wolves of Soranus) dressed and acting like wolves to avert pestilence performed a yearly ritual of atonement by walking over red hot coals with bare feet and worshipers passed through the flame (Pliny op cit, vii 19) which continued in Imperial times. Soranus, who also called Soranus Pater and later Dī Pater (Servius op cit, xi 785).

Strenia

Strenia was originally a Sabine goddess whose name connected with Latin strenuus; meant strength (Joanne Lydo de Mensibus iv 4) though no detail are known of her cult. A temple and grove at the head of the Via Sacra were dedicated to her and from 153 BC onward it became the custom to give presents and exchange congratulatory greeting on the first day of the year when the consul took office. Good omen or strenae (Varro de Lingua Latina, v 47 Symmachus Epistolae, x 35 Augustine op cit, IV ii 6).

Tiberinus

Tiberinus, the river god of the Tiber identified with Volturnus a Volturnus Tiberinus and finally known Tiberinus Pater. Occasionally referred to as a healing deity once he was able when propitiated to heal the disease which his water was supposed to bring (Aulus

---

1 Fowler op cit, p 84
14 Walde, op cit, p 743
11 Prell in Rothesche Mythologie, 1 234
2 Fowler op cit, p 278
Gellius X xv, 30) It believed by modern cholar that he was wor hipped at the S era Argeorum celebrated March 16 and 17 and May 14 when the Roman went in procession to the twenty four Sacella Argeorum and the May festival after the mourning Flaminica Dialis and Ve tales had gathered at the Pons Subhacen dummies of traw (held to represent old men bound hand and foot and symbolic of former human sacrifice) were thrown into the Tiber by the Ve tal Tiberum wa al o honored the festival of the Volturnalia on August 27 and on December 8 the anniversary of the founding of his temple on the Inula Tiberina

**VACUNA**

VACUNA, an ancient Sabine godde wa wor hipped in numerous place throughout the Sabine territory particularly in the valley of the upper Velinus above Reate (Horace Epistolae, I x 49) Latin writers identified her varioualy with Bellon Cere Diana Minerva and Venu but especially with Victoria (cf the Scholia t on Horace ad loc) and they connect her name with vaco to be empty free from It is clear that her original nature wa quite forgotten but it is significant that t vow were made to her for safe journey and for recovery from illness (CIL ix 4636 4751 4752) and it may be inferred that her function were negative rather than positive o that for example h caused freedom from disease rather than good health it elf

---

1 Fowl r *op cit*, pp 112 120 Ancient writer differ d to th dity honor D m g both S turnu nd Di P t r S furth r R Wun h ‘Hum n S erific (Rom n) in *ERE* vi 860 1 nd G A F Knight Brid in *ERE* u 48 84

1 W1 w *op cit*, p 225

1 C nw y *op cit*, p 358
I (B) Child birth Deities

The principal deities of child birth in the later Roman pantheon were Juno Lucina and Diana, both divinities of women in the broadest sense presiding over the function and relation peculiar to their sex. Although the honor were divided Juno Lucina was always the more prominent and she rather than Diana extended her protection and supervision over children from birth to maturity. The two chief goddesses had many assistants and deities of lower rank associated with the process of gestation and birth, one of whom had originally been independent divinities and had retained their names although their cult had lost their individuality and become more or less blended with those of Juno Lucina and Diana while other had surrendered their cult and remained mere names or a variant and phase of the more exalted pair. Thus the ancient goddesses Carmenta and Mater Matuta could no longer maintain their independence and Natio had lost her cult while Parca originally a deity of child birth was later identified with the Greek divinities of Fate the Moirai and like them developed into three personalities. Both Juno Lucina and Diana were equated with the Greek Eileithyia under who name they were frequently referred to.

The function connected with conception, gestation, birth and the growth of offspring to maturity and marriage were infinitely subdivided and distributed among a large class of indigentamenta, subsidiary physiological divinities conceived as supervising each detail being volved from or amalgamated with the activities of the chief goddesses as Lucina Ossipaga and Diana.

---

14 L Deubner, 'Birth (Gr k nd Roman) in ERE n 64
147 Wissowa, op cit, p 63
14 Wald op cit, p 561
mon 1 In the matter of conception if the potency of the male was in question the men invoked Liber Libera Subigus Dea Perfica Dea Prema or Dea Pertunda (Augustine op cit vi 9) and if women feared sterility they appealed to the gods Pilumnus Mutunus Tutunus and Fascanus (Arnobius op cit iv 131) or to the god desse Rumina Deverra Mena or Cunina (Augustine op cit ii 11 21 vi 9 vii 2 Tertullian ad Natrones ii 11 Arnobius op cit iv 7)

Little mention is made of the details of the theurgic method used in childbirth but in general they appear to have consisted of magic formulas, incantation and the laying on of hands so that gentle Lucina applied her hands and uttered words which promote delivery (Ovid, op cit x 511) Only the right hand favored delivery as shown on vases and by models of the hand left a votive offering It was usual for newly delivered mothers to bring flowers to the temple of the birth godde

Roman families were accustomed to honor various deities on the occasion of birth the male Genius and the female Juno being revered as breaded a table for Hercules and placing a couch for Lucina in the atrium (Servius Eclogae iv 62) or possibly the table only would be prepared and this to an impersonal divinity 1 At other times a couch was set for Pilumnus and Picumnus protectors of mother and child and they were supposed to partake of a meal after the birth Varro (apud Augustine op cit vi 9) relate that after a birth if the babe was acknowledged by the father (sublatus) three men came at night to the threshold of the house and struck it repeatedly with a hatchet a mortar and a besom that

---

1 Se Suppl ment to this ch pt r
10 Hopf op cit p 40
11 Wi ow op cit p 422
by the signs of agriculture Silvanu might be prevented from entering this rite being supposed to ymboli e Intercidona Deverra and Pilumnus who guarded mother and child from the spirit of the wild. The eighth day after birth for girl and the ninth for boy was the dies lustricus, the day of purification when they were accepted into the family.

After the successful delivery of the Empress Poppæa wife of Nero the Arval brother included Spea August Spea in the list of divinities to whom it was customary to sacrifice on such occasion (CIL vii 758 760) and Fecundita likewise received honors.

The birth of a hermaphrodite was of foul and ill omen. On one occasion it was destroyed by being thrown into the sea while the Decemviri decreed that a litany should be sung by a chorus of nine virgin crifice should be offered by the matron of the city and procession with crifice should be made at the temple of Iuno Regina (Livy xxvi 37 xxxi 12)

CARMENTIS (OR CARMENTA)

Camnatis, an ancient Italic godness and a prophetic deity of great repute though overshadowed by the Cumæan Sibyl (Vergil op cit, viii 337 341) appear originally to have been a nymph of spring and a healing divinity (sometime identified with Albunea of Tibur) and there to have interpreted divine symbol and announced decrees of Fate. She from prophecy her most prominent characteristic was her influence over child birth though her function here were subordinate to Iuno Lucina and Diana. She cooperated with Lucina in delivery by reciting her magic formula and

1 W1 ow op cit, pp 330 33
2 Ki 1 1 J us, 1848 m, 652
3 W1 ow op cit, pp 19 221
hence being a prophete for the infant into whose future he looked and from whom he warded off impending evil he became a maternal deity in general. Her priests lit the sacrificial fire and were the official interpreter of her oracle.

Carmenta had a temple at the foot of the Capitoline acred grove and temple in the Vicus Patricius open only to women and an altar near the Porta Carmentalis and her festival the Carmentalia attended only by women were held January 11 and 15. At these celebration the Flamen Carmentalis called upon her a Carmenta Pror a Porrima or Antevorta to aid those who invoked her by giving the child a position favorable for easy delivery thus bringing about a fusion of the deity into a plurality of Carmentes.

COMITIA

Comitia was imitated to if he was not identical with Carmenta a deity of child birth and a healing godde. She dwelt with the Sabines near Lake Cutilia near Reate the water of which were cold and used for their medicinal properties where was a floating island on which grew trees and many healing herbs (Varro de Ling Lat, p 1063 48).

DIANA

Diana (the Divine) was originally an Italian goddess of the wild spirit of the forest and vegetation and very nearly related to Silvanus but in her general aspect she was identified with the Greek Artemis by whom he was eventually upplanted and in whom he was afterward worshipped in anniversary (Catullus Car

1 Fowl op cit, p 17
2 Wild op cit, p 231
mina, xxxiv) As Diana Lucifera he was a moon deity and was often called Diana Lucina (Cicero de Nat Deor, n 27) while a a divinity of magic he was equated with Hekate whence he was sometimes regarded a of triple aspect (e.g. Vergil op. cit., iv, 511) She was a divine protectress of women in all the need peculiar to their ex and a child birth deity who was often ranked a the equal of Iuno Lucina Goddess of triple form who thrice invoked dost hear and ave from death young mother in their labor pangs (Horace Odae, III xxxi 24) She had a large retinue of deities and numina who presided over many subordinate functions incidental to her activities and whose appellatives were often given her aurnames She was sometimes called Diana So pita nd at Nemi he was worshipped a Diana Opifera and Diana Lucin (to whom the girdle of the first birth wa con ecrated) being invoked especially for diseases of women for successful delivery and for happiness in married life while as Diana Nemorensis he was associated in her obstetric functions by the local associated divinity Egeria and Virbius 1 Her sanctuary at Nemi was a celebrated resort for hydrotherapy and healing spring were dedicated to Diana Therma, who presided over such fountains in the Campagna at Arethusa in Sicily and at Aix les Bains in Savoy 1

Diana was worshipped very generally throughout Italy but her most renowned shrine was at Nemi on the north shore of Lake Nemus in the Alban mountain Her temple was small being only fifty by eighty feet but the grove in which it stood not far from Aricia was one of the largest known in antiquity having an area of 44,000

1 2 & k r G. Schacht der Heilkunde 1 358 361
1 Fra r The Magic Art, 1 41
2 Hopf op. cit. pp 37 38
square meters. Commonly known as Nemus Aricium, it was reputed to be the religious center of Italy and in Aricia Diana, as the tutelary goddess of the city and the protecting deity of the League of Latium, had her altar over which her chief priest the Rex Nemorensi presided (Suetonius Caligula, 35) winning his position at Nemi by slaying his predecessor (Strabo V in 12, p 239 C).

The League of Latin cities was overthrown in 338 B.C., and it is inferred that when its seat was moved to Rome, the cult of Diana followed especially in the novensides to enter Rome. Her temple on the Aventine was a League sanctuary and the center of her worship until she was superseded by Artemis, but her shrine in Rome and her sacred grove in the Vicus Patricius (Livy 1, 45) were open only to women (Plutarch Quaestiones Romanae, 3). Her festival, with the dedication of her temple at Rome, was held on August 13 and at Aricia probably on the same day. Processions at Rome and from Il Latium going to her sanctuary in her honor, women made pilgrimages to Nemi with torches and wreaths to implore the goddess to grant them children and easy delivery, and in her temples were hung many votive tablets and ex votos representing all parts of the body, though chiefly the genital organs of both sexes, mothers with nursing babes and other donaria. Diana had many other shrines in Italy, but the wealthiest and the one favored by Sulla was that at Mount Tifata near Capua, known as the Mons Dianae Tifatinae (CIL x, 3933, 4564). Her cult was so popular that foreign goddesses were worshipped

10 Cont. Guter An xeur to the Lk of Nmnd Civit
1 Fr. op c t, 1 10 11
in her name or her name was connected with theirs a
with the Carthageneian Tanit known a Dea C le ti.
Diana was commonly depicted in the dres of a hunt
but in her obstetric function the torch wa her
permanent attribute.

EGERIA

Egeria, originally a water nymph wa a ociated with
Diana as a deity of child birth and healing at the sacred
grove of Nemi near Aricia. According to legend, he wa
the friend mistres or wife of Numa whom he met at
night and counselled concerning legi1on e pecially
hygienic law in a cve on the Palatine or at a grotto
spring with healing propertie outside the Port Capena
on the Via Appia (Juvenal op cit, in 11.12) After the
dath of Numa he retired to the grotto t Nemi wher
her inolable grief di turb the wor hip of Diana
(Ovid Fasti, in 262 ff Metam, xv 480 ff) At the root
of an oak in the sacred grove was the Spring of Egeria
which had received her tear and w s re orted to for
aling it water those of other spring being
credited with power to facilitate conception and de
livery In her obstetric function he wa associated with
Virbiu another divinity connected with the sacred pre
inct at Nemi When the cult of Diana wa removed to
Rome Egeria followed and he wa wor hipped in the
acred grove of the C menae below the Aventine.

GENITA MANA

Genita Mana, a her name (Birth De th) implie

1 W1 ow op cit, pp 248 252
1 Fr r p cit, 171
14 Ib, u 171 ff
1 W1 ow op cit, pp 160 219, 247
1 Cf Wld op t, pp 338 341, 460 4 1
THE ROMAN DEITIES

wa an ancient Italian godde who had power over life and de th o that when sacrifice were made to her the upphants pr yed that no one of the hou ehold hould become manu (i.e. one of the Manes). Her cult w ob cure but he had a great influence over child birth nd it a nd that he w rival of Iuno Lucina. She wa honored at the fe tival Compitalia nd nur ing bitche were acrficed to her (Plutarch op cit, 53). A Genet he had a tatue nd an altar in the grove of Cere at Agnone in Samnium.

IUNO (OR IUNO LUCINA)

Iuno (Youthful?) one of the chief godde e of the Roman pantheon formed the gr at St t trd with Iupiter nd Minerva but though by a fae nalogy with the Gre k Her he wa often referred to a the wife of Iupiter there is no well authenticated myth of thu until the nthropomorphic period following the acceptance of Greek idea. She wa the divinity of the lower atmo sphere in di nction to the dom in of Iupiter in th heaven and wa originally the element l prit of womanhood repre enting the fem le principle in human life. Hercule did the male Each woman had her Iuno prit who guarded her throughout life corre ponding to Geniu for men and by whom he wore whence Iuno became the great tutelary deity of woman in all her func tion nd activitie.

In everal of her a cute specia lly a Iuno Lucin Iuno wa the chief godde of child birth and pres ed over every proce and activity of the off prng until th period of manhood and womanhood Lucina was her mo t

1 W1 ow p cit, p 240
2 Conv v op cit, pp 1112
3 W id op cit, pp 398 3
17 Fowl r op cit, p 14
frequent epithet (Ovid, Fasti, ii 449 451) and one by which poets addressed her (Horace Epodae, v 5 6) and the name meaning light was derived from Luna (Moon Cicero op cit., ii 27) being supposed to have been given her because she brought children into the light. She also received many other epithets expressive of the various phases of her character as Conservatrix Opigena (Festus p 200) and very commonly Sophia or Sarks by which she was known at Lanuvium (CIL xiv 2088 ff.) and a temple in the herb market at Rome was dedicated to her in 197 B.C. (Livy xxxiv 53) 171 She was often assimilated with and called Diana and Hithyia or she sometime preferred the name of Gemaline (Horace Carmen Seculare, 13 16) Juno Lucina apparently up-planted the old birth goddess Natio Lucina and the Nix du were associated in the obstetric function and old Roman goddesses were idiatory to her Lucina was not only invoked for her aid but also to save women in confinement (Terence Andria, 473 Adelphæ, 487) and he similarly implored to be propitious to infants and to the boy who was to use her in the Golden Age (Vergil Eclogæ, iv 8 10)

Juno frequently appears in very minor functional capacities under the surname of one or another of the many numina of her retinue as Lucina Ossipaga or Fluonisa (Arnobiu, op cit. iii 30 118) as the divine match maker she was Iuno Iuga (Paulus p 104) as the divine bride maid Iuno Pronuba (Vergil Æn., iv 166) and a Iuno Populona he protected against devastation and was responsible for the increase of the population 17 According to an old legend of the sacred grove near the Suburra which surrounded her temple on the Esquiline

171 Fowler op cit., p 302
17 W1 ow, op cit., p 189
the Sabine women carried off by the Romans proved sterile so that couples made pilgrimages there and heard a voice from the trees which indicated the remedy (Ovid op cit, i 431 450)

Iuno shared honor at the Capitoline temple with Jupiter and Minerva but her most renowned sanctuary in Rome was on the Esquiline where a gift was brought to the goddess after every birth where flowers were offered her (ib, i 253 254) and which no one wearing one thing knotted was allowed to approach a knot being posed to hinder birth (Servius op cit, iv 518)

Iuno was universally regarded as the goddess of matron and chastity and the wives of Roman joined in the festival of the Matronalia which celebrated the dedication of her temple on March 1 when pigs were sacrificed as substitutes for lambs 17 She also had a sacred grove at Lanuvium one of the great sanctuaries of Latium and her oracles which were announced from the mouths of serpents enjoyed great renown in Rome The goat was accredited to her and at Lanuvium she was represented a wearing a goat skin The thong (amicul Iunonis Arnobiu op cit, ii 23) used by the priests of Faunus for the purification of sterile women 174 were taken from the skin of the goat and from this custom Iuno received the name Februa and was brought into relation to Faunus as the goddess of conception (Paulu p 85 Martianu Capella ii, 149 Arnobius op cit, ii 30) The festival of Iuno Regina was celebrated on the Aventin by procession of women the sacrifice of cows and other ceremonies (Livy v 31 xxii 62 xxii 1 xxvii 37 xxxi 12), and another festival was held at Falerni (Ovid op cit, ii 427)

The oldest strictly women celebration in Rome was

17 Fowl r, op cit, pp 38 105
174 Ib, pp 179, 318 321
the Nonæ Caprotiœnae\textsuperscript{17} held on July 7 when sacrifice
and feasts were held under the wild fig tree (CIL iv 1555) and at which
ham battles took place between
erv nt maid who exchanged currilou epithets and
peeche The origin and significance of thi fe tival have
been lo t, but it i supposed to have had omething to do
with ex life perhaps the bearing of children, since Ino
bore the name Caprotina and wa evidentl y a ocia
ted with it\textsuperscript{17} The term i connected with Latin caper
( goat )\textsuperscript{177}

IUTURNA

IUTURNA, a ocia ted with Carmenti in child birth wa a
water nymph repre enting the healing power of water
and presiding over a spring n med for her t L nuvium
(Serviu op cat xi 139 V rro op cat , v 71)\textsuperscript{17} After
the fir t Punic War her cult wa transferred to Rome
nd a temple wa built for her on the Campu Martius
while an old lacus of Iuturna wa situated in the Forum
near the hrine of Ca tor nd Pollux (Ovid op cat i
706 708) Recent exc vation have di clo ed thi shrine of
Iuturna\textsuperscript{17} the construction of which uggest that it wa
u ed for incubation Her fe tival the Inturnalia, was cele
brated on January 11 umultaneou ly with the Carmen
talia nd wa attended especially by tho e whose occupa
tion a ocia ted them with pring water uch fuller
(Servi loc cat )

\textsuperscript{17} Wi ow p c t , p 184 l o Fowl r Religio Experiment c ,
p 14 nd , Fe tw , pp 17 0 17 9
\textsuperscript{17} Wi ow op c t , p 184
\textsuperscript{177} Wi d op c t , p 128
\textsuperscript{17} Not Fo ( r Fo tu ) w th g d of prig d h d t
pl t Ro nd f tival h honor th Fontinah n Octob r
(V rro op cat , vi, 22)
\textsuperscript{7} H L Bi hop 'Th Fou n 1 of Juturn 1 th Ro an Foru
in RP, 1 03 u, 174 1 0
Mater Matuta was an ancient Italian goddess who presided over the early morning hour and as the birth of day from darkness was symbolized by Janus so she is said to have unlocked the womb and brought the child into the light. At the close of the Republic she was identified with the Greek Leukothea (Cicero op cit, iii 19 P ulu p 125) but he was overshadowed in her obstetric function by Juno Lucina for whom Matuta was occasionally used as a surname. She was always a deity of matron and children like Carmenta, Fortuna and Bona Dea and it suggested that she was a form of the latter.

The temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium dated from 396 BC and was dedicated on June 11th giving rise to the Matralia. Only women officiated at the rite which was attended solely by matrons who were living with their first husbands while a female slave ritually brought into her temple wasuffed and driven out (Ovid op cit, Vi 475 ff Plutarch Vita Camilli, 5). Women prayed there for their nephew and niece before their own children (Plutarch Quæst Rom, 16 17) a mark of the extreme antiquity of the worship of the divinity.

The cult of Mater Matuta was widespread throughout Central Italy and even extended to Africa while inscriptions to her have been found in Umbria at Præne te and among the Volsci. The temple in the harbor of Pyrgi the port of Cære in Etruria dedicated to Ilithyia is believed to have been hers and she had shrines at Satricum and Cor.

1 Cf W ide op cit, pp 470 471
2 W idow op cit, p 110
3 Fowl r op cit, p 15
4 Ib, p 155 note 4
THE HEALING GODS

NATIO (OR NASCIO)

Natio (or Na cio) was an ancient Roman goddess of child birth who had been upplanted by Juno Lucina, and who according to Cicero (op cit in 18) had formerly been honored by sacrifice and processions in the district of Ardea.

NIXI DII

Nixi dìi were obscure divinitie of whom little is known except that they assisted in child birth. They were reputed (though probably in error) to have been brought from Syria by the Consul M. Acilius Glabrio after his defeat of Antiochus in 191 B.C., and Festus (p 174) mention them as three guardian of women in labor who e tutues in a kneeling position (whence their name they who bow down kneel) tood before the chapel of Minerva on the Capitoline. Both Lucina and the Nixi dìi were invoked in one cry by Alcmeone at the birth of Hercules (Ovid, Metam., ix 294).

OPS

Ops was an ancient harvest goddess who assisted in child birth. As an agricultural deity he was closely associated with Consu in protecting the crops during the harvest and hence he was called Consiva (Varro op cit., vi 21) though he never developed a personality but always remained a numen. It was sometimes assumed in antiquity that he was the spouse of Consus (Festus p 186 Macrobius op cit., iii ix, 4) but of this there is no well attested myth and more frequently she was referred to as the wife of Saturn (e.g. Plautu, Cistellaria, 514 515).

14 Somm r, H nàbuch d r t nschen La t d Formenlehre, p 64

1 Fowler op cit., p 338
though even the doubtfulness despite their functional relation\(^1\) Op in her a pect as the earth was identical with Terra\(^1\) and it is believed that Fauna and Bona Dea were at time called Op.

It was a Opifera that she was the helpful mother to newborn children and those who invoked her touched the ground. Shortly after birth every infant was placed on the ground in honor of Ops the great mother, and under the supervision of Levana, the father raised it up (sublatus) by this act acknowledging his paternity whence Ops and Levana were witnesses to the legitimacy of children (Augustine \textit{op cit}, iv 11)\(^1\).

Op shared the temple of Saturn and the Opalía in her honor was celebrated on December 19 during the Saturalia\(^1\). She divided another shrine situated in the Vicus Jugarius with Ceres and her own festival the Opiconia at which none were admitted to the sacrifice but the Pontifex Maximus and the Vestals was held on August 25\(^1\). Both the Opiconia and the Opalía fell it should be noted four days after the Conualia thus further establishing the relation between Op and Consu.

\begin{center}
\textbf{VIRBIUS}
\end{center}

\textit{Vīrī}us was a minor deity associated with childbirth in the cults of Diana and Egeria at Aricia (Vergil \textit{op cit}, vii 761-782) and was reputed to be Hippolytos who had been done to death by the curses of Theseus but raised from the dead by A klepios. He had then fled to Italy where he consecrated a precinct to Diana (Artemis) at Aricia (Panamias II xxvii 4) and was called her chief.

\(^1\) Fowler \textit{op cit}, p 212 \textit{id}, \textit{Religio s Experiment}, pp 156 482
\(^1\) Fowler \textit{op cit}, p 156
\(^1\) \textit{Ib}, p 83
\(^1\) \textit{Id}, \textit{F siv ill}, pp 273 274
\(^1\) \textit{Ib}, pp 212 214
THE HEALING GODS

prie t (Ovid op cit, xv 543 ff.) He ha al o been re
garded a the con ort of Diana having the same relation a Adoni to Aphrodite and Attis to Kybele \(^1\) and po
ibly he was a local form of Jupiter \(^1\) Virbiu was repre
ented as an old man not unlike Æsculapius \(^1\) and t Naples had a Flamen Virbialis (CIL x 1493)

I (C) Underworld Deities

Dr, or Di Pater and Pro erpina ruled over underworld regions inhabited by a va t horde of spirit of all kind and degrees of rank and posses mg a certain though indefinite existence The original conception of the e superhum n being a well a their character power nd cla ification were largely forgotten during the Re
public and Latin writer on the subject are vague and confu d but it ppear clear that the early Roman never imagined any such organ ed Underworld a wa evolved by the Greeks and adopted by Vergil in the Æneid Neverthele the dead had some ort of con
continued exi tence in th1 subterranean re lm and although no definite lines were drawn in general, tho e who had been duly buried according to the cu tomary ceremone became the re pected ance tors the Di Parentum, often c lled Di Manes, while tho e who had died w y from hom or who had not received proper rite, a well a spirit of evil men became specter the Larvae or Lemures, who returned to their old abodes and troubled the living From among these myriad spirits a few had been per omfied as the Lare and their mythical mother Mama

The evil spirit and dextie who were ho tile to man

\(^1\) Fr r op cit, i 41
\(^1\) Ib, n 37
\(^1\) Wi w op cit, p 248
appeared on earth as ghost and apparition of the night tormenting and terrifying the living and causing sickness and misfortune. They were the willing slave of death bringing peace and death into the state and afflicting individuals with many ill especially nervous and psychic disturbance and epilepsy by terror.

They were the general conception underlying the several festivals designed to pay respect and honor to the good ancestror and to propitiate appease and drive away those deities and spirits who were hostile. The rite were essentially those of purification atonement sacrifice and the be towal of gift and the religious obligations gave rise to many cults and ceremonies which were performed at an early period being represented in historic times by the dies parentales, or nine-day which ended February 21 in the State festival of the Feralia with a general tooning sacrifice (Ovid Fasti, 11 533 ff.) and the Lemuria of May 9 11 and 13 cred to the Lemures and Larvae. It was considered an ential duty of every family to fulfill their religious obligation to the Dies Manes at the Parentalia on February 13 and to make atonement for all involuntary offense of commission and omission, whereas those which were voluntary could not be expiated in this way. During the Parentalia and Lemuria all temples were closed and marriage performed on that day would be unfortunate unless contracted (Ovid op. cit., v 485 488) The Lemuriae were supposed to have been originally both State and a private function but in historic time the share of the State was uncertain if indeed it was still retained. The private rite were performed by the paterfamilias, who rose at midnight and walked barefoot through the house.

1 Ovid, op. cit., pp. 174 235 236 23
igning with his fingers joined with the middle of his thumb. He then washed his hands thrice and taking black beans in his mouth, spat them out with averted face repeating nine times the words These I offer with these beans I ran on myself and mine. Again he touched water struck a brazen vessel and after crying nine times, Go forth, ancestral Manes, could once more look behind him (Ovid *op. cit.*, v 431 444)

**Carna**

Carna was an ancient Italian goddess of the Underworld who presided over the vital portion of the body, particularly the heart and digestive organs, and incidentally over nutrition her own diet being simple like that of the old time without daintie or luxury (Ovid *op. cit.*, vi 169 172) Her festival the Carnaria was held on June 1.

Prayers are offered to the goddess for the good preservation of liver, heart and the other internal organs of our body and her sacrifice beans meal and lard because this is the best food for the nourishment of the body (Macrobius *op. cit.*, I xi 32) Those who sacrificed to her and ate bean gruel and pig fat on that day secured a good digestion for the year. She practiced beneficent magic and healing for Ianus had given her a branch of white thorn (Arbutus) which was reputed to avert evils and to ward off the attacks of the *striges* who ought to suck the blood of children and cause death. When he saved the life of Phocas by touching the door post three times with her twig of arbutus, sprinkling the thre hold with water containing drug holding the entrails of a two-month-old and aying Heart for

1 The will own potrop is ign of th *fico*
2 Her n 1 cenn eted tymologic lly with L tin c ro, fl h (Lind y, *op. cit.*, p 317)
3 Wt ow *op c t*, p 23
heart take vitals for vitals this life we give you instead of one better (Ovid *op cit*, vi 129 168) 

She wa confu ed with the totally different deity Cardea, the god des of the door hinge (*ib*, vi 101 102 127)

**DIS (DIS PATER OR ORCUS)**

Dis, Di Pater and Orcu were name given by Roman writer to the god of the dead and Underworld Dis wa the Latini ed form of the Greek Plouton with whom he wa equated referring to the wealth under hi control (Varro *op cit*, V x, 20 Cicero *op cit*, ii 26) nd Orcu (Death ?Viduus) wa u ed to designate the god who separated the soul from the body and took it to him elf (Festu p 202) Hì consort was Pro erpina identical with Persephone who had been brought to Rome with Demeter and Diony o in 496 b c and named Labera

Di and Pro erpina sent di ease and death among man kind Di to men and Proserpina to women and children but they also had the power of averting icknes and death and of healing di ea e Accordingly honor and crifice were offered them to release their victims from m ladie and to restore health and water heated upon their altar had curative power (Valerius Maximu II iv 5) The cult of Di and Pro erpina was first brought to Rome bout 249 b c from Tarentum and was estab lì hed at an underground altar in the Campus Martìu near the Tiber where the strange rite of the Ludi Taren tìmi with a nocturnal ritual and acrifice of black animals were performed (Fe tu p 154 Macrobiu *op cit*, I

1 For uml r ime nation nd of ub titut victi ong th B hvlon n *upr*, p 112

1 Pr ll r (*op cit*, p 453) interpr t Orcu th u of d th prob bly mng th Re tr in r s W ld *op c t*, p 54

0 Ki s l, in J n s, 184 in, 23 24
xvi 17) During three days August 9, October 5 and November 8 the mound on the Palatine claimed by the deity remained uncovered. These divinities also had an altar on the Capitoline.

**LARES**

The Lares were deities of the Underworld but were often identified with the *Di Manes* and were regarded primarily as the shades of those who had founded the family or State good men who after death loved to hover about their old home and to preserve the welfare of their family and possession but who must be appeased by special gifts (Ovid *op cit* vi 535 633, vii 791). The State Lares guarded the State as a whole and helped its citizens in distress and guarded against pestilence while the household Lares (*Lares domestici*) were generally good spirits who protected the family against illness though if they were offended they had the power of causing especially nervous and psychic disorders (Festus p 119, Nonius p 44). The family recognized their beneficent influence by hanging a wreath in their home to the Lares on happy occasions when a member recovered from disease. There were also Lares of the road and crossroads, where they watched over the farm and other property of the family. The festival of the Laralia or Compiti, usually held about January 35, was celebrated in their honor (Varro *op cit* vi 25).

**PROSERPINA**

Proserpina was the chief goddess of the Underworld and the consort of Dis. (For her function see under Dis.)

---

460 THE HEALING GODS

---

3 Fowl *Rel lego s Expere c*, pp 440 441
4 *Id.*, Festus *R*, pp 279 *Id.*, Religio *Expe c*, p 7
THE ROMAN DEITIES

I (D) Deities of Disease

Dis a, both poradic and epidemic, was regarded as the expression of divine favor primarily a punishment for sin or some offense toward the god and restoration of good relation depended upon conciliation obtained by sacrifice and by purification which was regarded as the symbol of divine grace. Romans revered their deities as divinity who might become friendly and inclined to them, hence they also venerated diseases but they seldom went so far as to group symptoms of a single disease and conceived the various symptoms a divinity who would be revered and invoked for cure (Varro apud Numa p. 46).

ANGINA

Angina, the name under which a numen or goddes was venerated as the imprecation of sore throat supposed to have been quin y was invoked for its cure although Romans afflicted with this malady believed they were cured after having invoked Angeron (Macrobius op. cit., I 10 Paulus pp 8 17 28).

CLOACINA

Cloacina, a goddess who presided over the drain of Rome especially the Cloaca Maxima was a numen who personified the tench arising from them. She was invoked for protection from diseases due to the drain and was euphemistically addressed as weet Cloacina.

It is related by Pliny (op. cit., xv 119) that the Roman and Sabine, when about to engage in battle on account of the rape of the Sabine virgins, lay down their arms and made atonement with branches of myrtle on the pot where later the statue of Venus Cloacina stood. The deri

9 Ki s l in Janus, 1848 in 408 409
vation of the name Cloacina (*cluere*) denoted the same as the later word to cleanse (*purgare*) (Festus p 55) and Venus was the godde s of myrtle and marriage. Hence Venus Cloacina was invoked for purification from forbidden sexual indulgence and it results and in her cult marriage was an atonement for such tran gressions and the consequence (Servius *op cit*, I, 720 Augustine *op cit* vi 10 iv 23) It wa in the temple of Cloacina that Virginia met death at the hands of her father in protection of her honor (Livy iii 48).

**FEBRIS**

Febbris, an ancient *numen* personifying fever especially the malaria of the Roman mar hes wa supposed to cause such fevers a were sent in punishment and al o to heal the fever 'tricked by a purifying fire within the body which delivered them from the divine displeasure. L ter the godde s, ually addressed a Dea Febri was special ed as Dea Tertiana and Dea Quartana and in cription (*CIL* vii 999 xi 3129) how that the deities were venerated a the disease itself and were directly appealed to a being able to heal by detroying the malady. Febri wa regarded as a mediator between mankind and the gods even such divinities as Jupiter and Juno when the disease led to light and health and the of the lower world as Di Pater or Orcus when purification led to death (Macrobius *op cit*, I 13) She was a popular deity nd had at least three temple in Rome one each on the Palatine the Eu quiline and the Quirinal (Valerius Maximus II v 6). She wa believed to be well do ed toward mankind and having magic cure for both kind of fever to prosper the many reme

---

0 K1 in *J us*, 1848, in 616

7 Wi ow *op cit*, p 245

The er in *EBE* vi 554
THE ROMAN DEITIES

die which were consecrated and stored in her fane (Valerius Maximus loc cit, Pliny op cit, xxviii 46) Patients were carried to her temples but their recovery was supposed to be due to the severe regimen which they were obliged to undergo rather than the remedy given (Valerius Maximus II v 55)

MEFITIS

Mefitis, an ancient Italian goddess personifying tench (Servius op cit, vii 82 CIL ix 1421) more particularly miasm arising from the earth was invoked not only to protect her worshippers from malarial fever, vapors from marshes and poisonous gases from springs and clefts in the earth but also to cure those who were ill after exposure to them. She had temple on the Mons Cispius (Varro de Ling Lat, v, 49 Festu pp 217 261 351) outside the gate of Cremona (Tacitus Hist, iii 33) and in the famous Amsanctu valley in the land of the Hirpini about four miles from Frigento where the gusts of sulphuretted hydrogen coming from the earth were believed to be the breath of Pluto himself while near by was a bubbling pool giving off carbonic acid gas in such quantities as to be deadly when raised above the ground by the wind (Pliny op cit, ii 108) Mefitis appears to have originated in Central Italy but the extension of her cult of which little is known may be traced from Lucania across the Po into Gaul.

SCABIES

Scabies was a numen or deity who was supposed to have personified diseases of the skin characterized by itching

0 Kil el in Janus, 1848 m, 612 613
1 Fr and as 1 204
11 Wio, op cit, p 246
THE HEALING GODS

and a such w invoked for relief (Prudentiu Harmin
tigemna, 220) although it sometime cl med that h
wa not n incarnation and hould not have been con
idered a divinity 1

II FOREIGN DEITI

ADONIS

Adoni, a deity developed in Syria and Phe nicia wa
originally a corn pint born in the myrtle tree which
wa hi emblem, and made the subject of idyllic poetry 1
A late importation into Greece he wa brought to Rom
in partially Hellemi d form identified with Atti nd
connected with the cult of Magn M ter nd the D a
Syria (M crobiu op cat , I xxi 1) A divinity to whom
women appe led e peci lly in their love affair and
call d the indi reet god he wa reputed to cau e the
men e to return when rre ted to pr vent maiden from
uffering in lo ing their vir ginity and to give young
wiv exu l pa ion 1

ÆSCULAPIUS

Æs culapius wa the Greek god of healing Asklepio
who h d been brought to Rome under this Latin ed
name During the evere pestilence of 293 b c , which h d
afflicted the city and country with prodigious mortality
the Sibyline Books had been construed as directing that
Asklepios mu t be brought from Epidauro but the Con
ul being then fully occupied with war po tponed the
matter ordering instead a supplication for one day and
prayers to Asklepios (Livy, x 47) o that it w s not until

1 Ki l l J us, 1843, n 613 14
1 F rn ll The Cits of the Gre k St tes, n 44 48
1 Bruzon, op c t , pp 136 137
the following ye r th t an embas y headed by Q. Ogul
nius wa ent to invite the deity to Rome Ovid (Metam
xv 622 ff) relate that the embassy on consulting the
oracle at Delphoi were informed that Apollo wa not
needed to dimun h the grief of the city but that they
ould go to Epidauro and with a good omen invite hi
on Thi wa done but the priest he itating to comply
with the reque t the divinity him elf appeared to the
comm i on during the night and promi ed to go in the
form of the nake which encircled his taff On the fol-
lowing day to the urpri e of the pri e t the god ap
p ared in the temple in all hi serpent majesty and de-
cending to the beach leaped on board the trireme
weighting it down with hi great bulk and appropriat-
ing the comfortable quarter of Ogulnius All went well until
they approached the shore of Italy when a storm aro e
and the hip put into the harbor of Antium where tood
sanctuary of Apollo The serpent without warning left
the galley to pay a v1 it of respect to hi father coiling
him elf in the top of palm tree within the aced pre-
cinct and the emba y were in de pair until after thr e
day he came down of hi own accord and again boarded
the ve el allowing it to proceed to Rome Pa ing up the
Tiber the people on the banks w leomed the god and
burned incen e in hi honor but upon approaching th
city the serpent i aid to have ri en up and re ting hi
he d against the ma t to have in pected the hores after
which suddenly leaving the hip he di appear d in the
reed of the In ula Tibenna (Livy Epitome, xi Valeriu
 Maximus I viii 2 Aureliu Victor de Viris Illustribus
22) The embassy brought back the visible pre ence of
the god or his incarnation, anguem in quo ip um num n
es e constabit, the form in which it wa cu tomary to
tran fer the divinity in establishing a new anctuary

There wa legend that thi In ula Tiberna had b en
formed by corn owned by Tarquin in the Campus Martius, but which had been cut and thrown into the river by the people and had lodged on the shallows; mounds being added later and the banks raised so that the surface was capable of sustaining building (Livy ii, 5) The god having indicated his choice the land sometimes called the Island of the Epidauran serpent (Apollinaris Sidonius Epistolae, I vii, 12) or the Island of Æsculapius (Suetonius Vita Claudii, 25) was selected as the site of the temple which was dedicated on January 1 291 B.C., and which contained statues of Hygieia and Telesphoros. In commemoration of the event the festival of Æsculapius was fixed for that day and subsequently in 196 B.C. temple were built on the island in compliance with vows in honor of Jupiter (or Veiovis) and Faunus (Livy xxxiv 53) In 171 B.C. Lucretius decorated the Æsculapium with pictures taken in Greece as spoil of war (Livy xxiii, 4) and toward the end of the Republic the island which was about one thousand feet long by three hundred wide and reached by two bridges the Ponte Fabricius from the Campus Martius was made into the shape of a boat to celebrate the trireme which had brought the god to Rome; travertine blocks being placed for the prow and stern while in Imperial time an obelisk in the shape of a mast tood in the center of the island Plutarch who called it the Sacred Island said that it contained temple of the god and porticoes (Vita Poblicole 8) and it is believed that practically all of it was devoted to the god Æsculapius had another temple in Rome believed to have been in connection with the bath of Diocletian (CIL i 329)

The old dī indigetes who had been dī placed by Apollo

---

1 Be mer L'I e úb'ra d s vùa tiguté, p 197
2 Wi ow o p cît, p 30
were pushed still further into the background by the coming of Æsculapius and even Apollo took second rank as an averter of disease. Nevertheless, writer of the later years of the Republic have little to say concerning Æsculapius and his cult, and it is believed that it played a modest part in the religion of this period. Those who appealed to the god were for the most part the humbler classes of citizens who did not care to pay much (or could not) and the slave. Many masters ought to escape the burden of slave who had protracted illnesses by sending them to Æsculapius and then neglecting them and this became such an abuse that a law was passed which freed all slaves who recovered after being sent to the sanctuary (Suetonius op cit., 25 Dion Kas. 10 lx 29).

During the last centuries of the Republic several foreign deities with healing cult came to Rome where they assumed the name and attribute of Æsculapius but his worship was the first to be derived from Greece and was the only genuine Greek foundation in the capital enjoying the authority of the Sibylline Book. From the moment of his arrival the god had been the divine protector of the city against pestilence and had applied his therapeutic power to the individual whence the Epidaurian Æsculapius had precedence and official recognition and continuing to be distinguished above all others claiming his name he retained throughout his supremacy as a healer.

Asklepiad or Ælian priests from Epidauros accompanied the deity to Rome where their habit of cultic secrecy combined with the rule which forbade Roman to become priests of foreign worship was conducive to the continuance of their rite unchanged. They brought the sacred serpents (Pliny op cit., xxix 22) and dog with them (Festus p 110) so that the cultic practice

17 Fowl r. Festus, p 340
were the same in Greece (Festus p 237 Valerii Maximus I viii 2) consisting of ritual purification and fasting prayer, sacrifice, incubation, magic formula, and the use of rational remedial measure with a general hygienic regimen. There remains no direct evidence of the use of incubation during the earlier centuries of the cult in Rome but there can be no doubt that it was practiced there in Greece especially in case of prophetic oracle and divinely in purred dream were known in the worship of the old native gods and could not fail to have been used at the AE culapia, though positive evidence comes only with the Flavian period (CIL vi 8).

The Romans susceptible to the marvellous craved miracles and cures suggestive of such wondrous power of the divinity were freely not ed abroad. In the eye of the people AE culapia possessed not only the mystic power of a healer, but also of a preserver saving in battle protecting from murder and shipwreck and finding lost articles. There was a general belief in the healing power of the hand and the sacredness of the altar and the laying on of hand was a common practice as when the hand of a divinity wiped the pet away from the children of Valerius (Valerii Maximus II iv 5). The Maecian Incriptions (CIG, 5980) of the Insula Tiberina relate cure effected by applying the directions or oracle given in dream they were theurgic in character and symbolic magic was associated with the chthonic rite. The dream and the visions of the nocturnal visions of the god were interpreted by official connectores. Divine directions for means of cure by internal and external remedies, diet, regimen, and other methods common to the period but although surgery was practiced by the lay practitioners of the city as proved byurgical

\[1\] Thram in ERE vi, 555 Pr II r, op c t, pp 07 609 D ubn r D Incubatio, p 44
in trument and appliances of iron and bronze some beautifully inlaid with silver, now deposited in museum there is little evidence of its use at the Aesclapium.

Such incriptions as the following from the work of Hieronymus Mercurialis illustrate cultic methods

In the edy* the god [Ae cul piu] admonished one Glu who was blind that he should go to the right side of the altar and worship afterward from the right he should go to the left, and place his finger upon the altar and lift up his hand they upon his own eye and he recovered his sight directly the people by nd rejoicing together with him that great miracle were performed under our Emperor Antoninus.

The god [Ae cul piu] answered by the oracle to Lucum who had pleurisy and was cured by every man that he should come and take from the altar some he mixed them together with wine, and put them on his hand he was cured and he publicly returned thanks to the god and the people congruent to him.

The god [Ae culapiu] by men of the oracle he admonished Iulii na who vomited blood and was deprived of by every man to come and take from the altar and eat them with honey for three days he was cured and came forth and he publicly returned thanks before the people (CIG, 5980).

The god [Ae cul piu] admonished by means of the oracle Volenu Aper blind soldier to come and take the blood of the white cock to be taken up with honey and collyrum and for three days to put it on his eye and he came forth and gave thanks in public manner to the god.

---

1 Miln S. 20 41 I stru. e ts Gre k nd Rom. Tim. s, pp. 10 23 iso W H Buckl r ne R C t n 'M dical nd S. 20 41 In tru nt found at Kolophon in PRSM, 1913/1914, vn, 235 ff.

De Art. Gy. 5980. Venet. 1573 b d on th F rm oll

2 W Wroth Hyg. 1 JHS, 1 84 v 93 ff

Cf B sm r op cut, p 213
A small marble stand the base of a silver offering probably of the time of Augustus was found on the Insula Tiberina with the following inscription:

To Aklepio the great god the avior and benefactor aved by thy hand from a tumor of the spleen of which the silver model as a mark of gratitude to the god Neochre Iulianu freedom of the Imperial house

A dedication found in front of the Porta Appia from M Ulpia Honoratus to Æsculapius and Hygia pro alute uxorumque et L Iulius Helicus medici qui curam mei diligenter egit ecundum deos how the cooperation of the physician with the god 24

Other inscriptions in their original form are as follows:

Æcualpio t Hygi L Sept Nigrimn Patro Coll F br C I Apul pro S lut u t uorum potui
Æcualpio et Hygi cet ri q hum loci alut rib C Iul Frontonianu vet x BF Co Leg UMP r dditis ibi lumbimu gr t g vos pro et C rtei M xim c mug et Iul Frontina Filii V SLM
Prov lute Iul Venerie Filii dulei in delici ut bellam h nc m rm cum igno Æ cu pu in omno admono tu L V leriu C pit ÆEd Ann D S P L M D D D
Nummi Æcualpi et Hygi pro lute dominor NN Aug Antrocui Vern up or ex di p po
Aclepio et Salutì Commilitonum Sex Titlu Ale ander Medici Coh V pr donum dedit Aug VIII F Fl vio Sabino Co
Aclepio et S lutì Commilitonum Coh VI pr voto u cepto Sex Titlu M die Coh VI pr D D

Hilton op ct, p 7 cf B ir op ct, p 212
Thur r ËRE vi 555
K 1 m J s, 1 4 m 665 66
Patients leaving the Æ culapium were required to pay when able and many left donana in gratitude for services these being hung on the walls of the sanctuary. Along the approach to the island were shops for the sale of votive offerings which have been disclosed by modern excavations on the embankment of the river at this point and found to contain large numbers of token image tablet portrait and anatomical model in bronze or terra cotta. Some are of heroic size others how a correct anatomy and till others illustrate disease condition these specimens being of almost every part of the human body occasionally presenting section of the trunk and internal organ while a group of father mother and child suggest a thank offering for relief of terility.

Beginning with the Christian era the cult of Æsculapius appears to have attracted a greater amount of attention from the better class of Rome so that after the first century AD it steadily gained influence until the time of Antoninus Pius when there was a definite revival of interest in it. This Emperor caused a coin to be struck and inscribed to Æ culapiu commemorating the legend of his arrival in Rome and howing the serpent god bringing to the island with the river deity Tiberinus half rising from the water to receive him. From an inscription it is learned that during the reign of Antoninus there was a college of Æsculapius and Health composed of individuals who assembled on a certain day of the year made sacrifices received small gift and partook of a meal. The members were limited to sixty and succeeded to their father. The Æsculapium on the

L Sbo Don mi of Medie Intert in BMJ, 195

7BMropcit, P17
SponRchVrenchesercusd'antiquit', P326
In nla Tibenna was probably more like a general public ho pital than a anctuary th t would attract the better clas e and many of the wealthier people who de ired the aid of the divinity be ought him at other hrime Herodian the hi torian relate that the Emperor Cara calla visited the hrime of A klepio at Pergamon to obtain a cure by mean of incubation and the Emperor Iulian as erted that Æ culapiu by indicating remedie h d repeatedly cured him of h maladie (Kyrillo in Iulianum, vn 235) Epidauro became popular with the Romans and Antoninu improved the place erecting a temple to the Epidotai the benevolent god and build ing ju t out ide the acred precnct a refuge for lying in women and the dying. Thus Æ culapiu eventually gained the confidence and veneration of the Roman p o ple who regarded him a the most beneficent of ll god and he retained h preeminence a divine healer until the pagan wor hip were uppressed proving one of the mo t tubborn obstacles to Chr tianity (Eu ebo Vta Constantini, vn 56) The Emperor Iulian ende vored to continue the cult (Kyrillo loc ct) and Libanio prae ed Æculapiu (Epistolæ, 607) while at Rome he was Lord S vior King nd Friend of Man and effort were made to h ve h manifestations marv l and oracle prevail again t the Christian

The Æculapium on the Insula Tibenna wa lway the center from which the propaganda of th cult pread until Æsculapiu wa recogni ed throughout the Roman world a a divine physician devoted only to the physical welf re of uffering humanity In th expan ion through out the Latin province the divinity wa wor hipped eparately frequently a the Greek A klepio once a

\[\text{P t r Marus th Ep cur , 1 27 42}\]
\[\text{S s pr , pp 2 4 265 267 26 282}\]
\[\text{1 Pr ll r op ct, p 0}\]
Deus Salutifer (CIL vii 20961) and also with other deities with Apollo (CIL iii, 2004 xiii 6621) and some times with Hygia usually called Salus Dea Salus (CIL vii 164, vili 2579) or Valetudo and also ‘Bonæ Vale tudo sacrum (CIL vii 9610 Mauretania) and Bonæ De Hygiae (CIL vii 20747) From Northern Africa to Caledonia, from the coast of Lusitania to the Black Sea and Syria Æsculapius and Hygia were invoked to con serve and reestabh l health and were usually repre ented in the familiar forms of Græco Roman art In the larger part of the provinces their wor hip was in or near camp and their cult partook of a military character while in Syria Spain and Britain votive inscriptions have been found in which he appears as a Roman officer At Car thage the temple that crowned Byrsa hill was a crieben to Æsculapius during the Empire but doubtles s it was dedicated to the Punic Eshmun with whom the divinity wa frequently confu ed

Æsculapius was also connected with many medicinal prings in the province and in cRIPTIONS how that he was syncreti ed with local deities and a sociated with many Nymphae who presiding over pring having medi cinal properties were given appropriate epithet, Medici (CIL iii 10595) Salutares (CIL iii 10891 10893) and Salutiferae (CIL iii 1397) and votive tablet with inscription have been found in Gaul Britain Spain and the Danube provinces showing that they were venerated and held in high esteem *

Roman altars and other remains of the cult of Æ cula pius and Hygia have been uncovered in many province In England the following relic have been unearthed an elaborately carved altar to Æsculapius and Salus at

Toutain, op cit, 1 330 338
Cumont Orient Religions, p 21 1 o Tout 1 op cit, 1 33
*Toutain op cit, 1 380 381
THE HEALING GODS

Chapter a hooded figure of Telesphoros at Birdoswald in Cumberland two hooded figures of Telesphoros from the Castle Yard at Carlisle sculptured figure of Æsculapius and Salus at Binchester an altar dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia at Tunstall and minor evidence at Lancaster.

From its first occupancy by Æsculapius until the present day, upwards of twenty two centuries the Insula Tiberina has been an Insula Sacra for the sick at Rome. In A.D. 1000 Emperor Otho erected a hospital on the foundation of the ancient temple and from that time the island and hospital have borne the name San Bartolomeo. What is to be the old Æsculapian well is a prominent feature of the altar step of the present church first erected in the twelfth century and rebuilt in the seventeenth. About 120 feet deep it has a circular curb of white marble carved with images of saints and the Roman till used for their medicinal properties. Excavation on the island in 1867 exposed layers of travertine rock which formed the prow of the island boat and disclosed the remains of a human bust and the symbol of the god his taff and serpent carved on the rock but these characteristically old relics were later covered by the mud and shifting and of the river.

APOLLO

Apollo, primarily adopted into the Roman pantheon an averter of pestilence and later becoming a divine healer was the first of the Greek deities to be naturalised by Rome, even his name being retained unchanged in its Hellenic form.

The cult of this chief god of prophecy and presiding on

"in PRSM, 1913-14 v1, 71 ff"

"Holl and Roberts, P.l. Arth. and Medizin, p 91 fig. 96"
genius of the Delphic oracle had been brought to Magna Graecia at an early date that he was almost an indigeneous Italian divinity. Tradition associated him with the Sibyl of Cumae who was believed to have inspired so that they were regarded as his own command. And when the Sibylline Books were taken over by Rome he became the leader of the Greek movement. Tarquin had been acquainted with him. Aplu, who possessed a sanctuary at the home of the Tarquin family at Cære. According to tradition the King having lived at Corinth and preferring Greek oracles to Roman ears sent an embassy to Delphi for instruction when in difficulty (Livy 1 56) while Dionysios says (iv 69) he was the first to invoke the god for Rome on the occasion of an epidemic which had attacked children and pregnant women.

Apollo came to Rome from one of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy probably in advance of the Sibylline Books and the tradition that his earliest Italian home was Cum i strengthened by the fact that the Senate ordered sacrifice to be made to him at that place. He was at first worshipped privately under the name Apollo and at the end of the kingdom he was received in Rome as a divine healer but though it has been stated that he was invoked during the plague of 464-463 B.C. the first definite record of the appeal to him to stay the pestilence of 433 C. In recognition of his divine assistance at this time a temple was vowed to him, this being placed outside the pomerium in the Flaminian Field before the Porta Carmentalis and being dedicated in 431 C. to Apollo Medicus pro valetudine Populi Romani (Livy

7 Fowl, op cit, p 181
2 Wi ow, op cit, p 293
C rt r, op cit, p 83
At some later period Apollo developed a cult as a healing divinity.

Apollo with others was invoked at the first lectisternium during the intractable pestilence of 399 B.C. (Livy v 13) During the plague of 212 B.C. aid was sought from him and Latona while the Apollinarian games were instituted and celebrated yearly by order of the Prætors until in 208 B.C., because of a protracted epidemic they were vowed to be held forever on the thirteenth of July (ib., xxvi 23) He was invoked during the pestilence of 181 c with Æsculapius and Salus and in gratitude for their services M. Fulvius dedicated a temple to him a Apollo Medicus in 180 B.C. (ib., xl 51) gilded statues of the three deities being placed within the shrine (ib., xl 37) This temple stood outside the Porta Carmentalis on the site of former Apollinar (ib., m 63) and in view of the positive statement of Asconius that it was the only one to the god in Rome until the Palatine temple of Augustus it was in all probability a restoration.

Apollo had usurped a large share of the functions of the old Roman deity as averters of disease and in his turn he was overshadowed by the arrival of Æsculapius His cult had never exercised any important religious or political influence in Rome and apparently his worship gradually declined until after the battle of Actium when Augustus ascribing his success to the assistance given by the god and in recognition of his favor restored the temple of the divinity on the promontory of Actium embellished it with a portion of the spoils and made the worship of the deity a family cult In 28 B.C. Augustus erected a temple of unusual splendor to the god on his private property on the Palatine and in it he placed the

4 Thramer in ERE vi, 554 also Wissowa op cit., p 294
1 Fowl r op cit., pp 179 180
4 Ed Kiesling nd Scholl Berlin 1875 p 81
triad of Apollo Latona and Diana with the new Greek ritual (Dionysius Halicarnasensis XII ix 2)

Apollo became identified with Soranus in Etruria and the celebrated shrine on the summit of Mount Soracte was accredited to him as Apollo Soranus the worshipper of the same sacrificing to him annually by passing through the flame and singing with undaunted foot the burning coal (Vergil op cit, xi 785 788) whence his priests the Hirpi were exempted from military service (Pliny op cit, vii 2)

After Apollo became prominent in general Roman religion he was made to say The healing art is my discovery and throughout the world I am honored as the bearer of help and the properties of simples are subject to us (Ovid op cit, 1, 521 522) while Horace (op cit, 60) addresses him

Thou who restorest with thy healing art
The weakened limb of the body

In Imperial time Apollo was believed to be the cause of disease as well as a healer and his cure seem to have been wrought by his general divine power and by symbolic magic although the usual ritual of religious healing of supplications and of expiatory rites with sacrifice regimen and remedies were observed. It is claimed that incubation was practiced in his cult but although this is entirely probable positive evidence is lacking. Those who sought his aid addressed him as Apollo Salutaris et Medicinalis as appears on a Roman dedication (CIL vi, 39) and the details were entrusted to Vestals who invoked the god crying aloud Apollo Medice Apollo Pœan (Macrobius op cit, I xvii 15) and giving medicine in a state of nakedness
THE HEALING GODS

wa believed to be a magic preventive. The patient must have fat ted and while touching him with the back of her hand the Vestal must ay Apollo forbid a disease to increase which a naked virgin restrains (Pliny *op cit*, xxvi 60) this being repeated thrice after she with draws her hand and both of them spitting on the ground each time.

The cult of Apollo es entially in the phase of healing extended to the Latin provinces where the god wa wor shipped with Diana but more frequently separately. He wa often a associated with Æsculapiu (*CIL* xii 2004 6621) physician invoked him (*CIL* xii 5079) and he had a cult at thermal spring a at Aquæ Calidæ in Gaul (*CIL* ii 4487 4490) He wa adored in Gaul a a healer ( *Apolinæm morbo depellere* Cæsar *de Bello Gallico*, vi 17), and his worship spread in the Rhine and Danube valleys and to Britain. Apollo was identified with the Celtic gods Belenu, Borvo, Grannos and others (*CIL* vi 36 iii 5586).

HYGIA

See under the heading Salus

ISIS

The worship of I is the most beloved and most popular goddess of the Egyptian pantheon was united to that of Serapi in a cult which spread to the majority of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean and to the Latin provinces Posses ing many religious features which had popularized the adoration of Demeter and Diony o and famed for healing it had been well re

---

44 E. Ries, in Pauly W1 owa 1 35

4 N gt Apollo pest m po s cre cere, cui nud virgo r stinguat

H1, *op cit*, p 506

4 W1 ow *op cit*, p 297 I o Tout in *op cit*, 1 314 318
ceived in Greece where it had been partially Hellenized and whence it had been brought to Magna Graecia established at Puteoli and Pompeii and invaded Rome but its temple there had been destroyed in 217 BC by order of the Senate (Valerius Maximus 1.3) During the time of Sulla (Apuleius Metamorphoses xi 30) it was introduced into Rome at first a private worship Anubi and Harpokrate being associated with the cult in minor capacities and the memory of Oiris being particularly honored. The ritual was symbolic and mysterious but they appealed to the imagination of the people brought in contact with them and for the first time in Rome cult gave its faithful initiate a surance of purification forgivenes of in communion with deity regeneration of the soul and blessed immortality. Organized by it Egyptian priest the worship attracted enthusiasm ad herents who rapidly grew in numbers It altar invaded the Capitoline (Ovid op. cit., xv 826-828 Vergil op. cit., vii 696-700 Propertius IV x 39-46) its practice created official distrust and because the augur interpreted certain prodigies as evidence of the jealousy of the gods on account of the invasion the Senate in 58 BC ordered the destruction of all the altar of the cult fifty three in number. The altar were rebuilt and again officially destroyed in 54-50 and 48 BC but these repressive measures did little to restrain the ardor of it worshipers whose influence became so great that in 43 BC, the triumvir withdrew active opposition and decreed a temple, which however was not built until much later (Dion Kassios, xl 47 xlvii 15) Augustus forbade its chapel within the pomerium (Suetonius Vit Aug, 93) but a this order was disregarded Agrippa in 21 BC, denied

7 Wissowa op. cit., pp 351-359
4 Tubner edition, H lm, d 1865 p 17
4 Cumont, op. cit., p 100
the cult any privileges within even and a half trade of the city limits (Dion Cassius liv 2) In AD 19 owing to the debauching of a noble lady in one of the temple Tiberrus threw the image of Isis into the Tiber destroyed the shrine and crucified or banished the priest (Josephus Antiquitatis, xviii 65 ff cf Tacitus Ann., xi 85) Under Caligula however the cult appears to have been recognized by the State and although it received no public funds a temple to Isis Campensis was erected outside the pomerium on the Campus Martius in AD 39 (Apuleius op cit., xi 96) In AD 71 Vespasian and Titus passed the night before their triumph at this shrine and the procession started from it (Josephus de Bello Iudaeo, vii 123), Domitian escaped from the populace in the garb of a priest of Isis and after the destruction of the temple by the fire of AD 80 he and Alexander Severus and Diocletian replaced it by the most splendid structure in Rome (Suetonius Vita Domitiani, 1 Eutropius VII xxiii 5) These favors to Isis were the first examples of an essentially popular religious movement triumphing over the continued resistance of the public authorities and official clergy and ignited the progress of Oriental religion in the Occident No repression was now exercised against the cult outside the city and its popularity spread from the Sahara to Britain and the mouth of the Danube After the restrictions excluding foreign worship from within the pomerium were removed in the third century AD, Caracalla built a great temple to Isis and Serapis on the Quirinal (CIL vi 570 573) and perhaps the I eum et Serapeum on the Caelian Hill (Scriptore Historiae Augustae Triginta Tyranus, xxv 4)

Pl tn Th Topography nd Mo e ts of A cent Ro e, pp 2 358

1 Ca ont op cit., p 1
During it earlier year in Rome the worship drew it upporter mostly from the poorer classes and many of the devotees were the dissolute men and women of the city who used the cult a cloak for their orgies (e.g. Juvenal op cit, vi 486 ff) but later it attracted many of the best patrician families and Emperors were among it adherents. From the time of the Antonine when the cult reached its fullest development it was the most bitter and effective opponent of Christianity until paganism was proscribed while during the three months of the uprising of Eugenius in A.D. 394 and until his final overthrow it was revived with great enthusiasm in a magnificent festival being held in honor of the goddess.

Of all the foreign cults in Rome that of Isis and Serapis aid to have been the most civilized and to the fact are due its success and continued worship in the Latin world during five centuries. It had some of the very qualities which existed in Christianity in a fuller and perhaps less artificial form so that the transition to Christianity was quite a much a process of blending a violent displacement.

Isis a divinity of universal character embracing the virtues of all other goddesses was the tutelary deity of women the godde of love fertility and healing to whom all could appeal with a urgence of sympathy and aid and he was loved with a passionate devotion by a large number of enthusiastic worshippers.

The priesthood of the cult was organized after the Egyptian model. Both the priests and priestesses were carefully chosen trained in cultic usages and punctilious in their daily duties. The heads and faces of the priest:

Carter Religious Life, pp 84 ff
G. Shew in 'I in ERE vii 435-437 l o Pr ii r, op t, n 373 385 Marquardt op cit, in 77 81
W1 ow op cit, p 357
were haven and they wore white linen. Worhipper were assured that if they would purify the body I would cleanse the soul. Wherefore they appointed night acredited to Isis which they purposed in her temple. The cultic ceremonies were attractive, fascinating, and impressive in dignity and solemnity. Two service were held each day. In the early morning the temple was opened by priests who ‘waked the deity’ unveiled and refouled the image, lighted the fire, and with prayers, sacrifice, and libations greeted the dawn with loud acclamation (Apu- lieus, op. cit., xi 20). In the afternoon the sacred water from the Nile was held before the people. The first principle of all things (Martial X xlvii 1) ancient hymn of divine efficacy were intoned with the playing of the flute. The image were veiled, and the worhipper bade farewell to the day and the temple was closed.

The festival of Isis were held from October 28 to November 3, the chief motif of the festival being a pageantr play commemorating by a mystic drama the principal events in the life of Osiris. His struggles, his death, the search for, and the discovery of his body, and his resurrection all enacted with the aid of a large chorus. The events were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies on different days, and the mourning over the death of the god was followed by exultations over the finding of Osiris commemorated by the Hilaria on October 31. The triumph of life over death and the rejoicings were continued for three days.

The healing function of Isis (Diodoros i 25) were in all essential respects those of Serapis except that she was the especial favorite of women. Isis was usually represented as wearing one or another of her attributes on the head: the lotus (resurrection), the uræus or

Lafy, Histoire d'Alex, pp. 167-170.
some cereal plant such as wheat, the goddess of fertility and vegetation (Apuleius op cit, xi 3)

MAGNA MATER

Magna Mater (an abbreviated form for Mater Deum Magna Idæa) the great Asiatic Mother Goddess and the Mother of the God was brought to Rome a a Hellenic divinity during the Second Punic War when the Roman State was threatened and when the people were in danger of demoralization through belief that they had incurred the hatred of some deity. All religious expedients had been tried in vain when the Decemviri discovered in their Books that Italy could be freed only by bringing from Pessinus in Galatia the sacred stone representing the goddess. Accordingly the divinity in the form of a black meteorite was formally received at Rome in 204 b.c. by the most worthy Roman and with great pomp and solemnity was escorted to the temple of Victory on the Palatine (Livy xxix 10, 14, Ovid Fasti, iv 255 ff.) The crop at once improved Hannibal was forced out of Italy and the goddess having accomplished all that had been expected of her was honored by being admitted to State worship while a temple Aedes Matris Deum Magnæ Idææ was erected on the Palatine and dedicated to her April 10 191 c. Like other Greek temples it was placed under the charge of the Decemviri. Her festival the Megalesia was held on April 4 the anniversary of her entry into Rome and was celebrated by the matron of the city being accompanied by cemic play the Ludi Megalenses (Livy xxxvi 36) which continued from April 4 to 10 (CIL i 314) Her temple was burned in AD 3 (Valerius Maximus i viii 11) but was restored by Augustus (Monumentum Ancyranum, iv 8)

Magna Mater represented the broad universal conception of a Mother Goddess embracing the idea underly
the many Oriental goddesses. They were held to be identical with her and their per onalities when brought to Rome under their local names were either blended with her or they lost their identity. A Rhea Kybele and Mâ or they became variants with a closely related worship a Isis Atargatis (Dea Syrâ) Tanit (De Cælestis) and Mâ Bellon. Magna Mater was also a similated to the Roman earth goddess Op who worship was always distinct and to Mater Matuta in her obetric function.

In coming to Rome Magna Mater was accompanied by her Phrygian Korybante the unuch priest called Galli who appeared in woman's dress. Their worship was enthusiastic and wild and was accompanied by orgia the barbaric Oriental rite while their public procession were characterized by dancing and by noisy clashing of cymbals. Rome was scandalized but the cult so fascinated and excited the ardor of the lower classes that it was not only placed under the supervision of the Decemviri but anticipating trouble the Senate adopted restrictive police regulations confining the pageants to certain day of the year and limiting the strange ceremony to the precincts of the Palatine temple (Diony Hâlicarnasen I Antiquitates Romanae, II xix 4f. Ovid Fasti, iv 377). Roman citizens were forbidden to become priest of the rite or to attend it ceremony and these measures were continued until the Empire only to be relaxed in the second century A.D., when the worship was reorganized and the Archigalli and all priests were Romans confirmed by the Quin decemviri.

The more extravagant developments were evolved during the Empire Attai and Adomith had been brought to

W1 ow op c t, pp 359 ff
Rome with their respective female cult and Attis finally became the more prominent religious figure even overhadowing Magna Mater in her own realm while festival were organized to celebrate the myth of the vegetation deity and to commemorate their deaths and revivification symbolic of the disappearance of vegetation in the fall and its revival in the spring (Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, 69) The efeasts and their pageants were conducted in the name of Magna Mater and were first introduced by Claudius for March 27 but later were extended to every day. The Canna intrat was celebrated on March 15, the Arbor intrat, on the twenty second the Sanguen, when devotees madly performed self mutilation on the twenty fourth the Hilaria, when the festival reached its zenith in the wild rejoicing of the worshipers on the reawakening of Attis on the twenty fifth followed by a day of rest the Requetro, on the twenty sixth The only part of the ceremony in which the State and citizens had a share was the Lavatio, directed by the Quindecemviri when on March 27 the symbol of the goddess (the meteoric stone) was drawn in a wagon by cow to the Porta Capena and bathed in the Almo a tributary of the Tiber (Lucan 1 599f.) At a later date self mutilation on the day of blood was symbolized by an incision in the arm of the chief priest and sprinkling the blood (Tertullian Apol, 25) The taurobolium, the baptism in the blood of the bull also a prominent feature of Mithraism was celebrated in this cult on March 28 as a symbol of purification and as a dedication to the priesthood and after undergoing both the taurobolium and criobolium (baptism in the blood of a ram) worshippers were born again for eternal life (renatus ad aeternum)

7 Fra r, op c t, n 2 6 274 Iso P r o 1 ERE vn 850
G Show rm n T urobolium, in ERE xn 214 215 Fr r
op c t, r, 274 275
In the later Imperial period a sanctuary of Magna Mater stood on the right bank of the Tiber on the site of the present Vatican grounds and excavation especially those for the foundations of the Basilica of St Peter have disclosed so many taurobolium altars that this was apparently the chief center of the ceremony (CIL vi 497 504 IG xiv 1019 1020)

The cult of Magna Mater became influential in Rome during the Empire and was among the most prominent in opposition to Christianity until the pagan worship were suppressed but it is claimed that its influence was always harmful and that it caused more demoralization among the people than all the other eastern rites.

Healing was a prominent feature of the cultic functions. Sterile women appealed to the goddess for fertility and were ladened over the lion by the Galli both at the temples and during the procession on the streets while metragyrtes (minor official of the cult) went through city and country attending the sick and selling image of the goddess amulet which were used to cure all ill and especially tale maims of the phallus carved from a pomegranate root.

MITHRAS

Mithra was an ancient Indo-Iranian divinity of heavenly light of righteousness and of the plighted word and he was the last of the Oriental religion that reached Rome being brought there about 67 C by pirate of Asia Minor captured by Pompey (Plutarch Vita Pompeii, 24). The cult found favor among the sailor and soldier who worshipped Mithra as the protecting genius of arms and

J S Reid 'A c tici, 1 ERE 11 107 ISO G Show rm Crobolu in ERE iv 314

O Bru o, op cit, pp 135 136 1 o Wi ow op cit, pp 63 4
317 326
the tutelary deity of armies \(^1\) and thanks to the ardent support of the troop the worship spread rapidly throughout the Roman provinces especially Gaul Britam Germania and the valley of the Danube where many centers of Mithraeum were established while slaves and freedmen of private households of Rome and many who were government officials were enthusiastic devotees and active in propagating the new religion among the people. The cult attracted little attention till toward the end of the first century A.D. \(^2\) but it had slowly penetrated among the masses and now was steadily permeating the better classes until it finally won the support of the cream of Roman society and of the highest official of the State \(^3\) so that during the third and fourth centuries, the worship of Mithras became by far the most influential of all the Oriental rites before which others faded into comparative insignificance. \(^4\) The cult was the chief exponent of the scientific method of divination by astrology and penetrated under cover of the sidereal theology taught by the Magi and Chaldaei but although its doctrines were accepted it never received the authority of a State religion. Representing a myth the un worhip Emperors adopted it and regarded Mithras as the protecting divinity of their imperial power a the mater and god by right of birth that being illustrated by the dedication of an altar to Mithraeum imperium by Diocletian at Carnuntum on the Danube in A.D. 307. The un god Elagabal of Emesa was established early in

---

\(^1\) Cumont, op. cit., p. 144.


\(^3\) It is believed that Codrus was the initiate of this cult, and Alexander Severus honored Mithraeum the re to Christ notably.

\(^4\) Cart. r., op. cit., p. 87-88.
the third century AD, was superseded by the Aurelian State cult of Sol Invictus a name under which Mithra was absorbed into the solar pantheon as 'invictus Mithras' and 'deus Sol invictus Mithras' and until the conquest of Constantine overwhelmed paganism Mithraism bad fair to become a world-wide religion.

Mithra was beneficent the friend of mankind who had furnished the moisture essential to life and was represented as sacrificing the bull, the source of all generation by whose death he overcame unrighteousness and preading its blood which impregnated all thing brought about fertility and regeneration Mithra personified moral light truth and justice the two essentials developed in the Mithraic theology a necessary for purity moral and mystic and the conception of the destiny of the soul after death Life was an ordeal a struggle against evil Purity in thought word and action was indispensable to victory After death came the judgment the soul being condemned to torture in the abyss with Ahriman or protected and assisted by Mithras shaking off all earthly taint was accorded the privilege of returning through the seven planetary sphere to the eighth heaven and there enjoying the sublime essence the light in which the gods sojourned in an eternal beatitude The romantic story of Mithra struggles for humanity as the minister of Ahura Mazda together with the profoundly religious content of his doctrines of redemption and the attainment of ideal hopes of immortality of which the taurobolium or baptism of blood was the pledge made the strongest possible appeal to the deepest emotion while initiation in the seven grades of the Mithraic Mysteries from Corax (the Raven) to Pater (Father) (CIL vii 749 753 Jerome Epistolae, cvii ad Lætam, Tertullian

7 Rein ch, Cults, Myths, and Religions, pp 180 ff
Fraz r op cit, i 274 al o Showerman in ERE xi 214 215
op cit, 8) gave full a surance of forgiveness of sin by expiation and personal coneection to the god Mithraism a religion of revelation which brought light and purity to the mind of men banished all evil and inculcated the brotherhood of man became the most formidable antagonist of Christianity and at one time threatened to prevail over it.

Little known of the rite of the cult which appear to have consisted in the usual lustration libation and sacrifice and in addition initiation in the Mystery with their revelation. The seven degrees of Mithraism corresponded to the even zones through which the soul of the deceased must pass for its several transformations before reaching that of eternal peace. The initiation which gave the worship it originality and strength, was designed as an earthly rehearsal to prepare the soul for the vicissitude it would meet on its journey to death and the requirement for passage through the gate of each of the ones to its home of eternal rest. The ceremonies conducted in costume and character appropriate to the several grade re asserted to have been ordeal by fire, cold, hunger, thirst etc. with the requirement of showing steadfastness in the face of threat of death (Tertullian de Corona, 15). The community of the cult acquired internal solidarity. The members were called brother (fratres) and all others were excluded from its temples. The ceremonies of the cult were conducted in small underground chapel (spelaeae or Mithraea, CIL iii 4420) holding not more than one hundred each on the walls of which were depicted the laying of the bull by the god. The largest Mithraeum known was discovered in 1912 in the Thermæ Caracallæ.

Carter op cit, pp 120 ff, 138 ff

9 Jon in ERE viii 756 al o Eld rkin, K tharos, p 32
71 Tout in op cit ii 121 177
in Rome with an inscription to Zeus Helios Serapis. Mithraism was essentially a man’s religion and since its votaries wished their wives to have similar religious advantage a union was made with certain female cult which applied to them what Mithraism could not offer. A notable example being the alliance with the worship of Magna Mater.

The priests of Mithras were patrons in the art of magic and the pseudo science of astrology and the cult concerned itself with political etiquette and personal affairs. Healing was a prominent part of the cult functions and the priests cured the sick by divination. Astrology, magic, and the use of medicinal herbs which had sprung from the blood of the bull.

The festival of December 25 accredited to Sol Invictus (Natalis Invicti Solis) was in practice a festival of the nativity of Mithras the Unconquered Sun (Soli invicto Mithrae) although the rite were addressed to the Sun the State deity. In the fourth century AD, the day was adopted by the Western and Eastern branches of the Christian Church (at Antioch about AD 375) as the true date of the Nativity of Christ.

SABAZIUS

Sabazius, originally a Thracian or Phrygian deity of a nature similar to that of Dionysos was the presiding divinity of mytic and orgiatic cult which invaded Rome from Greece. The Romans associated him with Jupiter Sabazius but though it is said that he was known in Rome during the Republic there appears to be

Cumont, Mysterie., p 179 1o Jon op cit., in ERE viii 759
7 Bruon op cit., pp 13 138
74 Cumont Textes, v, 9 ff
7 Wi w op cit., pp 90 91
7 Fr r op cit., 1, 302 305
no positive proof that the cult and its mysteries the
Sacra Savadia, gained a foothold in the city and in Italy
before A.D. 2.⁷⁷ The worship was attached to that of
Magna Mater and was finally absorbed by it. In the late
period holy marriages or sex communion with the god
or goddess was a part of its mysteries as conveying a
sense of deity and this was assailed a obscene by the
early Christian Fathers though it was claimed that the
ritual was only symbolic and was at most only very indi-
rectly detrimental to moral

Saba Io was a healing deity acclaimed a second Æ
culapius. His hand had both prophylactic and therapeu-
tic power and healing by the laying on of hands was com-
mon in his cult. The right hand of the god placed on
the abdomen warded off evil as insured child birth and
effected delivery while with at least three fingers out
stretched it was used in healing and as a symbol of pro-
tection and blessing. It was customary for women who
had been assisted in confinement to dedicate votive hand
to Saba Io in gratitude and many such offerings have
been found with fingers open and often with figure of
animal or of the eagle and the eagle stone carved upon
them, supposed to represent the healing hand of Saba
Io.⁷ The erpnt was the emblem of the divinity and
his mitre wore a golden nake attached to the breast of
their garments (Clemens Alexandrinu Protrepticus
n 16 p 14 ed Potter)

SERAPIS

Serapis was a prominent divinity of the later Egyptian
pantheon who through the influence of Ptolemy I up
planted Osiris and Apis acquired their function and

⁷⁷ W1 ow, op cit, p 376
⁷ W mrel h op cit, pp 16 18 28
attributes and was joined with I ᾳ in worship. The cult had gained fame for cures at Alexandria and had reached Rome with its prestige enhanced by the success it had won in Greece.

Serapis celebrated as a healer was early the leader of all the foreign healing deities who came to Rome in rivalry with Æsculapius whether claiming his name or arrogating an equality in therapeutic power. His method were singularly like those in vogue in the cult of the Greek Asklepios at Pergamon and elsewhere which had been adopted at Alexandria. It essential feature were incubation either by the patient themselves by friend or by priests with hieratic interpretation. Divination, magic formula and incantation, medicine, diet and general hygienic measures. Supplicants after undergoing a ceremonial purification made sacrifice before passing the night in the temple and while they kept the god and his attendant visited them often touched the diseased part and applied some remedy. Dream and visions were interpreted and if the cure had not been effected by a miracle the divine directions for healing were followed (Iamblichos *de Mystikos*, xi, 3. Artemidoros iv 22). Many of the priests of Isis and Serapis are said to have been educated physicians who prepared for the patient according to their technical knowledge and pursued a systematic treatment.

In who was invoked by women especially for the trouble peculiar to their sex conferred fertility and gave nursing mothers full breasts. While nursing women applied at the temple for employment and after swearing that they were free from all disease underwent a complete and searching physical examination by the priest.

---

2 Wissow *op cit.*, pp. 351–359; Isio Bruzon, *op cit.* p. 137
3 Bruzon in *loc cit.*
If approved the priest consecrated the first milk preserved from the breast and the women remained as wet nurseries for hire if free women or for ale if lave.

The walls of the temple of Isis and Serapis were adorned by numerous votive tablet inscriptions and anatomical models, many of which were of the male and female genital organs. One of the inscriptions was the gift of a man named Saurana in recognition of the cure of his son and another text declares that Serapis directed two sick men to go to Vespasian and allow him to touch the one with his pittle and the other with his foot. Healing blindness and a crippled hand (Suetonius, *Vita Vesp.*, 7; Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv 81). A votive medallion to Serapis has been found showing the mystic tripod and the attribute of Æsculapius. The tripod is supported upon a vase standing on the head of three rams and encircled by a serpent whose head is raised above the vase if to partake of its content and at the base are three cock eating accrued barley.

The following inscription expressing thank to the deities for a return of health have been found:

I. I. aer L. M. giu Philea V. V. Vir Aquil ob alut Grati
I. id. et Serap acrum ex voto pro filioli alute uscepto
S. uran fecit
I. S. I. P. D. M. I. id. lut mi pro al Q. V. rgliu Mode ti
C. ia Mat V. S. D.

Serapis was usually represented with the emblems of Æsculapius, the serpent and staff and on an ancient

---

2. Kis 1, in *Janus*, 1848, ii 670
3. O. Springle, *op. cit.*, i, 184
4. Springle, *op. cit.*, i, 183, 15
K. In *oc cit*
monument the god is hown with the erpent coiled around his body and an aureole upon the head.
(For the history of the cult in Rome and for its generation character see under the heading Isis)

**Supplement to Chapter VII**

The following are a few examples of minor Roman functional deities and numina who supervised some of the most prominent spheres of divine activity with prescribed subdivisions of duties illustrated by auxiliary divinities in the cult of Juno Lucina and Diana especially in relation to protection physiological processes and human development of (A) conception, gestation and birth and (B) the care and growth of children from infancy to the maturity of adult life.

(A) **Minor Deities and Numina Associated with Child Bearing**

_Antvo ta_, _Porrima_, _Prora_ and _Prosa_ were practically identical and were invoked for head presentation and easy delivery (Macrobius *Saturnalia*, I vii 20 Ovid *Fasti*, i 633 636 Varro *apud* Aulus Gellius XVI xxiv 4 ff).

_Avruncu_ was a deity who guarded women during parturition and afterward from the cult of Silvanus (Varro *de Lang Lat*, VII v 100 Aulus Gellius V xi)

_Candelif_ a lighted and carried the candle during confinement (Tertullian *ad Nationes*, ii 11)

_Cinxia_ loosened the bride's girdle after marriage (Festu p 92)

_Curitis_ protected married women and gave them promise of strong children (*ib*, p 147)
Decima, one of the Fates guarded women during the
tenth lunar month of pregnancy determined the date of
delivery and presided over the accouchement (Aulus
Gellius III xvi 10.11)

Deverra, with Intercidona and Pilumnus guarded the
young mother from attack of Silvanu one triking the
threshold with an axe and the other with a pestle while
Deverra swept it with a broom to prevent him from enter-
ing the house (Augustine de Civitate Dei, vii 9)

Februa was a godde of purification who presided
over the delivery of the afterbirth and over purgation
(Festus p 85)

Februeus (and Februlii) purified women to favor
fecundity and cooperated with the Luperci at the Luperc
alia to drive away the hostile spirit that prevented
impregnation What Februlii did for women Februu
did for men (ib)

Fluonia (or Fluona) topped the men after concep-
tion and prevented hemorrhage during pregnancy (Pulu
p 92)

Intercidona guarded the navel and cooperated with
Pilumnus and Deverra in protecting the lying in woman
against Silvanu (Augustine loc cit)

Mna presided over men tration inducing it during
adolescence and remaining idle during pregnancy (Au-
gustine op cit, iv 11 vii 2 3)

Nona, one of the Fate cooper ted with Decima in
determining the proper date of birth (Varro apud Aulus
Gellius III, xvi 10 Tertullian de Anima, 37)

Numeria, the goddess of counting wa also the divinity
of peedy successful births (Varro apud Noniu p 352)

Opigena, a divine midwife aided in child birth particu-
larly in the cult of Iuno Lucina (Festu p 200)
THE HEALING GODS

Partula presided over the delivery and placed the binder (Tertullian, loc cit)

Perfica was a completing goddess who presided over coition (Arnobius adversus Nationes, iv 131)

Pertunda presided over the first coition (Arnobius loc cit, Augustine op cit, vi 9)

Populona, a phase of Iuno protected against devataion and promoted an increase in population (Augustine op cit, vi 10)

Porrima, ex Antevorta

Postvorta presided over breech presentation (Varro apud Aulus Gellius XVI xvi 4 ff)

Prema presided over the coition of newly married couple (Augustine op cit, vi 9 note 3)

Prorsa (or Pro) ex Antevorta

Sentinus and Sentina gave the embryo gestation (Tertullian ad Nationes, ii 11 Augustine op cit, vii 2 3)

Subigos was the tutelary god of the wedding night (Augustine op cit, vi 9)

Vagitanus opened the mouth for the first cry and promoted breathing and quailing (Varro apud Aulus Gellius XVI xvii 2)

Vitumnus bestowed upon the child the faculty of life (Tertullian loc cit, Augustine op cit, vii 2 3)

(B) Minor Deities and Numina Associated with the Care and Growth of Children from Infancy to Maturity

Adeona watched over the goings of the child (Augustine, op cit, iv 21 vii 3)

Adeona watched over the comings of the child (Augustine loc cit)
AGENORIA be towed the power of re ction to timul
tion (Augustine op cit, iv 11)

ALEMONA pre ided over the nutrition of the embryo
and child (Tertulli n de Anima 37)

CATIUS, a protector of boy awakened and molded the
child intellect (Augustine op cit, iv 21).

CUBA presided over the passing of the child from th
mother to the cradle and ble ed it sleep (Varro apud
Don tu in Terentu Phormionem, I i 15 Augustine op
cit, iv 11 vii 11)

CUNINA protected the infant in the cradle (V rro apud
Nomiu p 167)

DOMIDUCUS pre ided over conducting the bride to her
hu band and new home (Augustine op cit, vi 9) while
Domiduca led children home (Tertullian ad Natrones, ii
11)

EDUSA taught the infant to take food and wa invoked
to ble it first nourishment (Varro apud Nomiu p
108, id, apud Donatu loc cit, Tertullian loc cit, Au
gustine op cit, iv 11 xxxiv 6 9)

FABULINUS awakened the understanding and taught the
child the articulation of words (Varro, apud Nomiu p
532)

FATA SCRIBUNDA recorded the de tiny of the child a
determined by Fatum but during the fir t week of it
life before it was in cribed the Roman prayed that it
might be favorable (Tertullian de Anima, 39 Aulu
Gellius II xvi 9 11)

FORTUNA BARBATA provided for the growth of the beard
(Augustine op cit, iv 11)

ITERDUCA guarded the child in its journeyings to and
from school (Augustine op cit, vi 9 vii 3)
Iuga, or Iugalı, originated the marriage bond and carried the courting to engagement (Fe tus p 63)

Iugatimus was the god of marriage (Augustine op cit, iv 11 vi 9)

Luvatnas, the goddess of youth beautified and guided youthful development (Augustine op cit, iv 11 Tertullian ad Natrones, 11 11)

Latius awakened and molded the intellect (ee Fabulī nu ) (Nonius p 532)

Levana supervised the raining of the infant from the ground by the father (ee Op) and bore witness to its legitimacy (Tertullian and Augustine loc cit)

Locutius taught the child to speak correctly (Tertullian loc cit, Nonius loc cit, Augustine op cit, iv 21 vii 3)

Mens was the goddess who conferred high intellectu power (Nonius loc cit, Augustine op cit iv 21)

Nundina supervised the purification and naming of children which took place on the eighth day for girl and on the ninth day for boy, the dres lustri cus, when they were adopted by the family and received their name and the bolla, or amulet which they wore as a protection against all evil especially orcery (Macrobius op cit, i xvi 36)

Ossipaga presided over the growth and hardening of the bone of the embryo and child (Arnobius op cit, IV vii 8)

Parca was one of the Fates who determined the destiny of the child about one week after birth (Arnobius op cit iv, 85 Aulus Gellius III xvi, 9 11)

Paventia guarded the infant from all causes of sudden terror and fright (Tertullian loc cit, Augustine op cit, iv 11)
Potina presided over the child drinking and sacrifices were made to the first liquid which the infant took (Tertullian and Augustine, locc cit, Varro apud Nonius p 108 id, apud Donatu in Terentius Phormio nem, I 1 15)

Rumina (or Rumilia) caused the breast to well and presided over the suckling of the infant (Tertullian and Augustine locc cit)

Sentia gave the child discernment and wisdom (Augustine op cit, iv 11)

Statulius, Statius and Statina were divinities who taught the child to stand and walk (Varro apud Nonius p 532 Tertullian de Amma, 39)

Stimula made the child enter to impression that resulted in action (Augustine loc cit)

Vaticanus was the maker and developer of the human voice, the first cry of the infant corresponding to the first syllable of its future name (Varro apud Aulus Gellius XVI, xxxvii Augustine op cit, vii 2)

Venilia promised future success for the child (Augustine op cit, vii 22)

Virgil Nsis presided over the loss of maidenhood and made the girl a married woman (Augustine op cit iv 11 vi 9)

Volumnus and Volumna gave the child the will to do right (Augustine op cit, iv 21 vii 3)

Volupia granted the capacity for pleasure and present enjoyment (Tertullian ad Nationes ii 11 Augustine op cit, iv 8 11)
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE HEALING GODS OF THE ANCIENT CELTS

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The ancient Celts and their records

The earliest home of the Celts in Europe seem to have been in the basin of the upper Danube, in the basin of the Mann to the east of the Rhine, and in the areas corresponding to modern Baden, Wurttemberg and Bavaria, spreading thence to Gaul, the British Isles, Spain, and northern Italy, while to the east they migrated to Pannonia, Illyria, and Dacia, and even to Albania Minor. Their ancient beliefs and practices regarding matters of health and its treatment seem to have corresponded very closely to those of other people in the early stages of development toward civilization. When misfortune and disease came upon them, they looked to the gods for relief and appealed to them through the medium of their priest. The scanty and fragmentary data concerning their religion, faith, and cultic usage are scattered over western Europe. For the Celts left no record except brief inscriptions (found mainly in the region of ancient Gaul and the Rhenish province and in later number in Britain) and tradition, mythical tale, and folklore (especially in Ireland and Wales). Never the less, this material presents a general uniformity which is indicative of a tenacious retention of the essential of...
their native faith but it is lacking in detail that though generously supplemented by the comment of contemporaneous classical writers it is barely sufficient to reconstruct even an approximately satisfactory outline of their religion and religious custom. To add to the difficulties the temple was undermined in Gaul and Britain by the advent of the Romans and its purity was invaded by the cults of foreign gods from Rome and the Emperor Augustus forbade Roman citizens to attend Druidic ceremonies (Suetonius Vita Claudii, 25). Roman ritual was introduced, shrines and temple were erected on Roman model and the Celtic deities were identified with Roman divinities and received Roman names. Thereafter the native Celtic religion bore the strong influence of Roman religion and domination while in Ireland the victory of Christianity obscured the figures of the ancient god

*The Celtic religion*

Celtic religion centered about the great activities of nature especially round the deities of fertility and growth and over all nature activities presided superhuman beings differing in character, rank, power and function. With the development of religious conception the vague primitive *numina* of the more important a pect of nature tended to become definite as gods and goddesses and received names. The spirit of vegetation notably those of corn and general agriculture were apparently evolved very early and were regarded as female until the men the hunter and warrior joined the women in tilling the soil. Natural objects, such as a tree and holy well and springs streams and river mounds

H. d'Arbois d'Jubenville *Pr. c. p. x autès à co su ter ur Ærove des Celtes,* Pрус 1902
M. Culloch *Celtic Mythology,* pp 1720 206 213
tarn and sky sun and moon had indwelling deities who presided over them and there were civilization divinities of the art and craft of music of commerce and of war. There were also spirits of the earth and of the other world and the one occurring singly or in group were beneficent, maleficent or of mixed character like human beings. They were believed to have magic skill and to live in forest or in cave and other recesses of the earth whence they emerged to manifest themselves preferably at night. There were many of these groups such as the benignant Lugoves the malignant Duini (Augustine de Civitate Dei, xv 29) the Castæci and Castæcae the Icotæ or Icotæ the Di Silvani and Di Silvanes the Di Caæ and the Nervinæ or Nervinæ. From the divinities of fertility and growth the greater seasonal gods of agriculture were evolved and from the cults of vegetation deities the women developed the worship of the nature goddesses of fertile Mother Earth, of the Matres and the Matronæ the Proximæ and the Iunones Mothers or Kinswomen who were the protecting divinities of various localities.

Celtic gods

Most of the Celtic deities were local in name although like many others in character and function. Each tribe group and town had its own tutelary divinity whose role while local was similar to those of other groups or place having different or kindred names. Wells and springs were divine and gave their gifts of fertility and healing to the people each well having its presiding genius, a spirit or nymph who protected it or who was associated with the deity of the fountain. These divinities of thermal or mineral springs with medicinal qualities were always healing deities that appeared a local survival.

4 E Anwyl "Demon and Spirit (Celtic), in ERE iv 573 74
of a general ancient belief and in later time the principal therapeutic god shared their functions with Apollo Aē culapius and the nymph of the forest and water.

The pantheon

The Celtic pantheon appears to have been very large and the names of about two hundred and eighty deities have survived in inscription although many of these are duplications of the same divinity under different name in various places. Some of the e occur but once and nothing more known concerning them while doubtless many names have entirely disappeared. Caer (de Bello Gallico, vi 17 18) recognizing among the Celtic gods certain deities with function and characters similar to those of Roman divinities named six of them Mercury Apollo Mars Jupiter Minerva and Diana while the deities Gr'nno Belenu and other were not only a imitated to Roman gods but their names were compounded in inscription such identification and urn name indicating their character and function. Apollo Granno and Apollo Belenu who like Apollo dioned light warmth and healing Caer (ib, vi 17) termed the Celtic Apollo the divinity of healing ( Apollinem morbo depellere ) and this may explain the great frequency of his name in these equations of the therapeutic deities.

Religiosity

Claudian writer described the Celts as a religious people who never forgot or transgressed the laws of their god but who were diligent in the observance of all religious rites and ceremonies and who referred all matters pertaining to religion to their priest.

R 1 1 L s R h g o d l G e v t christ is e, pp 391 40
Dottin M p o r s e r v ' étud d ' t g t c e t g , 2d ed pp 304 309
Druidism

Although it has been asserted that Druidism was the common religion of the aboriginal inhabitants from the Baltic to Gibraltar; it would seem that there is little ground for the belief that the Druids were pre-Celtic and were adopted by the Celt, but rather that they were a native priesthood common to both branches of the Celtic people and that they had grown up side by side with the growth of the native religion that the Celtic religion in effect was Druidism. The Druid a guild with an elective chief were the priest and in tructor of the people and those who did obeyed them were forbidden the privilege of the sacrifice. They are declared to have tamed the people as wild animals are tamed (Diodoro Sikelo V xxxi 5) and with a firm and jealous grasp they held within their own class all matter pertaining to religion regulating all its ceremonies and determining the myth concerning the god. Acting as arbiter and judge in other matters than religion they acquired enormous political power so that Caesar (op. cit., vi 13.14) called them noble learned priests and the chief expounder and guardian of the law. While Pliny (Histoia Naturalis, xxx 4) refers to them as a wizard and physician (Druid et hoc genus tum medicorumque) although the latter are supposed to have formed special subdivision. They were also bard, magician and ooth ayer who practiced all kind of divination and made prophecies.

7. Rhy, Celt c Brot, 2d d p 72
   J A MacCulloch Druid in ERE v 83 4 cf id, Th Relig
   of the A ce t Ce ts, p 301
   M Cilloch in ERE v 85 nd id, Religion, p 300
   2 G Dottin Divi tion (Celtic) 1 ERE iv 787 788
Religious ceremonies

Of the ceremonies and practices of the native religion very little is known except that they were liberally mingled with magic, many appear to have been secret or to have had a mystic significance attributed to them and the religious rites were held in the open in a forest or sacred grove or in a nemeton, an enclosure or consecrated place as when Diodoros (ii 47) speak of a circular temple on the Island of the Hyperborean (i.e. Celt). The gods were invoked by prayers, sacrifice, incantations and magic with the chanting of mystic verses and in the exercise of these rites priests later called Druides were employed especially in divination and in prophecy. The Druids sacrificed animal and even human beings in Gaul more particularly and classical writers shocked by the cruelties practiced in the name of religion describe the horrors of the Druidic rite in the forest (Strabo IV iv 5 p 198 C. Lucan Pharsalia, iii 399 425. Dion Cassius 10 lxii 7). Because of their magic art Tiberius (Pliny loc cit) and Claudius (Suetonius, loc cit) making an exception to the other universal toleration of the Romans issued edicts intended to abolish the Druidic religion with its human sacrifice and cruelties. These prohibitions in the interest of humanity were ostensibly based on the political ground that the Druid had resisted the majesty of Rome and were not aimed directly at their religion but it would seem that they did little more than abolish human sacrifice which thereafter was celebrated symbolically by letting of harmless blood (Pomponius Mela iii 18) while the Druids retired farther into the forests to perform their rites (Lucan op cit, 1 450 454) where they lingered on until paganism finally died appear.

11 Cf. Dottin M. ue, pp 22 23
The Celts regarded disease with terror and since it was believed to be a visitation from the gods or the work of some maleficent being of the other world it came within the purview of religion so that the people appealed to their divinities for relief through the prayer of a mediator and a representative of the deity. The treatment consisting of prayer with sacrifices, incantation, magic, and the administration of various herbs. It has been asserted that temple sleep for healing was known and practiced in Gaul, but there is no evidence that it was used in the cults of the native deities and since the practice of Æsculapius and Serapis were well known in Gaul it is entirely probable that incubation was used in the rituals there as it was in Rome. The adoration of Mithra, popular among the Roman soldiers, found its way to the Danube and Upper Rhone valley and the cult also exercised healing functions. Remains of these worship have occasionally been found in the region of ancient Gaul and Britain.

Mythic healing tales

Numerous mythic tales and tradition of the ancient Celtic deities have been handed down with the folklore especially in Britain. Many herbs were used with theurgic medicine of the Celt, and whatever grew on the tree was regarded as coming from heaven. Among the herbs, the mistletoe held the first rank, whence the Druids had great veneration for it and for the oak on which it grew. It was a gift direct from the Celtic Zeus, it was the sacred bough of the Druids being known as the all...
healer and in Wales as the tree of pure gold (Pliny *op. cit.*, xvi 95) and at the New Year's festival with my tic ceremonies and the sacrifice of white oxen it was gathered by a priest clad in white using a golden sickle and collecting it in a white cloth. With its life-giving powers it was believed to be a cure for sterility in man and beast, a protection against poison and a cure for epilepsy. Pliny (*ib.*, xxiv 62) mentions another plant, *selago*, identified with the *avin* tree, a species of juniper which was burned and used for eye troubles, while the *samolus* was gathered to the accompaniment of magic ceremonies to cure disease of cattle and swine (*ib.*, xxiv 63).

**The 'cauldron of renovation'**

The myth of the cauldron of renovation is prominently associated with the Irish god of healing, Dianegacht and figures in some of the Welsh *Mabinogion* tales. The cauldron had been brought out of the lake in Ireland and given to Bren, son of Llyr, while in the Welsh tale it was represented as a talisman of healing in the story of Branwen, daughter of Llyr. The Irish kindled a fire under the cauldron of renovation, and they cast the dead bodies into the cauldron until it was full, and the next day they came forth fighting men good as before except that they were not able to speak. It was the equivalent of the cauldron of Dagda of Irish legend and one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and it also represented the cauldron of sciences from which Gwion received three drops. Its fire were fed by nine maiden and it was called *undyrn* because it was never empty.

3. *M. cCulloch*, *op. cit.*, pp. 381 383 *nd id., Mythology*, pp. 95 9 120 192 203
### THE CELTIC DEITIES

**PART II** THE HEALING DEITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Celtic Deity</th>
<th>Irish Deity</th>
<th>Latin Deity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belenus</td>
<td>Dianceacht</td>
<td>Miach or Midach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borvo or Bormo</td>
<td>Goibniu</td>
<td>Mogouno or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigit Brigantia</td>
<td>Granno</td>
<td>Mogon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Brigindo</td>
<td>Lug</td>
<td>Sirona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damona</td>
<td>Mabon or M</td>
<td>Sul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Supplementary List* Deities named in various inscriptions as being connected with healing of whom little or nothing more is known

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Celtic Deity</th>
<th>Irish Deity</th>
<th>Latin Deity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abnoba</td>
<td>Ivo or</td>
<td>Ollototae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addus</td>
<td>Ivavu</td>
<td>Segeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arduunna</td>
<td>Laha</td>
<td>Sequana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griselicæ</td>
<td>Lelhunnu</td>
<td>Sinquati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nymph</td>
<td>Lenu</td>
<td>Virotuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilixo</td>
<td>Luxoviu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BELENUS**

The deity who e nam probably mean the himing one eem pritn rily to have been a olar divinity whence he wa frequently equated with Apollo H' cult centered mainly in Aquilea (CIL v 732 755 8212 8250) and the neighboring region (ib 1829 1866 2143 2146 in 4774) but no tr ces of it re found in Gaul except for two somewhat dubiou allu ion by Ansoniu (Profes sores, v 7 xi 24) though it is pos ible that the god wa identical with the Wel h Beli He apparently had feminine counterpart in Beli ama the mo t himing one who wa identified with Minerva and after whom

---

1 Stoke, Urkeltischer Sprachschatz, p 164
2 M cCulloch, R Ig o, pp 112 113
3 P der n, Verg e chende Gr tik d r ke ti che Sprach, u 122
4 H Steuding in Ro cher 1, 757 S ein g neral on these two d iti H d Arboi d Juv nville, L D u g uloi B l nu la d g uloi B hi am 1 RA, 1873, xxv 197 206
the Mersey was called (Ptolemaio, II 112) He was especially honored at the springs of Aquileia and was often addressed as Pton Belenus (CIL v 754 755 8250) the spring at Bordeaux and Nimes were dedicated to him and he had rich temples near the warm spring of Toulon e and Antun over which he presided. The plant bilnunutra or bellununutra, henbane (Dioscoride iv 69 p Eudo Apuleiu de Herbs, 4) probably received its name from him.

BORVO OR BORMO

The divinity called Borvo or Bormo in Central France Bormanu in Provence and Bormanicu in Portugal was a therapeutic deity who presided over healing springs and health resorts. At Bourbonne les Bains (Haute Marne) an inscription was found dedicated Deo Apollini Borvomi et Damanæ and he (or his feminine counterpart Bormona) was associated with the same godde also at Bourbon Lancy (Saône et Loire) while at Aix en Dio1 (Drôme) he appears together with Bormana who is again mentioned at Lagnieu (Ain). He had his shrine at Borma on the Rhine and at the bath of Bormio in the extreme north of Italy two inscriptions in honor of Bormanicus have been discovered at the healing spring near Oporto and Bormanu i mentioned at Aix en Provence. Other places recalling one or the other of these deities are Bormannu in Gallia Narbonensis Bourbon Archambault (Allier) Bourboule (Puy de Dôme) Bourbriac (Côte du Nord) and Bormida (Montferrat). The names of these deities are connected with the Latin *verbam, I boil* Welh *berw, boiling*.

Hopf op 11 pp 51
Dottin L L gue g os, pp 232 244
*R n l op 11, pp 17 179 309* Studing Rocher 1, 814 815
ferveo, I boil ferment and hence were peculiarly appropriate to their function

BRIGHT BRIGANTIA OR BRIGINDO

According to Irish myth one of the Brigit triad was a goddess of healing the other two being respectively a poet and seer and the patrones of smiths. She had a female priesthood and men are said to have been excluded from her cult. In the hymn *Brigit be bithmaith* she is addressed as golden parhmg flame and invoked to break before u the battles of every plague. She may have been the goddess identified by Cæ ar (op cit, vi 17) with Minerva a giving the beginnings of craft and arts and he appears in Gaul as Brigindo (CIL xiii 2638) and a Brigantia in Britain, where he was the eponymous deity of the Brigantes. Originally she seems to have been a divinity of fire and of fertility and her name means the high one.

DAMONA

This godde is a divinity with the therapeutic deity. Borvo in inscriptions found at Bourbonne le Bain (Haute Marne) and Bourbon Lancy (Saône et Loire) but he was in reality an animal divinity her name being connected with Irish *dam* ox, Welsh *dafad*, sheep etc.

\[\text{Dottin} \ op \ st, p \ 235. \ Walde \ Ety \ olog \ sches \ Wort \ rbuch \ d \ r\]
\[\text{teinschen} \ Spr \ che, p \ 286\]
Stoke \ nd Str chan Thes \ r s P lachhbermecus, n 325
7 Steuding \ in Ro cher, 1 819, M cCulloch \ op cit, pp 870
Peder en \ op ct, 1 100
Steuding \ in Ro cher 1, 946
M cCulloch \ op ct, pp 43 215\]
THE HEALING GODS

DIANCECHT

Diancecht (Swift Power) the Irish god of healing par excellence, was of the number of the Tuatha Dé Danann and was the son of Dagda the father of another therapeutic deity, Miach and grandfather of Lug who also possessed similar power. He was particularly prominent in the Middle Irish account of the second battle of Moytura (Cath Maige Turedh). In this combat the hand of Nuada being tricked off Diancecht, with the aid of the smith Credne replaced it with a hand of silver which was capable of every motion possessed by a hand of flesh, but Miach after thrice three day and night restored to Nuada his natural hand whence Diancecht lew his on and confused the healing herbs which grew from the corpse Diancecht the leech of the Tuatha Dé Danann and in the conflict any Every man who shall be wounded there unles he head be cut off or the membrane of his brain or his spinal (?) marrow be evered I will make quite whole in the battle on the morrow. In fact the 1 in and mortally wounded were cast into healing well over which Diancecht his on Miach and Octriuil and his daughter Airmed and all were restored to full vigor. In a St Gall manuscript of the eighth or ninth century we read I put my trust in the alve which Diancecht left with his family that whole may be that whereon it goe.

GOIBNIU

Goibniu was an Irish divinity of smith (cf. Ir. gobas, mith) whose ale preserved the gods from old age disease and death.

1 §§ 11 33 35, 64 9 99 123 d nd tr W Stok ‘Th Seco d Bttl of Moytura 1 RC, 1891 u, 5 111 Stok nd Str ch n op c t, n, 24 M cCulloch Mythology, pp 51 54
Grannos was a healing deity of great renown who e cult eem to have been especially important among the Celts along the upper Danube where he wa equated with Apollo (CIL in 5870 5871 5874 5876 5881) and was ocated with Hygieia with the Nymphs and with Sirona (ib , 5861 5873 5888) He again appears together with Sirona in an in cription from Rome (ib , vi 36) and epigraphs to him have been found at Musselburgh in Scotland (ib , vii 1082) and even in Ve tmanland in Swe den while it is pos ible that certain in criptions men tioning Sirona and Apollo a that from Graux in the Vosges may really refer to her and Granno ° He was likewi e a ocated with the local goddes Avantia and Vesunna who have given their name to Avenche (Swit erland) and Vesona while he had a statue in the temple of the Seine goddes Sequana Aix la Chapelle was known as Aqu Granni and the stre m receiving the water from Plombière in the Voge 1 called Eaux Graunne

The name of Granno usually connected withIr in h grun un gor, warmth 7 and he and Sirona posibly represent the ever young un god and th old godde who may be likened to Apollo and his mother Leto of Greek mythology Apollo Granno wa as ocated with AE culapus and Serapi by Caracalla who appeal d to them in a second illne when other god had failed him (Dion Ka sios lxxvi 15) 8

I Und t ‘In en io mil tin nitrov t ni ll Scand in via ’ in BIA, 1883 p 237 al o M Ihm i Pauly W1 owa vii 1826 St uding nd W Drexler in Ro ch r 1 173
Ren 1 op cit , p 310
MacCulloch Relg on , p 43
7 Stoke , Spr chsch tz , p 114
Barn in ERE iv 747
Ihm in Pauly W1 owa vii 1825
The memory of Granno is still preserved in the Auvergne at the festival of the Brands when on the first Sunday in Lent fire are lighted in every village, and the ceremony of Granna mia takes place after a dance. A torch of straw called Granno mio is lighted and carried round the orchards and in the character of a sun god the deity is invoked in song as Granno my friend my father my mother; these processions being followed by feasting. The torches are carried in the fields and gardens wherever there are fruit trees and the ceremonial is intended to ensure fertility and the unheated ripening of the fruit.

LUG

Lug, an ancient and important member of the Tuatha Dé Danann, seems to have been in origin a civilization hero concerning whom many tales are told in Middle Irish literature. In the story of the second battle of Moytura he defeated the grand on of Diancacht and come to the Tuatha Dé a they fea t at Tara offering his service in many capacities including that of physician only to be told in the connection that we have for a leech. Diancacht. He finally won entrance however as the inventor of all arts (Cæ ar op cit, vi 17) Although no Gallic inscription to him has yet been found and though it is by no means clear that the Lugovian mentioned in an inscription from Avenches in Switzerland and in another from Osma in Spain are to be considered as plural form of Lug (it is not even certain whether

B rm loc cit

41 M eCulloch, 'C It,' ERE xi 285 286

§§ 55 ff
THE CELTIC DEITIES

these are masculine or feminine)⁴ the widespread character of his cult is shown by the place names Lugudunum (fortres of Lug Lyons St Bertrand de Comminge [Gers] Leyden) Luguvalium (rampart of Lug Carlisle) and Louth (i.e., Lug magh plain of Lug) The meaning of the name is uncertain but it may be connected with Gallic lugos crow or more probably with In h lug, lynx or it may signify the bright one.

MABON OR MAPONOS

The Welsh deity Mabon (Youth) one with the Gaulish Maponos appears among the figures of the Arthurian cycle⁴⁷ and is mentioned under his Gallic name in inscriptions from Hexham Raby Castle and Armthwaite in England. A similitude to Apollo he was perhaps a divinity of healing spring and from his name was probably the same as the bonus puer associated with Apollo in Dacian inscriptions (CIL iii 1133 1138).

MIACH OR MIDACH

According to the story of the second battle of Moytura¹ Miach was a son of Diancecht and one of the four who sang charm over the healing well which brought back to life those who had fallen in the fray. After three seventy-two hours, he restored the hand of Nuada which had been

---

² Ihnd Drexler in R. h. n, 2153 2154
⁴⁴ Renel op cit., p 206 f P. d r op cit., 1
⁴ Dottin op cit., p 268
⁴ P. dersen op cit., 1, 98 (for much l s pl u i bl ety ology s e Stok op cit., p 257)
⁴⁷ MacCulloch, Mythology, pp 18 18
⁴ R. Peter in R. ch., i, 332
⁴ MacCulloch R v g o, p 123
B nm loc cit
¹ §§ 33 5 123
severed in combat and for which Diancecht had substituted a silver hand but in anger his father struck him on the head with a sword. The first three blows Miach healed since they reached respectively only to the bone and the membrane of the brain but the fourth stroke cutting the brain proved mortal. After his burial herbs three hundred and sixty-five according to the number of his joints and mew grew through the grave and the were gathered by his sister Airmid only to be hopelessly confused by Diancecht that no one knew their proper cure unless the [Holy] Spirit would teach them afterward. The late character of the deity is shown by his name which he borrowed from Latin medicus phyician.

Mogounos or Mogons

Mogounos is once mentioned as an epithet of Apollo Grannos in an inscription from Horburg (Haut Rhin CIR, 1915). He is doubtless connected with the British deity Mogon (CIL VII 958 996) and with the Gaulish goddess Mogontia who gave her name to Mogontiacum, the modern Met. The name probably means the mcreer and my have denoted originally aolar divinity.

Sirona

Sirona, who was mentioned in writings, is written Sirona, Dirona. Dirona probably connected with the Welsh seren, taer. Some time a locational Gaulish inscription with Apollo Granno (e.g., CIL IV 5588 xiv 4129) or simply with Apollo (ib., xiv 4661 5424 6272 6458) and seem to

2 P der n op cit., 1 23
3 Ihm in Roch r u 3083 3084
4 Stoke op cit., p 17 McCulloch, op cit., p 27
P d r n, op cit., 1 78 532
have been a healing deity though there is no certain evidence to support this hypothesis

SUL

This goddess presided over the healing spring of Aquae Sulis the modern Bath and Solinus (xvii 10) state that a perpetual fire burned in her temple. She was identified with Minerva (CIL vii 42 43) and in inscription were dedicated to her pro alute et incolumitate (ib., 40 41). Her name seems to be cognate with Irish súil, eye and Welsh heol, sun and the perhaps Gaulish counterpart in the Sulevi beneficent and protecting mother or matron.

The Supplementary List


ded the divinity of the Black Forest who was identified with Diana I mentioned a god of childbirth (CIL xiii 5334 6283).

Addu seems to have been the name of a god presumably dedicated by a man for the health of him and his (Steuding in Roscher 1 67).

Arduinna identified with Diana he was the deity of the Ardenne Forest and I mentioned a god of childbirth (CIL vi 46).

Grises Licæ Nympheæ were gods of the thermal springs of Gréoulx (Ba se Alpe) and were probably regarded a therapeutic divinities (Drexler in Roscher 1 1741).

Ilxic The god is mentioned in three inscriptions:

Ihm in Roscher 1v 952 57
Tn in Roscher 1v 1591.1592
Dottin op cit., p. 289
Ih in Roscher 1v 1592.1600
found at Bagnères de Luchon (Haute Pyrénées) and was probably the deity of the thermal springs at that place (Ihm in Roscher ii 119) The word may possibly be cognate with Welsh *ilio*, to ferment

Ivaos or *Ivavus* The divinity is named on a bronze key displayed at Eaux (Creuse) and was apparently the deity of the local spring (Ihm in Roscher ii 766) The appellation seems to be cognate with Irish *eo*, good

Laaha Some inscriptions in honor of this goddes have been found near Martré Tolosanes (Haute Garonne) and one of them was dedicated ‘pro salutae *sic* dominorum she may possibly though by no means certainly have been a deity of health (Ihm in Roscher ii 1799 1800)

Lethunnus On inscriptions from Aire sur l'Adour (Landes) Mr receives this epithet in dedications for the health of himself and his etc (Ihm in Roscher ii 1937)

Lenus Inscription found at Trêve and in Luxembourg give this epithet to Mar and on the basis of bilingual text from the lower Moselle the term evidently indicated a therapeutic divinity (Ihm in Roscher ii 1942 1943)

Luxovius He was the deity of the thermal spring of Luxeuil le Bains (Haute Saône) (Ihm in Roscher ii 2163)

Ollootae This epithet is given to the ‘Mothers in an inscription from Binchester in England dedicated *pro salut*:*e* suae et suorum (Ihm in Roscher ii 833 834) The name means pertaining to all the people

Segeta This goddess presided over healing spring at Aqua Segetae near Feurs (Loire) (Ihm in Roscher iv 599)

Sequana The Seine goddess exercised healing function at the river source where numerous ex votos in
her honor have been discovered while one inscription
(CIL xiii 2862) expressly recorded a given pro
[ al]ute ex voto ' (Ihm in Roscher iv 711)
Simqattis This deity whose name is given to Silvanu
as an epithet received a votive statue found at Géron
mont near Gérouville (Belgium) pro salute (CIL
xiii 3968) (Ihm in Roscher iv 949)
Virotutis An altar dedicated Apollini Virotutis ha
been found near Annecy (Haute Savoie) (CIL xii
2525) and the name is explained (Dottin La Langue, p 95) a
healer of men
BIBLIOGRAPHY

EGYPTIAN

AKMAR E, "Le P pyrus m agque Harris Up al" 1916
BAILLET J, "Idées or les da s l'Égypte antiq" Bloi 1912
BLACKMAN A M, "Some R mark on n Emble upon th H d of n Ancient Egypti n Birth Goddes i Jour l of Egypti
ARCH ology, 1916 ii, 19 206
Th Ph raoh Pl cent d the Moon God Khon in bid, pp 235 249
BOYLAN P, Thoth, Th Hrmes of Egypt Oxford 1922
BREASTED J H, Ancient Record of Egypt 5 vol Chicago 1906 1907
- Development of Religion nd Thought in Ancient Egypt New York 1912
A History of the Ancient Egyptians New York 1912
-Th Edwin S ith Papyru , in New York Historical Society, Qu rterly Bulletin, April 1922
-Th Edwin Smith Papyru Som Preliminary Ob rv tion in Recuer d'Et des égypto ogues dédiées à mémo r d Jean François Champollion, Paris 1922, pp 385 429
BRUGSCH H K, Ueb r die medicinsche Kennt ss der liten Agyp ter Brun wick 1853
Hieroglyphisch d oitisches Worterbuch Leipzig, 1867 1882
Ein g ogr phi ch Studie, in Zeitschrift fur agyptisch Sprache und Alt riumskunde, 1879, xvii 1 29
Die Aegyptologie L ip ig, 1889 1890
Religion u d Mythologie der liten Agypter 2 vol 2d ed Leipzig, 1891
BUDGE E A W, The Book of the Dead 3 vol London 1898
Egyptian M guc London 1901
The Gods of the Egyptians 2 vol London, 1904
Egyptian Religion London, 1908
Facsimiles of Egypti n Hier tic P pyr, in the British Museum London 1910
The Syriac Book of Medicines 2 vol London 1913
The Letter ture of the Egyptians London 1914
CHABAS F, J, Le P pyrus m ague Harris Chlou ur S ône, 1860
THE HEALING GODS

La Médecin de neien Egyptien 'in Mel nge 'gypto o

DARESSY G 'Thou ris et Meskhen t in Rec v de tr vaux rel
tifs à l Philologie et à l'Archéologue égyptien e t assyrienne, 1912

DAVIS C H S The Egypti n Book of the Dead N w York nd
London 1894

EBERS G M P pyrus Ebers Die M asse d das K p tel uber d
Augenkrankhette 2 vol Leip ig 1889 (Kongl mere cnsch
Ge ell chaft der Wi en ch ften Abh dlunge á r phil ogi ch h
torische C asse, Bd 11 no 2 3 )

ERMAN A D M rohe de Papyrus Weste r B rh 1890
. Def r Z ub rp pyru de V tkan, in Zeitschrift fur agyptisch
Spr che und Alt rt mskunde, 1893 xxxi 11 124

Life : A cne t Egypt Londo 1894
. 'Z uberspru h fur Mutter und Kind in Abh dlunge á r
konglcher preussischen Ak de e der Wi ensch ften, 1901
n 1

H ratn che P pyr de konlgche M s u z Berln
5 vol L p ig 1 01 1 11

D agypt sch Relgion 2d d B rnh 190 (Engl h tr A S
Griffith H dbook of Egyptia R ig on London 1907 )

FINLAYSON J 'Ancient Egyptian Medicine ' in British Medica
Jour , 1893, 1 748 752 1014 1016 1061 1064

FOUCART G "Imhotep 1 R v e á 'histoir des r ign s, 1903
lxxv 362 371
. 'L R legion t l'Art d n lEgypt ne n L St tu r in
Revu á s id es, 1 08, v 385 41

GARDINER A H Imhot p nd th Scribe Libatio 1 Zeit
schrift f r gypti ch Sprach und Altertumskunde, 1902 1903 xl
146

GARRISON, F H, 'The Bon c ll d Luz 1 The New York Medic
Jo r 1910 xxi 149 151

GRIFFITH F Ll The Petrie P pyri Hier tro P pyri fro K h
nd Gurob London 1898

Stories of the High Priest of Memphis Oxford 1900

nd THOMPSON, H, The Demotic M gc Papyrus of London
and Le den London 1904

HAGEMANN E, Zur Hygien der It n Aegypter” in Ja us, 1904
r 214 229

HIRSCHBERG, J Aegypten Geschichtliche Studien eines Aug
r ates L p g; 1890

HOLMES, B, nd KITTERMAN P G M dietn in Aeni nt Egypt
in Cincinnati t Lancet Clima, 1913, cxx, 566 570 590 603 624 629
HOPFNER, T Der T erkult der alte Agypter Vienna, 1913
JEQUIER, G Nuture t ongen du dieu Be in Recueil de tr v
relatif à l Philologue t à l'Archéologie gyprienne et syrienne ,
1915, xxxvi 114 118
'Thous,' in ibid, pp 118 120
JOACHIM H Papyrus Ebers Das alteste Buch über Heilk nd
Berlin 1890
KLEIN C H von, 'Th Medec l Feature of the Eber P pyr u
n Jour of the Amer c n M dical Associa , 1905 xlv, 1928 1 35
LACAU P 'Supp ras et modifia tions de ignes dan le text
fun'ir , in Zeitschf f r agyptische Spr che und Alt rit s
ku de, 1914 li 1 64
Textes re ign ux égyptiens P ri 1910
LETRONNE J A Notice t text de papyrus grec du Mu ' du
Louvr t d l Biblionhequ i p'rale ' in Notices et xtr ts de
anuscrits de la Bibliothèque impéri l et utre bibliothèg ,
L Innstit ut imp'nal d Fran e , vol 18 pt 2
MALLET D Le Culte de N et à Saus P ris 1888
K sr el Agous Cairo 1909
MANETHO, ed C Muller Fr gmenta historicorum Græcoru P ri
1848 ii 511 616
MARIETTE, A E Les M st bas de l ci e empi Paris, 1889
Les P pyr u égyp t s de Musée de Boul g 3 vol Paris 1871
1876
MASPERO G Méno re sur q elques papryi du Louvre Pari , 1875
Études égyptiennes, 2 vol P ri 1889
Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptien es 8 vol P ri
1993 1916
Popular Stories of A ci en Egypt N w York nd London 1912
MORET A Le Ratu l du ci la d un journa er en Égypte Pari 1 02
Le Magie dans l'Égypte anci ne Paris 1907
Kings and Gods of Egypt N w York and London 1912
Mystères égyptiens Pari 1913
MULLER, W M Surgery in Egypt' in Egyptological Rese rche
Washington 1906 1910
Mythology, Egyption, in The Mythology of All Res, vol xii
Part I Boston 1918
NAVILLE, E, Études dédiées à Leemans Leyden 1885
La Religion des anciens Égyptiens Paris 1906 (English tr Th
Old Egyptian F th London 1909 )
OFFORD J , "A New Egypt n M dic l Papyrus, in Proceedings of
the Royal Society of Medicine, 1912 1913 vi Section of the History
of Medicine, 97 102
PEIRRET P, Le P niheo égyptien P ris 1879
PETRIE W M F, d Egypt a. T les from th Papyri 2 vol London 1895
The Religion of Ancient Egypt London 1 06
PLEYTE W, Étude sur le rouleau magique du Musée de Lyde Ly de 1866
nd ROSSI P, P pyru d Turm 2 vols Lyden 1869 187
REISNER G, The Horst Medic l P pyru Leip ig 1905
RENOUF P L PAGE, Not on th Medic l P pyru of Berlin in Zitschrift fur ägyptische Sprach und Altertumskunde, 1873, 1 123 125
The Religion of Ancient Egypt London 1880
REVILLOUT, E, 'Un p g d hi toir d l Nubie,' in Revue égyptologique, 1888 v, 72 77
['L t r upon Nubi n or l ] in Proceedings of th Society of B b ic Archeology, 1888 x 55 59
SANDWITH, F M, 'Th E rie t Known Phy ic n in Brit h Medicine Journ t, 1902 u 141 1420
'Not on M die l History in Egypt, in Pr citn r, 1 04 1 u 430 43
SCHAEFER H, 'Ein ltagypt i ch Schreiber itte, in Zeitschrift f r ägyptisch Spr ch und Altert kunde, 1898 xxxvi 147 148
'Dr Mysteri des Osir s i Abydos u ter Ko ig Sosostros L ip zng, 1904
SCHNEIDER H, K ltr u d D k d r alte Ägypt r Leip ig 1907
SETHE K, 'Imhotep, d r A klepio der Ägypt r in U tersuch n ge zur Gesch chte d Altert umskunde de Ägypt e, 1902, 11, 3 118
'Zur ltagypt i chen S vvo Sonnen ug, d in der Fr md w r, i bid , 1912, v 117 15
Die ltagypt i ch in Pymd undentexte 2 vol L ip zg, 1908 1910
SMITH, G E, Th Ancient Egyptians London, 1911
SPIEGELBERG W, A gyptologische Randglosse zu lten Testament Strauburg 1904
'umn en p in Zeit schrift fur ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, 1908 1 09, xiv, 89 90
'Specialistentum in d r ägypti chen medizin, in i bid , 1917, hn 111
STERN L, P pyr Ebers 2 vol Leip ig 1875
VIREY PH L, Relo go de la nne Egyptian P ri 1910
WALSH J J, 'Th Fir t Pictur of Surgery Op ration E tant in Jour l of th A erica Med c l A soci tion, 1907, xhx 1593 1595
WIEDEMANN A., De Religio der alte Aegypter. Munster 1890
(English tr. London, 1897)
   Magaz. d Zab re, lite Aegypten. Leipzig 1905
   Atgypten sch Sg und Marchen. Leipzig 1906
   Die Aullete der lit Aegypten. Leipzig 1910
   Der Tierkult. der alte Aegypter. Leipzig, 1912
   Das ihr Aegypten. Heid Iberg 1921.

WILKINSON, J.G., Mmer nd Custos of the Ancient Egypt's

WRESZINSKI W. Der gro se edisi isch P pyrus d. Berl er
   Museen s. Leipzig 1909
   Der Lodo r ed zimische P pyrus an der P pyr s. Her t.
   Leipzig, 1912
   Der Papyrus Eber s. Hft 1. Leipzig, 1913.

ASSYRO BABYLONIAN

ANONYMOUS. The Law of Hammurabi. King of Babylo
   g of the P st. 1903 u. S4 S8.
JASTROW M. J., Die Religion Babylo ve und Assyre s. 3 vol
   Gie sen, 1905-1912. (The ecnd dition of The Religio of B by
   om d Assyri Bo ton, 1898.)
   The Apects of Religio Be f d Practice in B bylo u and
   Assyri. N w York, 1911
   Th Cvotion of Babylon d Assyri. Phil d Lphi, 1915
   "The M dream of th B bylo n nd A yri n."
   in Proc edings of the Roy Soc ty of Medicine, 1 13.1 14. vu
   Sectio of the History of Med cne, 109 176 1 o in L nc t, 1913 u,
   1136 1142
   "B bylo n nd A syri n M dream."
   in A is of Med i
   Hstory, 1917 1 231 257
   Sus eran and Akkadian View of th Beginning, in Jo r al
   of the Americ n Orient Society, 1 16 xxvii, 274 299

KING, L W., B bylo uan M guc a d Sorcery. London, 1896
   Babylo n Religion d Mythoogy. London, 1899
KUCHLER, F. Beitrage zur Ke nmus der assyrisch babylon sche
   Med i Leipzig, 1904

LOW, I., Aramisch Pflanze namen. Lipig, 1881

LUTZ, H F. "A Contribution to th Knwldg of A yro B bylo n
   Medican in Americ n Journal of Sea t L gue und Lat r
   tures, 1919 xxxvi, 67 3
   "An Omen T Referring to th Action of Dream r ^ in ib d,
   1919, xxxv, 145 157

OEFELE F. von Keilschrift edizin in Parel eln. Lipig, 1902
PREUSS, J. Babulisch t imud sche M dis. 2d ed B rh 1921
THE HEALING GODS


*The B bylo rans v r d Assy rans* New York 1909

THOMPSON R C *Devils and Evil Spirits of Bablyoni* 2 vol London, 1904

*Semitic Magic* London 1908

As yry n Prescription for D i e of th H ad in America

*Jour al of Se stuc L gu ges nd Lit ratures*, 1907 1908

WARD WM *The Se Cy nders of Western Asia* Washington D C 1890

WEBER, O *Da one Beschworung b i de B bylomer nd Assyr v r L ip* 1906

*Die Literatur der B bylo ver und Assyrer Ein Uberblick* Leipzig 1907

WINCKLER H, *D e Volk r Vorderasiens* Leipzig 1903

ZIMMERN, H *Beitrage zur Kennt is der b by omischen Religion* Leipzig 1901

PAGAN SEMITES OF THE WEST

ANONYMOUS *The Figur ofÆecul pu in Anci nt Art* in L cet, 1 04, 11 1362 13 3

BAETHGEN F, *Be trage zur se utischen R ligor geschichte* Berlin 1888

BAUDISSIN W W GRAF von, "Der phonizische Gott E smun, 1

Z tschrift der de tsch orga land sche G sel sch ft 1905, lix

459 522

Zu ‘E um ZDMG 59, S 471 f 1 ibid, 1911 l v 567 56

A do ir d Esmu Leipzig 1911

BERGER, P, T mit Pen B l' in Journal asi tique, 1877 ix 147

160

COOKE G A *A Text Book of North Semitic I scriptions* Oxford 1903

EISELEN, F C *Suido A Stidy Or ient His tory* New York 1907

LANDAU W von, "Vorlaujige Nachrichten uber die im Eshmuntem

p l b i Sidon g fund nen phonizischen Alterthumer" in Mittheilu

gen der vorderasi utischen Gesellschaft, 1904, ix 279 350 1905, x

1 16

LIDZBARSKI M, "Der N m d Gottes Esmun, in Ephemeris fur

sem tische Epigraphik, 1915, iii, 260 265

MAURY, A *Sur une st tu tte du dieu A chmoun ou Esmoun trouv’

‘Ch rehell in Revue archéologique, 1846 iii 763 793

RAWLINSON G, *Phae iona* New York 1904


INDIAN


CROWE, W. B. A. The Popular Religion and Folklore of Norther India. 2 vol. Westminster, 1896.

FAUSBOLL, V. Indian Mythology according to the Mahābhārata. London, 1905.


GRAY, L. H. The Indian Gods. 3 vol. N. ew York, 1884.

HENRY, V. L. "M. gie dans l'Inde antique.

HILLEBRANDT, A. "V. Run und Matra. Breslau, 1877.

JOLLY, J. "Zur Quellenkunde der indischen Medicin.

KAYIRATRIA, A. C. "Charaka Samhita.


THE HEALING GODS

MACDONELL, A A Vedda Mythology’ in Grun dan der de
rischen Philolog und Altertum skunde Str bourg, 1897
The History of S nskrit L t r ture London 1900
and KEITH A B, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects 2 vols
London, 1912
MONIER WILLIAMS M, Religious Thought and Life in India London 1883
MOOR ED The Hr du P ntheon London, 1810
MUIR, J., Origin i Sanskrit Texts 5 vol London, 1868-1874
MUKHOPADHYAYA G History of Indian Medicine in University of Calcutta 1923
MYRIANTHEUS L Die Aśvī s od r rischen Dioskure Munich 187
OLDENBERG H., D Re ign des Ved B rlin, 1894
QUACKENBOS G P Th S nskrit Po of May ra N w York 1 17
TEMPLE R C., The Legs of the Punjab 2 vol Bombay and
WILKIN, W J Hindu Mythology V d c ‘ d Puram C leutta 1882
WILSON H H V i Pur na London 1864
WISE, T A Review of the History of Medicine in Asia 2 vol Lon
don 1867
ZIMMER H Altr d sch s L be B rlin, 1879

IRANIAN

BARTHOLOMAE C ‘Ari I’ in Indog r ische Forschungen, 1892 i 180 182
CARNY A J Ir v Mythology, in Th Mythology of Ancient, vol vi Part II Boston 1917
Th Irani n Gods of Hungary in Journ l of the A erica Or e tal Society, 1918, xxxviii 294 307
CASERTELLI L C Tr ite d m’dene m zd’ene’ in Le Musée, 188 v 296 316 531 558 (An independent Engl h tran l tio of
The Dong rd, d nd tr Pe hotun Du toor B hramj Sunj n and
oth r Bomb y 1874)
DITTMERGER J Le Zend Avest 3 vol P rni 1892 1893
DHALLA M N, Zoro strvan Theology New York 1914
Zoro strvan Civilization N w York 1922
DITTENBERGER, W, Orientis Graecis inscriptiones selectae No 353
L 1236 1903 1905
FIRDAUSI A Sh h N ah, tr A G and E Warn r London, 1905
GIEGER, W Ostria ische Kultur im Altertum Erl ng n 1882
GELZER, H, ‘Zur ar enischen Gott rieh r, in B richte uber d
Verh nd u n der komgl chen sachschn Gesell schaften der Wissenschaf ten Philosophisch historisch Cl sse, 1896, xlvii, 99 148
HAUG M Essays o th Parsis 3d ed London 1884
HENRY, V, Le Parsis e P ri, 1905
JACKSON, A V W, 'Die iran ch Religion, in Grun dm der ir ischen Philologe Stra bourg 1904 n 612 708
KANGA K E 'King Faridun nd few of hi Amulet nd Ch rm in The K R Ca Memora Volu e, Bombay 1900 pp 144 145
MEILLET A L Dieu indo ir nian Mitra in Journal s tique, X 1907, x 143 159
MIRKOND, M Th History of the E ry Kgs of Persia Tr D Shea P ri 1832
MODI, J J, Ch rm and Amulet for one Di of the Ey ' in hi Anthropologie Pap rs, Bombay 1911 43 50
MOULTON J H E ry Zoro st v sm London, 1913
The Tr s r of th Mag Oxford 1917
PETTAZZONI R, L Relig o d Z r th sthr Bolog n, 1920
SCHROEDER L von, Arisch Religio 2 vol L ipzig 1914
STEIN M A Zoroa trian D ite on Indo Scythi n Coin ' in B bylomen nd Or ent Record, 1887 i 155 166
WOLFF F A vest , d vi h ilg n Bucher d r Parse n ub rsetzt Str bourg, 1910

GREEK

ADAMS F, The Ge u n Works of Hippocrat 2 vol N w York 1 86
ANONYMOUS Healn, Shrine in Old Greece in Practitio er, 189, lx, 384 389
BABELON, E C F L f ux prophét Alex dr d Abonoticho in Revue numns atiq e, 4 s r 1900 iv 130
BAUNACK J Arisch Studien L ipzig 1886
 'Inschrift n aus d m A klepieion zu Epidauros in Studie auf dem G biete der griechischen und der rische Sprache, Leipzig 1886 1, 79 162
 'Epigr phie che Klemig iten us Gri chenl nd in Philolog, 1889, xlviii, 385 427 576 768
BAUNACK TH 'Inschriften u d m kretischen Asklepieion in ibid., 1900, xlix, 577 606
 'Bruch tucke einer Grabn chrift aus Kreta in ibid., 18 1 1 577 582
 N ue Bruch tucke gortvm ch Gesetze in ibid., 1896 lv 474 490
BERGK, TH ed Poete lyria Gra ci, tertius curis recensut 3 vol L ip ig, 1866 1867
THE HEALING GODS

BLACKIE J S *Horse Hellemae* London 1874
BLINKENBERG C “Epidaurische Weg ehrliche und Ihmtheilunge

de kserisch deutschen archäologischen I In tituits in Ath n, 1898

BOHN R “Zur Ba der Athen Hygiei in ibid, 1880 v 331 334
BOISACQ E Dictionnaire étymologique de l langue grecque P ri

BRUCKMAN C F H *Epithet deorum quae p d poet s Gr eguntur* L ip 1893
CATON R ‘Th Ancient Temples of Aklpio, in *British Medical Journ* 1898, 1

      The Temples nd Ritual of Ask epos at Epydauros and Athens

      Hippocrates and the Newly Dcovred Temple of Ko in 
      *Brit sh Med cal Journal, 1906, 571 574*

      ‘He lith T mple of Ancient Greece’ etc in *Proceedings of th
      Royal Society of Med e, 1913 1914 v Section of th Hi
tory of M disc r, 57 70*
CARAPANOS C *Dodona t ses runes* 2 vols Paris 1978
COOK A B *Zeus, the Indo European Sky God* Cambridge, 1914
CORYLLOS P “L-S netuair madecaux de la Grce et le cult
dÆ cul pe in *Escol pe, 1912 1 97 103*
CURTIN R G “Æsul pian T mpl s of Health compared with our

      Mod in R sorts in *Translations of the Americ n Clim tolog l
      Association, 1906 xiii 204 214*
DANA C L “Th Cult of Æculapius in St tue and Te ple, in 

      *Proceedi gs of the Charaka Club, 1902 1, 59 73*
DAREMBERG C L *Medecine dans Homère Paris 1865*

      Et t de l médecine entre Homère et Hippocrate Paris 1869
DAUFRESNE C, *Epid ur, s s prêtres, es guérisons* Paris, 190
DEFRASSE A t *LECHAT H Epid ur Paris 1895*
DIEHL C *Excursions in Greece* London 1893
DILL, S *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* London 1905
DINDORF G, d *Aristophans Comediae* 4 vol Oxford, 1838
DITTENBERGER W *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum* 2 vol

      Leip 1893 1901
ELDERKIN, G W *Kantheros* Princeton University Press, 1924

      The Cults of the Greek States 5 vol London, 1896 1909

      The Higher Aspects of the Greek Religion London 1912
FENTON, J DE, “A Greek Hospital 600 b.c ’ in *Translations of the Medica

      Journal, 1908 1909, iv, 285 289*
FLOQUET A  *Homère médecin* Paris, 1912


FRAENDER H, *Asklepios* Cop nh gen 1893

GARDNER P *New Ch pters in Greek History* London 18 2

GARRISON F H ‘The Greek C It of th De d nd th Chthom D iti in Ancient Medecn ,’ in *Annals of Med c l History*, 1917 30 53

The God of th Und rworld in Ancient Medicine in *Proceed gs of th Charak Club*, 1919 v 35 51

GIRARD P L’Asc ‘pio d’Ath ne d’après a réc t s déco v rt s P rin 1881 lo m Bibliothequ d’Éco es françauses d’Ath’n s et d’ Rome, X fasciculus xii

GOODWIN, W W ‘The H ro Physica in A erc Journ l of Archeology*, 1900 iv 16 16

GRUPPE, O, *Grechisch Mytho og u d Relg o sge chicht Mu nch* 1906

HALLIDAY W R  *Greek Dv ato* London, 1913

HARRIS J R Th Origi of the Cult of Aphrodit London 1 00

HARRISON, J E *The Mythology nd Mon ments of Anci nt Athe s* London 1890

Pr atw Athen as Described by Th cydides C bridget 1 06

Prologo ena to the Study of Gr ek Relg o Cambridget 1908


HERRLICH S *Epá uros, em antik Heilstatte* Berlin 18 8

HIPPOCRATES *Oper Omm*, Foesiu A d Gen v 1 62

HOUDART M S H tour d l médic grecque de puls Escu p jusqu’à Hippocrat exclusivement Paris 1856

JONES, W H S  *The Doctor’ O th Ca bridg*, 1924

KAIBEL, G ed *Epigram t Græca ex lapidibus con ect , no 1027* B rlin, 1878

KAVVADIAS P *Foulles d’Épidaure* Ath n 1893

KEIL K ‘Attisch Kulte u Inschrift n i *Phr ologus*, 18 xxiii 592 622

KOEPF F Di ttische Hy in *Mitthenungen des kaiser ich deutschen archeologischen Instituts in Athen*, 1885 x 255 271

KOHLS U, ‘Der Sudabh ng der Akropoh zu Athen nach d n Au grabungen der archeologischen Gesellschaft” in *ibid ,* 1877 u 229 260

KORTE A ‘Bezirk ein H lgott s, in *ibid ,* 1893, xvii 231 256 1896, xi, 287 332

Die att che Heilgotter und ihre Kultstatten in *Verhandlun*
THE HEALING GODS

gen der Gesellschaft der Naturforscher u d Arzte, 1899 lxx
446 447
KRETSCHMER P Ei est ng n ñ e Gesch oft der griechische
Spr che Gottingen 1896
KUBITSCHEK W nd REICHEL W B rcht uber eine im Som
m r 1893 u gefuhrt Rei e in Karien 1 Anzeiger der kaiserlichen
Akademie der Wisse schaften Philosophi ch historisch Classe, 1893
xxx 104
KUHN C G d Medicor Græcorum Opera Leipzig, 1821 1833
KUSTER, E Di Schle ng in der gr chi ch n Kun t und R ligion
in Relig ongeschichtlich Versuche und Vor rbeiten, 1913 xvi 1
172
LANG A Th Ho erc Age Londo 1906
LAWSON J C Mod r Gr ek Folk ore d Ancient Gr k R ligo
Cambrdg 1910
LE BLANT E, “750 in cription d prier gr v’ imédites ou peu
onnu in Mé ovr s de l’Institut n tro l s Fr ce Ac démi
des Inscription ons et Belles Ltr r pr1e 1898 xxxvi 1 210
LEGGE F ‘The Gr ek Worship of I nd Serap ’, in Proceedings
of th Soc ty of Biblical Archeo ogy, 1914 xxxvi 79 99
LÉTARD G A “Le m’dcan Char k L ermen de hippocrat t
l r mnnt de m’d cim hindou ” in Bulletin de l’Académie de
M d ci e, 3 r 1897 xxxvu 65 575
LITTRÉ M P E, Œ vres complèt d’Hippocr te 10 vol P r
1836 1859
MALGAIGNE J F L ttre sur ’h to re de l chr rg P r 1, 42
MAURY, L P A H stor à religio s de l Grèc antique P ar
1857 185
MERRIAM A C ‘Th Treatment of P ti nt th Temple of
Æsculapin , in Boston Medical nd Surgc Jour al, 1885 c 11,
304 305
‘Th Dog of Æ culapin in A ercan Antiqu na and Ori-nta Record, 1885 vu 285 289
‘Æ ul pia Rev led by In cription , in Transactions of the
New York Ac de y of Med cine, 1886 v, 187 217
MICHAELIS, A D St tue nd der Altar der Athena Hygiea, in
Mitth vu ger des kaiserlich deutschen archologischen Institutes th
Athê , 1876 1 284 294
MILNE, J C Gre k Inscription from Egypt Jour na of H
e i Studês, 1901, xxi 275 292
MOLLET M L Médecine chez les Grecs vant Hippocrate P r
1906
MULLER, C d Fr gment historicorum Græcoru Paris, 186
1883
MULLER K O D k aler der alten Kust, d Wie aler Gottingen 1854
NILSSON M P Griechische Feste von religiser Bedeutung Leipzig 1906
OSTHOFF, H 'Griechische und lateinische Wortdeutungen, in Indogermische Forschungen, 1895 v 275 324
PANOFKA T Die Heilgotter der Griechen' in Abh nadj ngen der königliche Ak de re der Wissensch ftten zu Berlin Philosophisch torische Clas e, 1843 257 274
'A kl po und di A klepi d n in ibid, 1845 271 359
PATER, W Gr ek Studies London 1910
Paton W R and HICKS E L Th Inscriptio of Kos Oxford 1811
PAUSANIAS De cr pt o of Gre ce, tr Frazer, J G 6 vol Lo do 1888
PRELLER R, Griechische Mythologie 4th d vol d Robert C B rhin 1887 1894
PROTT I von, and ZIEHEN L Leges Græcorum sacrae e t tibus collectæ Leipzig 1896
REINACH S L Cult d E enle pe in Revue archéologique, 3 r 1884, iv 76 83
'Les fouill s d Co in ibid, 4 r 1904, in 127 131
ROHDE E Psyche, 3d d Tubing n 1904
ROTH, R, 'Indisch Medicin C a k', in Zeitschrift der deutse org ländischen Gesellschaft, 1872 xvi 441 452
SCHENCK, L De Te espohro Deo Gottingen 1888
SCHMIDT C A, De Aristidius e cub tione Jena 1818
SCHULZE, W, Quaestio es episc Guter loh, 1892
SINGER, C Greek Biology and Greek Medicine Oxford 1922
THORLACIUS B D Sommus Ser præci r Aristidius or trombus s criis delineatus Cop nhag n 1813
THRAMER, E, Pergamos Leipzig, 1888
UFFELMANN J Die Entwicklu g der utgriechische H ilku d Belin 1885
VERCOUTRE A 'L M'd eine acedor l d n l natiqu' gr equ in Revue archéologique, 1885 vi 273 292 1886 vi, 22 26 107 123
WALTON A, Th Cut of A klepo Boston, 1894
WELCKER, F C A te Denkmalen Gottingen 1849 1864
Zu den Alt rthumer der Hein kunde b i den Griech (B d III Kleine Schriften) Bonn, 1850
Griechisch Gotte lehre 3 vol Leipzig 1 57 1862
THE HEALING GODS

WILLIAMOWITZ MOLLENDORF U von, Isyllo von Epidaurus, Berlin, 1886

WOLTERS P., 'Zur Ath. n. Hygiä i de Pyrrhos in Mittheilung des k is rich deutsche rchaologischen Instituts in Ath, , 1891 xvi 153 165

WROTH W. 'T 1 phoro in Journ. 1 of Hel. ic Studies, 1 in 283 300

'Hygiä i in bid., 1884 v 82 101

ZAREMBA V. 'D r Cult d. Ask i pro ' in Janus, 1904 1 0 6 11 1905 x 12 21

ZIEHEN J. 'Stud n u d n A kleio relief in Mittheilung ge d. kais rich deutsch rchaologich n I stituts i Athen, 1892 vii 229 251

ZINGERLE J. 'H ium ehrft von L bena' in bid., 189 xi 7 2

ROMAN

ALLBUTT T C., 'Gr k M diein in Ro ' in Brit h M die Jo r a, 1 09 n 1449 1455 1515 1592 1598 1606 1910 n 13 3 1401

ANDERSON J. Th T mple 0 AE cul piu ib d, 1887 u 904-905

ANONYMOUS M die ne nd M dieal Pr t t i on r in An i nt Rome in Practitio er, 1895 liv 59 63, 148 152

AUST E. D e Re gro der Romer Mun t r 1899

BARNES H. On Rom n M diein nd Rom n in erption found i Brit in in Proc edings of th Roy Soc t y of Medici e, 1 13 1914 vii Sect and of the History of M die ne, 71 87

BESNIER M. L I t b r d ns Va tquité P r 1871

BISHOP H L. Th Fount in of Juturna in th Ro an Foru in R cord f the P st, 1903 u 1 4 180

BOUCHAR LECLERCQ A. Les Pontifices de l'ncien e Ro P r 1871

BUCHLER F. Umbric Bonn 1883

BUCKLER W H. nd CATON, R., "Account of a Group of M die l nd Surigeal In trument found t Kolophon in Proceedi gs of th Roy l Society of M diein , 1913 1914 vii Sect and of the History of Medicine 235 242

BURET F. L Méd e ch z le Ro ins vant lère chr'ienne in J. us, 1896 1 517 526

CARTER J B., The Religio n of Numa London 1906

Th Religio n Life of Ancient Ro e Bo ton, 1911

CONWAY, R S. The Italic Dialects 2 vol C mbridg 1897

CORDELL, E F., The Medium and Doctors of Hor , in Bul et of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, 1901, xii 933 240
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Th M dcine nd Doctor of Juv nal ibid, 1903 xiv, 283 287

CRAWFURD, R, 'M rti 1 nd Medicine ' in Proceedings of th Roya Society of Medicine, 1913 1914, vi Section of the History of Medicine 15 29

CUMONT F Le Taurobole et le cult de B llone in Revue d’Hist toire et de Littérature religieuses, 1901, vi 97 110


DUPOUY E, Médicine t Mœurs de l’ancien Rome, d’ près e postes l tm Par, 1892

FOWLER W W Bo an Festivals of th Period of th Republic London 1899

The Religious Exp rence of the Rom n People. London, 1911

GAUTIER, CONTESSA, 'An Excursion to the Lake of N 1 d Cvat L vii in The Journal of the Britis American Archeologi cal Society of Rome 1890 1898, ii 448 454

GIBBON E The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire 6 vol London 1846

GLOVER, T R The Conflict of Religions in th Early Roman E pse London, 1909

HARTUNG, J A, Die Religion der Romer 2 vols Erlangen, 1836

HELME F Les m decin practica ns à Rome in Presse Médicale, 1910 xviii, 417 422

KISSEL F Die symbi ch Medici der Romer in Janus, 1848 vii, 385 418 577 674

LAFAYE, G Histoire du cult des divinités d 'Alexandrie, Ser pso, Iss, Harpcrate et Anubis, hors de l’Egypte Par, 1884

L’Initiation mithriaque P r, 1906 (in Ann les Bibliothèque de Vulgaris tro Musée Guimet Vol 18, 89 114)


LINDSAY, W The Latin Language Oxford, 1894

MARQUARDT J Romsche St tsverw ltung, vol ii d Wissow Leipzig, 1885

McKENZIE, D, ‘Som H ling Well and Water, with Sugge tion a to the Origin of th Votive Offering,’ in Proceedings of the Roya Society of Medicine, 1913 1914 vii, Section of the History of Med 177 192

MERCURIALIS H De Art Gymnastica V mce 1573
THE HEALING GODS

MOMMSEN T, The History of Rome 5 vols New York, 1903

PLATNER S B Th Topography nd Monuments of Ancient Rome Boston, 1911

PRELLER, L, Regionen der St dt Rom Jena 1846 Romische Mythology Berlin 1858

SAMBON L Bishop of Medical Inte r t in British Medical Journal, 1895 u 146 150 216 219

M dical Scen amongst the Anci nt Roman, in The Journal of the British American Archeological Society of Rome 1890 1898 u, 166 174

SOMMER F Handbuch der lateinschen La t und Formenlehre Heidelberg, 1902

SPON J Recherches curi uses d'antiq tés contenues en plusieurs dissert ions sur le méd iles, bas reliefs, statues, mosaics et m sor phons antiques Lyon, 1683

TOUTAIN J F L s Cultes paens dans l'empire romain 2 vol Pari 1907 1911

WALDE, A Etymologisches Wörterbuch der latei schen Sprache 2d d Heidelberg 1910

WISSOWA, G Die Religion u d Kult s der Romer Munich 1902 2d ed, 1912

CELTIC

ANWYL E The Celtic Religion London, 1906

DARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE H Principaux auteurs ` consulter sur l'histoire des Celtes P ri 1902

Le Dieu gauloi Belenu, l d'es de g uloi B h ma in Revue archéologique, 1873 xxv 197 206

DOTTIN G Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique 2d ed Pari 1915

Les anciens peuple de l'Europe Paris, 1916

L L ngue gaulo se Pari 1920

JULLIAN C Recherches sur l religion gauloise Bordeaux 1903

MacCULLOCH J A, Th Religion of the Ancient Cets Edinburgh 1911

Celtic Mythology, in The Mythology of All R ces, vol iii P rt

I Bo ton 1 18

NUTT A H, ed, M binogon London 1902

PEDERSEN H Verg echend Grammatik der keltschen Sprach n 2 vol Gottingen 1909 1913

RENEL C Les R ligio de Gaule av nt e chrsti e Pari 1906

RHYS, J C litc Britai 2d d London 1884

SCHRADER F Atl d g'ographie h storigu P ri 1
BIBLIOGRAPHY

STOKES W, "The Second Bttl of Moytura', Revue Celtique, 1891, vi 56 111
Urkeltscher Sprachsch tz Göttingen 1894
nd Strchan J Thesaurus Palaohibernicus 2 vol Cambridge
1901 1903

UNDSET I, "In en iom latine ritrov t nella Se ndin vi", in Bulle
tno dell' instituto di correspondens archologica, 1883 no 12 pp
234 238

GENERAL

BAAS H, Th History of Medicine, tr H E Hand r on New York
1885

BERNHEIM, H, De Suggestior 2d ed Pn 1887

BERTRAND, A, Tr té du So ambuhs Pn 1823

BLACK, W, Fo k Med ci e Londo 1883

BORDEU TH, De, Recherches sur l'histoire de édecn Pn
1882

BOUCHE LECLERCQ, A, Histoire de la div n to da s l' tigu té
4 vol Parn 1879 1881

BOUCHUT E, Histoire de l médic ci e Paris 1873

BRAID, J, Neurypnology London 1843

BRAMWELL J M, Hypnotis, its History, Pr ciue, d Th ory
Londo, 1903

BREYSIG, K, D, Entsteh g des Gotte ged kens und der Hei
bringer Berlin 1905

BRUZON, P, L Méd ci t les religio s Pn 1 04

BUCK A, The Growth of Medicine from the E rliest Tr s to about
1800 New Hav n 1917

CATON R, The Gods of He ling of th Egypti n nd Gr k 1
N tur (Londo ), 1907 Ixxv 499 500

COMRIE J D, "Medecine among th A syran nd Egypti n in
bout 1500 b c" in Edinburgh Medical Journal, 1909 p 101 129


CUMONT F, Textes et monuments figurés rel tifs ux mysteres d
Mithra 2 vol Bru l 1896 1899

The Mysteries of Mithra Chicago 1903

The Orient l Religions in Roma Pag msm Chicago, 1911

Astology nd Re ign mong the Greeks and Romans New
York, 1912

CUTTEN, G B, Three Thousand Ye rs of Med New York,
1911

DAREMBERG CH, L Médicine, histoire et doctrines 2 vol Pari
1865

Histoe des scienc s médic les 2 vol Pari, 1870

and SAGLIO, E, Docto n ve des "viquit" grecques et ro
maines Paris 1873 1911
DEUBNER L *De Incub tro e Leipzig* 1900
ELLIOIT J S, *Outlines of Greek and Roman Medicine* N w York 1914
ELOY N *Dictes et histoires de l médecine ancienne et moderne* 4 vol Mon 1778
* Greece and B lylo* Edinburgh, 1911
FASBENDER H, *Geschichte der Geburtshu 1e* J na 1906
FRANZER, J G *The Golden Bough* 3d d 12 vol London nd New York 1 07 1915
FRIDAULT F *Histoire de médecine* 2 vol Paris , 1870
GARRISON F H, *A Introduction to the History of Medicine* 3d d Philad lphi 1921
GASTI L F *Abr'gé à 'histoire de médecine* Paris 1835
GAUTHIER L P A, *Recherches historique s r l'exercice de la méd cm à ns les temples, chez les peup es de 'ntiquité* Paris 1844
HAESER H, *L hr buch der Geschichte der Medicin* 3 vol J na, 1875 1882
HAMILTON M *Incub tion, or the C ure of Dise se in Pag n Temp e d Christa Church s London* 1906
HARRIS, J R *The Cult of the Heav nly Twins* C mbridg 1906
HASTINGS J, *d Encyclopaedia of Religion d Ethics* 12 vol Ed nburgh 1910 1922
HECKER J F K *Geschichte der H ilkund* 2 vol B rl n, 1822 1829
HEIM R I c nt M gue Græc L t vi Leipzig 1892 al 0 1
* J hr buch zur philos ophij , 1893 ix 463 565
HERRLICH S A t ke W nderkuren B rl n 1911
HIRSCHELL, B, *Co penh der Geschichte d r Medicin* V ien 1862
HOLLANDER E *P ist e Me dus* Stuttgart 1912
HOPF L *Die H igotter nd Heal st tten des Altertums* Tubing n 1904
ISENSEE E *Die Geschichte der Mediz* nd Huflswissenschafte vol Berlin 184
JAMES E O, *Primitive Ritu l and Belief* London 1917
LAWRENCE, E, *Primitive Psycho Therapy* nd Q ckerby Bo ton 1910
LECLERC D *Histoire de médecine* 2d ed Amsterdam, 1702
LEGGE, F *Forerunners nd Riw ls of Christianity* 2 vol Cambridge 1915

MCKAY W J S. *Ancient Gynecology*. New York, 1901

MEIBOMIUS J H. *Disputatio de Incubatione in fine ætatis deorum ed in causa olim facta*. Helmstadt 1659

MENZIES A. *The History of Religions*. London 1895


MILNE J S. *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*. Oxford 1907

MOLL A. *Hypnotism*. 5th ed. London 1901

MOORE, G E. *The History of Religions*. New York, 1913


NEUBERGER M. *The History of Medicine*. London 1910


OSLER SIR W M. *The Evolution of Modern Medicine*. New Haven 1921


PAULY WISSOWA, *Real Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1894-1922

PUSCHMANN T. *The History of Medical Education*. London, 1891

RAWLINS G. *The History of the Medical Sciences of the Ancient World*. New York 1913


RITTERSHAINE G. *Von der eddischen Wunderglube und dem Altertum*. Berlin, 1878

RIVERS, W H. *Medicine, Magic and Religion*. New York 1924

ROSCHER, W. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig 1884-1922

SAYCE A H. *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. New York 1902

SCHRADER O. *Ubriges aus dem germanischen Alterthumskunde*. Strasbourg 1901


SOZINSKY T S. *Medicinal Symbolism*. Philadelphia 1891

SPIEGEL F. *Die römische Periode und ihre Zunahme*. Leipzig 1887


THORNDIKE L. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science in the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*. 2 vols. New York 1923
TOURTELLE E, *Histoire philosophique de l médecine* Paris 1804
USENER H *Gotternamen* Bonn 1896
WEINREICH, O *Antike Heilungswunder* Gie en 1909
WELLCOM, H S *Historic Medical Museum* London 1913
WITHERTON E T *The History of Medicine from Earliest Times* London, 1894
WITKOWSKI, G J *Accouchement à tous les peuples* Paris 1896
WORCESTER, E, and MCCOMB S, *Religion and Medicine* New York, 1908
INDEX

A
ab to, the 230, 265, 266, 2673, 279, 280, 304, 305
Abeon, 496
Abnub, 51
Abomnu, 415, 423
Abydos, 13, 23, 46, 56, 174, 79
A complisher, th 349
A etu, 417
Achmemnon, 13, 23, 46, 56, 174, 79
Achreka, 234, 324, 343
Acheloos, the sacred river, 232, 304, th nymph, 342
Achill, 212, 21, 218, 355, 356
Adad, 99, 103, 113
Addu, 519
Adona, 496
Aditya, the 161, 169, 188
Adon, 464
Æolus, th, 255, 466, 471, 472, 474
Æolus, th, Ro Asklepios, 139, 141, 303, 402, 403
40, 40, 411, 437, 464, 474, 492, 515, the cult of in the Ltn province, 472, 474, increased authority of the cult of under th E pure, 471, 472
After life Egypt, viw of the 12, 17, 18, B bylom n view of th 96, the Gr k conception, of th 206
Aga d, 356

Ag edes, 351, 352
Agenontas, 497
Agma, 161, 162, 166, 1, 7, 170, 171, 173, 1, 6
Agmonhotr, the god of th, 167
Ahriman, 182, 184, 185, 194
Ahura Mazda, 177, 182, 186, 188
189, 190, 192, 195
Ahurami, 187, 188
Aignos, 315, 317, 340, 343
Aigleros, 246
Aiglaos, 247
Aigle, 241, 246, 247
Aineas, 214, 311, 338
Airmen, 184
Arimed, 514
Airvamas, 188, 189
Ake, 355
Akesos, 355
Akesid, 355
Aketos, 60, 248, 292, 348, 349
Akro, 247, 248, 264, 280
Akkad, 91, 106, 123
Akkopolis, the 268, 335, 357
Albun, of Tiber, 3, 8
Alemona, 497
Alexander the Gr at, 103, 132, 181, 204, 293, 298
Alaxander, 60, 67, 68, 77, 79, 240, 299
All, or, 249, 355
Alexid, 355
Alkidas, 355
Alkmis, 321, 328, 329, 355
Alkon, 355
All, 96, 104, 118
INDEX

Amenti 14 17
Am rat tat, th Ame ha Spent
  Immortality 183 185
Ame ha Spenta, th, 182, 183
  185 186 190 192 195
Amon, 29, 68, 77
Amon hot p, 62
Amon Re, 29, 60 68, 71
Amphar os 234, 303 306
Amphiklea, 205 221 234, 318
Amphilocho, 356
Amphitrite, 322, 355
  mrt, th 149 168 174 175
Am’ta, 161
Am ha p nd ee Am sha Spn
ta
Amynos, 268 356 358
Anagtha Duva, 417
Anaxgor, 239
Anaximandros, 239
A c t 417
Ang rona, 416 417
Angin, 461
Angti, 416, 417
Angra Minyu 182, 185 187 193
Angtri des the 339
Angtro, the mv r 339
Anum ls deshe incarn te in 7
  53 222 223 die of 40
  187 crific of 277 388 u
  of in healing 283 285
Ann Perenn 417 418
Antevorta 377 494
Antikyreo, 358
Antonunu 264, 266 268
Anu 93 108 111 118 124
Anubis 13 15 59 479
Anum ti, 160 note
Anunitu, 123
Anq t, 53
Apah, 156 162

Apala 171
Apaosh, 195
Aphrodite 58 65, 123 132 133
  190 221 264 304 306, 323
  324 335 384
Apiodoro, 358
Api the Egyptian god, 53 55, 75
  77 79, 491 the Gre k her 358
Aph the Etruscan Apollo 475
Apollo, 60, 204, 205 208, 215, 216
  217 218 222 223 224 225, 229
  233, 241 242, 243, 244 246 251
  252 253 258 265 27 281 282
  286, 294 296 299, 301 304,
  306 310, 311 318 320 321 323
  328 338 339, 340, 341 342,
  350 a Roman god 384 392
  403, 440 474 478, a C lt
  god 506 511 515 518
Apollo Nomos s e Ari tao
  Apolloma and A klepiei, the,
  295 297
‘Apop, the arch fiend 21
Apva, 152
Aqui Abulae the 408
Aralu, 96
Archagete, 260
Ardokho, 191
Ardunn, 519
Aredvi Sura Anahita 189 190
Aro pago, the Council of the
  295
Arie, 196 224 432
Argo 306 329, 335
Arirphon of Sikyon 334
Ari tao 310 311, 339
Arist rehos, 233
Arneste, 233, 247 256 267 278
  279
Ari thana, 246
Ari tom cho 358
INDEX

Arstophan, 250 281 284 299
Arstotil 219, 237 249
Ark dia, 202 204 247 252
Armaiti, 190
Aroueris, or Horu th Eld r 59
Arsinoe 245, 247
Arippo, 247
Artagne 196
Artemi, 319
Art mi, 84, 142, 10 216, 223
296, 306, 307, 311 313, 316, 319
320, 321, 322 323 328 337
342, 445 447, c u n rvou
311
Artemis Hek te 264 326
Artemis ion, the, 313
Aryan, 161
Aryan the of India 145 146
A arhaddon King of Tyre, 137
A ha Vahista, 185
A hi 186 190 191
A hima(t) 136
A horeth th H br w A t rt
313
aπρε πρε , the 105 107 112
A klep klpid 1
A klpid 1, th 22 235, 236
241, 251 271 273, 296 330
467
A klepia t 1 th 275
A klepia the (temple ) 64, 234
254 281, 300
Asklepia the (f rival ) 294
295
Askl pio I m hotep identifi d
with, 64 S rap i a rival of 79,
Tho the Egyptian 82 Esh
mun identified with, 132, 137
139, 141 Dhanv nt r n the In
dian, 166, practiced healing
205, 211, 224 225 229 incuba

tion at the shrine of 221 in
carnate as erpent 222, son
of Apollo 225 early environ
ment, 226, cures by, 230 231
285 291 in criptions in h
sanctuaries, 233, 299 cruces
to, 234, rational methods used
in hrmes of, 236, 299 co
operation with physicians, 237
rivality of foreign cult 237
238, the representativ Gr ek
god of h aling 238, the divine
xemplar of physician 239
h traditional life and the de
velopm nt of the cult of 240
303, a 'blameles physician,
240 302 parentage nd birth
legend 244 247 family of
247 251 rai es th dead 251
dead and burial plae 251 252
cult development 252 259 dea
fication of 253 254 hrmes of,
254 270 image and emblem
of, 258 259 auxiliary dete of
the cult of, 259 260, rituals of
th cult of, 275 285 festv ls
of 294 298 recapitulation, 301
303 effigy on coin with Apollo
310 image near the Akropolis
314 a ocati on with D meter
317, reputed pre ene of Eilei
thya at the birth of, 319 wor
hipped with Heto 327 a so
ciated with Herakle, 330, 331
h daughter Hygieia 333 th
reputed on of Sydyk 336
ocated with Maleat, 338
imitated by Sabazios, 346, like
n of Sarapi to 347 348
repre ented with Telesphoros on
coin 350 likenes of Tropho
mo to 351 the cult of Amyno
b orb ed by, 357 358 brought
to Rome as Æ cul p nu , 402
464 466
A p ia 306
A sur 94, 122, 124
A urbanpal 90, 98 101 106
122
A yr ia ee B byloma and As
yr ia
A t rt 58, 66, 123 133, 136 138
141 142 306
A trilogy, u e of in Babylom n
divin tion, 100 id ntif d with
the cult of Mithr, 193 in
Ro 3 4 pra tic d by th
priest of Mithra 490
A tro o , 13
A Su, or asu, B bylom n phy
in 105 120
A vin th 153, 159 163 164,
168, 169 not 170, 173
At rgal , 389 484
At , 6, 12
Ath m , 329
Ath r v da, the di e e m 151
153, tre tm nt f m 155 159
Ath n 72 204 205 22 251
264 281 297 30, 313 315, 322,
333 344 345 435
Ath n , 239, 299 306 313 314
317 319 321 326 328 332 333
335, 338, 354 th A kl pino
t 233 234, 257 258 260 268
269, 271, 272, 275 276 277 278,
281, 284 295 293 294
Ath o t, Kng 31
Athwy a, 194
Atrey a, 161 not
Atis 34
Atum 9 10, 11
Atum Re 9 71
Auge, 322
Augury 381 382
Angu ta Spe , 444
Auharmazd 184
Auharmazd e Ahura Mazda
Auxe ia, 315, 316, 317 343
Av nti 515
Averruncu 494
Avesta, the, 181 184, 185
Axier 336
Axion r 336
Axioskos 336
A e io e Aux 1
Azhi Dah k 189 194, 197
Azo 101 ee Aux 1

B
b, the Egypti noul 19
B ‘al 78 133 134, 136 138
B’l marpe 135
Babylon the illnes of Al xander
th Gre t at 103
B byloma nd A yr i the h al
ing god of, 89 128, civiliz
tion of 91 2 r lgion nd
d iti of 91 103
B ecban h th 432
Bacchu e Liber
b s, th b neficent Egypti n
pirit 21
Bakhtan stel , th lgend of 70
Baki 359
bāru pr e t interpreter of vi on
102
B t, or B tet e Ub t t
Bu m of Gul, 121 10 f
I htar 123
B tle, the Khepri 10
B l, 107 111 113, 128
B lenus 511 512
INDEX

Bêl Harran, 128
Bel iipur 78
B rim p pyru 3027 38, 3033 27 36, 3038 37, 46 48
Br o o, 90 189
Br ytos, 138 139 140
B or Bes 55 56, 57 132
Bh 161
Bh ayy guru nd Bh jy r j 1 0, 164 165
Bharadv j , 161 not 168 not
Bo t of Million of Ye r th 11 20 61
Booza 202 213 242 329 330
Bon De , 316 418 420, 422
Book of th D d th 14 17, 21 65 81
“Book ’ of th Cum n Sibyl 383 385 392 401 402, 464 467
Bormo Borvo
Bor ipp 106, 125
Borvo, 512 513
Boul q P pyru th , 37
Bountiful god , th , 2 5
Br hm³ 151, 165, 166, 1 169
not , 170
Br h n s, the 149 150 163
165 172 173 175
Br hman m 147 148
Brh p ti 165 166
Briganti e Brigt
Brng ndo, e Brigt
Brigt 513
Brit m, cult of Minerva m, 435
altar to Aê culapun and Slu m 438 474 cult of Aê cul piu m 473 474 Tele phoro m 474, Hygiea m, 474
Brтом rtu Sw t M id 313
Brug ch Papyru the, ee Berh Papyru 3038
Buddhism, 148
Bull, Apis worshipped in the f rm of, 53 55
Buto the city of 12 61 67 72
84 85
Buto (the godd ) Uzot 1 o Uto
Byblo 133 139
Byr 142
C
C aran op ration 332
Ca a C cil, or T naquil, 420
C ndelifera 494
Canopus, the S rapeu at, 7
Capp doc 190 389
Carment , or C rm nti 444 445
C r a 458 459
Carn ria the 458
Carth e 140, 141 142 25
Catus 497
C uldron of r novati n the 510
C l u 410
Celt , th ne nt record of th 503 religion and detu of th 504 509 the he ling god f the 511 521
Cent urs th 296 s l o Ch i ron
C r ali n H reul , the 428
C r omal, s e Rite and ritu l
Cere 316 384 431
Chairemon, 52
Ch ld an, the 95 193
Ch Idan th 394, 487
Ch o ee Tiamat
Ch r k, 152 169 not , 274 ote
INDEX

Christianity, gained supremacy over the cult of Isis, 481 by the cult of Magna Mater, 486 antagonism to by the cult of Mithras, 489 ruly Father a of the cult of Sb in 491

Chthonic deities and cult Greek

203 209 212 214, 216 217
218 223 224 e al o Under world

Chyavana, 164 170

Chytron, the or 'Hot Pot', 331

Cicero, on divination 409 413

414

Cmxi 494

Cisti 191

Citie, local deities of 8 10 lo 1 healing divinity of 32 33 deities of, in Babylonia and Assyria 92 94

Civita Lucum 73

Chumnu 420

Cloaca 400 461 462

Clodiu, th acnleage of 420

'Coffin Text', 17 18

Colchicum th discovery of 3 5

Coll ge of ÆE culapiu and H alth the 471

Comitia, 445

Computah th e Larah

Conception Ino, godde of 451

Concordia, 415

Cont tellation, th Ophioucho 56, Satabhisaj 178 Hapto ring, 186 Sagittarum, 360

Con ultation, the with Apis 54 s Is H rme 332

Cont gion not r cognis d by th Gr eck 224

Children Be, r Be, protector of 55 Epet or Uret protector of 57 I i killed in treatment of, 66, Ub tet, protector of 84 Aphrodite, cherub of, 306 L to protect of, 338 Roman minor deity and numina of 496 499
Convalescence 549
Corinth 32, 35
Corpus Hippocr 

tum, th te for ten tillity in 37, 48 it of honoring th god 276 the ba of ub qu nt medical tudi 299
Cr t 216, 285
crobolus, the 443, 497
Curbr r mat r, 420
Cumae n Sibyl, th 382 384 475
Cumae n, 443, 497
Cur e H aling
Curiti, 494
Cur e Gaut 170
Cypru 135 285

D
Daen 190
Damon, the, ee D mon, Gr k
Dak a 161 166, 168 169 not
D ktylo th, 336, 345 361
Damav nd Mount 194
Dami, 315, 316, 317 343, 419 422
D mkina 120
Damon, 513
Darron, 355
D r e A vin, th
D umi 250
D Caeli ti, 141 448, 484
Dea Febru 462
D Quartana 462
Dea Tertiana, 462
Dead, the, trial of th, 14 17 en dowment for the 17 18 m gi cal provi ion for 18 r i ed to life by Asklepio 251, ee al o
Underworld Aft r life

D cum, 495
Defic tion the of Ak tio 253 254
Derr r B rri, th temple of 55 57
Demet or 6, 14, me rrate in animal 7 53 local, 8 10 cosmic nd tribal, 10 11 h al ing 32 33 52 86 B bylon i nd As yr an 89 128 attitud tow rd man, 98 dream 101 102 he l in 117 128 Phoeni cian, 132 142, Indian, 146 148 he l in 160 178 Iran heal ing 187 197, Greek, r l tion with m n 203, function of 205 ethman 209 213, inear nate in animal 222 223 he l ing, 240 354 a faded deity 351, Roman functions of 376 378 the inv ion of Itali nd Greek, in Rom, 384 385, di ea, 399 402 Roman heal ing 414 464 of child birth 442 466 of the Und rworld 456 460 of dise e 461 464 for eign healing 464 494 minor and m mini of child birth and childr n, 494 499 Celtic he l ing, 511 521
D los 204, 307 312, 321, 337
Delphoi shrine nd or ele at 205 207, 218 225 233 241, 243, 252 301, 307 309 350
Demeter 65, 142, 206, 211, 212, 264 269, 295 316 317, 324 327 33 337, 340, 341, 342 343, 384 431
Demigods the 210 213 355
D ok de, 239 271
Demon nd Demonology Egyp
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>Diron 2, 39 B bylom n nd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 550  | INDEX   | A yr n, 95 99 104, appe l to, 113 114 Vedic, ppe l to 148, 154 155 lan by amulet, 158, Namucu 170 conflict with the god, 175 Ap o h, 195 Greek, 204, 207, 212, 213, 247 Demo then, 282 D v rra, 436, 443, 495 D vour, Sobk, th, 15 D xion, 358, 361 Dhrvat, 1, 1, 169, 170 Dv M nes, th, 379, 460 Da 142, 313, 450, 519 Lucina child birth deity 377, 442, 445, 448 Di n eht 514, 518 Dion 322, 353, 355 Dio y ion the 318 Diony o 132, 141, 204, 205, 206 211, 221, 229, 232, 234, 237, 266, 267, 297, 317, 318, 323, 329, 332, 336, 346, 366, 3, 4, 431 Dio kourou the 137, 163, 280 361, 362 Diron e Siron Dr, 459, 460 Di Anetibu, 417 Di P t r Di Dl e e in Egypt, 34 de crib d in th p pyry 38, 9 c u of 39 40 god suffered from 41 Egyptu n dl gno i of 43 Babylon n nd A yr n view of 89, 0 c u e of 103 104 Ayr n vi w of 145 a d crib d in th V die lit r tur 150, 159 m 2 l e r ligio t treat ment of 155, 156 Tr m n cures for 184, 186 of nm ls, 187 Gr k vi w of, 201 crib d to uperm n agenc 223 224 c u d by Apollo 307 308 by Artemi, 311 Rom n vi w of, nt by the gods 398 a dete 399, 402 dete of c rtain, 461, 464, 46 C lte vi w of 509 Diu Fidu 420, 428, 430 Divination Egypti n 28, 29 Apo consulted for 54 B bylom n nd As yr n 99, 100, Sh mash lord of 127 Gr k o cle 217 222, 347, at Delphoi 307, 30 by Sarapis 347 introduce d into Ro 383, 384, Cic ro tidy of 409, 413, 414 Divin book th Egypt a 5 34 Divine word Thoth Lord f th 80 Divod a King of 1 168 Dodona 204 or cl t 218, 221, 353, 354 Dog it r the 308 Dog u ed in he ling 230, 285 411, 412 the bound the ym bol of Hek t 326 Domludeu, 497 Don ri, e Off ring, votiv Dormtori ab ion Dre m oracle Egyptian 30, 31 of S r pi 50, 78, of Thoth 83 in B bylom 103, Gr k 219, 220, 234, 281, 335, 347 Ro n 40 Dr m, 29, 31, 100, 103, 219, 222 281, 282, 305, 318, 325, 407 413, 414 e i o Oracel
INDEX

Drug of Egypt 44-45
Babylonian 112
Drudi 507 508
Dry p 191
Dry d, the 339
Du t th Egypt n Underw rld 11

E
E of Eudu 78 93, 94 9 103
107 112 118 120, 121 124 125
126, 127 347
E Ap u 94 119 125
E ru th Fl ld of Ru h 19
Eb r P pyru th 35 36 37, 45
5 66 67
Edfu 8 10 33 41 59 1 3 9
Edu 377 497
Eg ri 448
Egypt the evih ation of 3 6
rigion nd d iti f 5 31 th
h aling god of 52 86
Eil ithyi 73, 123 204 229 312,
319 323, 326 329 442, e l o
Ilithyi
Eil ithyi, the, 317 319, 328
Eil ithyi pol 72
Eilion th 322
Elag b l of Eme a 487
El ph ntin , 53 72
El u m, the 294 295 316
El u t th My terre of 20
211 295, 316, 340 343
Eleutho 317 323
Eli , 325, 329
Empedokle 239
Enchantr of Egypt I t th
66
Enki the lord of the l nd, 118
Enlil 93, 118, 124 126 128
Enne d, of god 9

Epagomen l day the e Int r
calary
Ep ph o Epaphio , 323, 354
Ep t 55, 56 57
Eph be the of Tel phoro 295
350
Eph o 298, 313
Epid ur th 294 295
Epid uro 234, 235, 243 245 246
247 248 252 253 254, 25 257
259 260 266, 269 270 271
272 275 276, 277, 285, 291, 2 3
294 295 29 300 301 30 312
315 317 327 333 334 338, 343
fe tv t 295 297
Epid uro Lum ra, 255 257
Epidem Egypt n bl f con
cerning, 40 Æ cul pu nd
l ter 402 403 al o Pesti
1 nc
Epilep y th of Her kl 329
Epumede 355
Epim nd 239, 355
Epio 247
Epona 247 248 261 264
Erato, 342
Er hkigal e All tu
Erbote 355
Erua, 99, 119, 123, 124, 125
Erropi 245
Eru a, Conption 127
E Sagila, 94, 102 103, 117, 125
E t e I t
Eshmun, 135 141, 142, 473
Eshmun A tart 132, 140 141
Eshmun z r, King of th Sido
man 140
Etrusean, th , 382
Euam rion 60 247 248, 34 349
Eudoxo , 48
Euaxi 334
Eukrates, 231
Euro to, 355
Eury th u, 328
Exorei m, 107, 112, 228
E Zida, 125

F
Fabulino, 497
Faridun, ee Thraet ona
F enu, 421, 443
F ting, 232, 278, 410
F. to Sribund, 497
F tu e F una
F tu, 11a ee F un
Fatullu Faunu
F tuu e F una
F una, 418, 419 421 422
Faunus, 398, 422, 424
Febri 462, 463
Febria 451, 495
Februlis, 495
Februu, 424, 495
F cundit 424
F licita, 410
Feralia, the, 457
F rom, 425
F or, 426
F stir 1 Egypt i n religiou 23 24, of L mp 72, of Numb 126 Gr ek th A kl pt 1 Eleu im, Epid ura M gal A kl pt 1a Panathenai 294 298, of A phar o, 305 th P nathenai 313 th Litho bol, 315 th Gr ater nd Les er Eleu im, 294 295 312, of H r 329 of I in Greece 335 the Prom thea, 345 the Sab za 346, Roman religiou 350 381, of Angeron 416 417 of Anna Perenni, 418 of Bon Dea 419, th Faunaha Ru tic 422, 423 the Luperc l 423 th Bacch n h 432 the M di trnah 434 the Quinquatru 435 th N ptunah 435 436 th Saturn l 438 439 of Sor ru, 440 the Sacra Arg o ru, 441 the Volturn ha, 441 the Carment ha, 445 the M trnah, 451 of Iuno Regn 451 the Non Caprotin 452 the Insurnalia, 452 th M tr l, 453 th Opicon vi, 455, the Opalia, 455 th Con uah, 455 th Fr l 457 the L muria 457 458 th P rent l 457 th Carnalia 458, the Laraha, 460 of I in Rome 482, the Magna 483, of M gn Mter, 485 Sol In victu, 490 of the Brands 516 Fec rus, 422
Firld of Ru the, 15 16 19
Fir., ritu l of 99 Indian deity of 161, Greek deity of 344
Fluom, 495
For Fortun, 426
Fortun, 426 428
Fortun B rhata, 497
fravashs, the, 187
Fredun e Thraet on
Fretun e Thraet on

G
G 1a, e G
Galen, 273, 278
G 1 no, 230
Galinthi, 321
Gallengal or Galli, the 325 346, 484 486
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaok rena tree the mir culou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘All Healer, 184, 186 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G rgganc, Mount 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G ul, cult of Apollo in 478 healing god of 511 521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautam, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ge, or Gai 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G n tyllides the, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen tyll 240 306, 323 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genit M na 448 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnmt h 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnmu the ‘good di on 213 the Roman person l divinity 379 419, 428, 430 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibil 93 99 109, 111 121, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giru se Gibil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gl uko 225 251 368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glykon the f l d ity 368 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gommu, 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gok rt tree G ok r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gok r no plant the 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Good Godd the cult of th Bo D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorga o 249 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorgon th blood of th 229 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr co Rom n religion, th , 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grah 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr v t th 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr no 515 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr at r Berlin Papyru th B rlm Papyru 3038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr e r lation with Ph mi 132 the Mithra cult in 193 religions and d itie of 201 222 the healing god of 240 369 influence on Rome 387 388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grieae Nymphae, 519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gula, 121, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gungu, 160 note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hade, 205 206 210 211 212 221 232, 234, 251 324 325, 336, 342 343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall of Roll, t Heliopolis, the 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H m dryad th 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammurabi the Cod of 105 favors Marduk, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H nd th laying on of, 229 230 318, 323 354 411, 4 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H o a 175, 189 190 191 192, the Whit, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H ptouringa 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H ra akhti Horus of the Horizon’, 10, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp khrad ee Harpokr te Harpokr t or Horn the Child, 59 60 62 70 348 479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H rri M gie Papyru th , 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har uer or Horn th Eld r 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haruspi e, the Etrus e n 382, 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hat hor 8 9, 10 24 46, 57 58, 59 64, 5 71 73 77 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H urvatat the Am h Spent H ith 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H li g the Egypt n rt of 3 4 31 33, method of 42 48, Ave tan divi on of th art of nd th holy t xt, 185 1 6, e rly Gr ek method nd cur 226 235 the dir et m thod of religiou 223 231 th ndir et m thod of 231 religiou and mir culou cure , 233 235 for eign cur 237 238 Greek tem ple of 257 259 an attribute of th Asklepi dai 273 tabl ts re l ting cure , 285 291 gift of, po esed by Dionysos, 318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lack of specific det ne of in th
Roman panth on 397 398
rly Rom n effort of 399
406 408 magic 404 406 Patr:
in custom of 405 Æscula
pu nd ch rlat ns 408 cep
ticism toward cult he ling 413
414 the rt of ds over d by
Apollo 477 C the pr et of
50 510
H h g Ath n th 314
H lth C rthage, 'City of th
King of 140, Th Health B
towing On 168 Hygian the
Gr k guardian nd godde of
332 334 437 S lu , or Hygian
th Rom n godde of 437 438
ol leg of Æ e lapu and 471
Hear t M dieal P pyru th, 36,
47
H v n Son th Diony o
H k t 223 224 311, 322 3 3
326, 340
H k w 47
H ktor 355
H le n , 362 363
H lo poli , 9 10 11 13, 20, 23
33 40, 48, 5 1, 71
H lo 132, 241 246, 247 252
264 327, 337
H loth rapy, 173, 327
H ph r tos 76, 327 328, 344, 345
H q t, 53, 67, 74, 85
H r , 204, 224 264, 312 319, 320
321, 322 323, 327, 328 329, 330
337, 449
H raki 1a, 339
Herakl eadai, 250 330
H r kl , 133 196, 224 250 321,
328, 329 331, 344, 360, 429 as
he 1 r, 205, 22 , 243 269 304
330
H rul e 330 428 429
Hermaphrodit, birth of a 444
Herm 32 83 204 245 281, 304
314 331 332, 334 338
H rmopolis, 9 26 33 34 6 , 83
dical library in th templ
at 82
H ro and H rme th wor hip
of, 213 214 d e e crib d
to 223 224 h t of Greek, 240
355 369
H ro I tro , 363
H t, 53, 305
H r rakopoli , 15, 59 72, 82
H r u the 270 272
Hierodul th 133
hke', 24 25 42 48 Thoth th
g d 80
Hippokr te Ch r k , th Hindu
152 1 mn diet tie from r
cord d n rr tv of eures 235
de e nt of tr dition 1 h aling
to 238 Oath of 273 274 th
rt of 't k g up th t ff
297, e lo Corpus Hippo
cratou
Hippolyto , 251 455
Hippon 247
Hirpi Sorani the 440 477
Hom, th white, 184 191
Homer, hi opinion of phy 10 n ,
51 hi r fer nees to A klop to
240 241, 245
Honos 415
Horai th 320, 350
Horn (Horus the Child H r
pe khr d, or Harpokr t ) 13
14, 15, 21, 33, 41, 58 62, 64, 5,
6, 70, 71, 73, 74 85, 348,
| Insula S era the, 255 402, 441 | Jupiter Optimus Maximus 392 429 431 |
| Inula Thib rin ee Inul Sacer | Iuturna 452 |
| Intercaley day 39 40 59 64 | Iuturn li the 452 |
| 74, creation of, by Thoth, 81 | Iuvent 498 |
| Intercudona, 436, 495 | Ivao or Ivavu 520 |
| Interpretors of vision 102 | |
| Inunu e Funu | |
| Io, 323 | J |
| Ion, 350 | Jami m 148 |
| Ionide, or Ionade, th, 339 | j asa, 157, 172 |
| Iphykles, 355 | Jambha, 152 |
| Iran, religion of, 181 183, th | Jam h t 197 |
| healing god of 187 197 | |
| Inns, 321 | K |
| Irman ee Airyam n | ka, the Egyptian incorporeal re- |
| Ischys 244 245 | flection of the body 18 19 40 |
| Isht r 93 101 104 121 123, 133 | Kabeira, th 337 |
| 136 306 | Kabeiroi the, 137 336 337, 362 |
| Isid 1 the, 348 | Kahun Papyrus th, 35 |
| IIs, in Egypt 12 13, 21 25, 26, | Kairo 355 |
| 29, 30, 33 41, 46, 47, 50, 58 59, | Kallhope, 340 |
| 60 61, 62 64 68, 71, 73, 74, 78, | Kalliphon, 339 |
| 79 81 84 85 132 in Greece | Kalliphon 271 |
| 221 237 269, 335 336, 346 348 | Kalymna, 298 |
| in Rome 389 394 395 478 483, | K m hka King, 196 |
| 484 492 | K p neus 251 |
| Island of Æsculapu th e Inula S era | Karnak 29 33 69 77 |
| Island of the Epidaurina serpent | Karneos, 309 |
| e Inula Sacer | Ka’t, 168 |
| Iteruca 497 | Ksar el ‘Agâ, the temple of, 63 |
| Ithome, 242, 246 | Kastor, 163 361 362 |
| Iug or Iug h, 49 | Kenchreaui, 256, 335 336 |
| Iug timu 498 | K p hios, the cred river 232 |
| Iuno, 142 328 419, 424 | 304, the nymph, 342 |
| Lucan 323 337 442 444, 449 | Kerkida 301 |
| 452, the Rom n p r on l deity | Khepri, 10 |
| 379 449 | khpr h b, th 26 42 64 |
| Iupit r Cælu, 396 | Khnûmu 53, 72 74, 85, 86 |
| | Khonsu or Khon 29 33 68 71 |
| | 84 |
INDEX

Khon u Horu 68
Khufu or Ch op , 27
khau, Egyptian evil print , 21
Kirke, 327 337
Klytid th , 365
Knud n sent ne ' 299
Knudos 235 239 247 250 2 0
271 276 299
Kono 337
Kolehi 242 3 4
Koli d th , 324
Koman of Pontu, 3 9
Kopto, 29, 33, 67
Kor , 206, 211, 295, 316, 317 337
343, 384 431 i o Lib r
Korom 244 247 319
Koryb nt th 137 224 296,
345, 361 363 364, 484
Ko 235 239 247 249 250 255
256, 257 259 260, 269 270, 271
272, 276 277 2 4 297 299 330
Kour t the 33 345 3 1, 363
364
Kourotrophi , 323
Krono 316 324 345 438
Kroton 239 260
K try , 15 168
Kyb l 133 224 345 346 389
484
Kyklap , the 251
Kyll ne 256 260
Kynorhoi, Mount 261, 26 267
292, 308 338
Kyno oura 252
Kyr ne, 256 260 276 277 299 310

L
Laha, 5°0
L komi 241 252 255 25
L mpeta 247
Lamp, th f tIV l of 72
'Land of the Wet, e W st
Lapithai, the 244 245
Lar 378 421
Laraha th 460
Lar the 460
Larva, th, 456
L tium 'L gu of, 447
L tu, 4 8
L tona 33 403
L w Thoth Lord of 80
Leb dea 205 223 234 351
L b n 230 260, 261, 272
L cho 322
l ctuster 1a, th 385 401 402 4 9, 435 476
L ctor pri t s kher hab, th
Lelhunnu , 520
Le ur s, the 456
L mura th 457 458
Lenu 520
L er Berlin P pyru th
Berlin Papyru 3033
Leto 85 245 264 296 307 311
312 321 322 328, 337 338
Leukippo 246
L ukoth , 323, 453
L van 455 498
L yden Papyru th, 37
Liber 384 431 432, 443
Liber 384 431 443 459
Libr h the 431
Labrane mede l Egypti n
Hall of Roll nd Magic L
br ry, t H elo p oli 33 34 t
Edfu, 41, t H rmopoh 82, of
A urbani p l 90 8, 105 106
Gr k, 266, 299
Lanos 305
Lithoboh th 315
Loch r, 322
INDEX

Lochla 322
Locutus 377 498
London M dic ale P pyrus the, 37, 47
Louv i P pyru th 37
Lucena, 73, s al o Diana Lucen

and Juno Lucena
Lung 516 517
Lup reali th , 423
Lup r i th 423 424
Luxovia 520

mantras, or manthras, 157 186 188

Mapono Mabon
M ratho n, 318
M rduk, 93 94 103 108 110 112
116 117, 120, 12? 125, 126
M r k t god Herme , the 332
M r 405 432 433, 520
Marut th , 1 0, 171 172
M ter M tut 442 453, 484
M t r m dice, Egyptian 50 of

th Ath rv v d 156 158
M tral th 453
Matron li the 451
M yur th I di n po t 176
M d 1, 345, 364 365, 417
Med 1 , 355

M eigien M Egypt, 3 4 i ven
to of cri bed t Thoth 32
of th dic ale papyri, 35 37
prof n Egyptian 50 51 origi
of, cri d to Ap 54 Dh n
v nt ri the Indian od of 166
169, I di n gen logy of 1 9
not, knowledge of r v al d to

Indr , 171 er dl of Gr k
226, 269, origi of ration 1 1
t mple pr ace 235 236 r h

gion nd pr cte l, 236 237
d cent of Greek 238 239 2
300, ilusion to pecah to

m 249, ci ntif nd ration 1
t nd nci , 299 the K beroi

nv ntor of 337 Gr ek m

Rome 412 413, C lnc 50
M ditr th 433 434
M ditr li , th , 433
M do 355
M fit 400 463
Meg l A kl pi 1 th 295 298
M gale li th 483
INDEX

M galopoli 256, 259, 260, 26327
Mehurt 74
Melampou 217, 222 303 318
340 365 366
Melqart 133 136 138, 141
Memphi 30, 53, 56, 63 75 77
78 82, 221
Mena, 443, 495
M nokrito , 239
Men, 498
M rop, King of Ko 247
Merre pithet of Aklpio
Æ culapus nd E hmun 139
Me khenet 53 7 73 74 85 6
M opotam , e Babylon nd
A syri
Miach, 514 517 518
Mid ch, ee Miach
Min 33
Min rv 313 434 435, 513
M dic, 434 435
Mirael iraculou cur s 234
235
Mi teto in Druid m the ll
he ler, 50 510
Mithra 189 190, 192 194, 237
e alo Mithra
Mithrism, 191, 394, 488, 490
Mithr, 389 395, 486 490, e
also Mithr
Mitra 161 177 192
Mityl ne, 256 272 311
Mn [ ] in e D m
Mnemo yne, 339
Mocho the Sidonian 131
Mogouno 518
Moirai, the 320 350 442
Molp di Hemithea 366 367
Moon th, Khonsu god of, a o
eteated with Thoth, 68 Thoth
god of, 79 83 Sin god of 128
Mop o, 367
Mos magician 27
Moth r and Child Papyrus th
38
Mother of th God, Rhe, the,
345
Mousanos, 367
Muhamm dam m 148
Mu th 310 339
Mu ic u d to ty petilenc,
308 Orpheu divinity of 340
influnce over disease, 340 341
Mut, 68 71, 73 77
Mut Ub tet 84
Mutunu Tutunus 421, 443
Myliett 122, 306
Myrgion Mount 245
Mythology Indian 149 Ir m
183 184 Gr k basi of Roman
388

N
Nabû 121 125
Nahr al Auw ly 140
Namtar 104 107
N uci 170
Nana 123 125
N mm r 128
N ty e A vin the
Na cio, ee N tio
N tio, 442, 450, 454
Nebo, N bu
Nebt hôt, N phthy
N fer tém 62 75
N gativ Confe tion th 14 15
N ith 8 33 58 71 72, 77
N khbet 33 58 72 73, 74, 84 5
Nemi hrm of Dian t 44 447
nekoros, th, 258 972, 279
INDEX

N phthy , 46 53, 59 60 64 65, 67, 73 74, 81 85
Neptunalia, th 435 436
Neptunus 343 435 436
N r id , the, 339
Nergal, 96, 104, 107 108 118 132
Nikomachos 249, 355
Nile the V lley of the, 4, 10, 12
13 22 32 52, 7
Nin 101
Nin dim 127
Nin veh 52 123
Ningir u 101 121
Nimb 93 108 121 126
Nin karr k Gul
Ninur t e Nimb
Nin i na 127
Nixi d n, the, 450 454
Non , 495
Non Caprotin th , 452
Nort 427 436
Num n 495
r umin , th 375 376 377 415, 4 5 499
Nundin , 498
Nursi ng diviniti of 53 mor
deti of, 85, 323, H k t ,
‘nursing moth r of childr n’
326
Nu ku 93, 109, 111 121 125
126
Nut, 11, 47, 59 64 73 74 81
Nymph th 304, 339 340, 342,
473 505 506
Ny a 205 234 325

O
O th th , Hippokr tie, 273 274,
imlar Hindu 274 note the
Rom n m d fāmun , 428, 430
m hercula, 42

Oetruul 514
Ocul ta Lucifer 419
Ody eu 353 355
Offeri ng, votiv 233 276 292
293, 412 471 493
Ogdo d of god 83
Ol gro 340
Och ha 242 243, 24
Onon , 367
Olen the Lykian po t 320
Ollotot 520
Olymp , 328 354
Oneurom ney, e Dr ams
Oneu ro 259 260, 265 292
Op h th , 455
Op eon ivi the, 455
Opifer , 455
Opigen , 377 495
Op , 454 455, 484
Or cle 29 31 100 103 217 222
281 282 332 352 353 382 384
Orbon 415
Oreu , Di
Org o th 295
Orlagno 196
Orm d, Ahura M d
Oropo 234 304 305 30 309,
330 335, 342 354
Orph u 204 340 341
Orph m 228 318 340
Or iloch ci , 355
Osir 6 8 12 15 1 21 24 40
46, 47 53 54 59, 60, 61 64 65
67 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80
81 132, 4 2, 491
O r A p s, 50 54 59 75 77 78
347 e lo S r pi
O or hap see Serapi
O t p g 377 498
Oupi 312
INDEX

P
P gams the downfall of 397
P ian 52 224 225, 232 243 301
304 308 342 342 354
Pannonio , 355
p khr t, Egypt n r d 44
48
Pallas Athena ee Athena
Pan, 224 304 342 422
Panakea, 247 248 269, 280, 304
355 419
Panthen i the 294 313
Panopolis 33, 58 60 67
Pantheon the Egyptian 6 13 th
Babylonian nd As yran 92
94 the Phoenician, 132 133, th
Indian 146, th Greek, 201
204, th Ro n 378, the C ltc, 506
Papyn, the medic l, 31 34 38, 41
Parca, 442, 498
Parentaha th , 457
Paryj e Dhanvant ri
P rth non the 333
P rth no 366
Partula 496
P tala 148
P tara 317 343
P v t, 498
Pavor, 415
Pax 415
Pegai 339
Peiraieu 269, 285 338
Peleu 355
P leho 231
Pelion Mount 226 245 284 359
360
Peopl of the Land of the W t
see West
P pr, King 19, 72
P rehb t 67 74

Perfca 443, 496
Perg mon 232 248 256 260, 270,
272 276 278 283 284 297 298,
312, 349 472
Peri edes, 355
Per ephone, 65 210 211 212, 221
264 269, 316 318, 324 326
336, 342 343, 459 ee 1 o Li
b ra
Per ia e Ir n
Pertunda 443, 496
P til nc , 40, 104 Sekhmet th
Lady of, 76 Apollo invoked to
tay 217, 475 476 stopped by
mu rc 308 and deety 400, e
1 o lectisterma
Phedia , Rhodian physci n, 239
Pherekydes, 239
Phigalei , 211, 260
Phila 30, 33, 60 61, 64, 67 68
82, 83
Phlegya , King 244 246
Phoenici th record of 131
religion and deeti of 132 134
relations with Gr e e 132
Phoibe 337
Phobos Apollo 307
Phoki , 225 241 243, 307
Phoko 355
Physicns, Egyptian nd p ci l
r ts 3 25 41 42 Eudoxo 48
pri t physicians 51 52 Horn
chief 61 I m hotep th
Egyptian Asklepios, 62, 63
Thoth 81 Babylonian and A
yran 104 105 the aspu
pri t a 105 107 112 A Su, or asu, as, in the use of wat r
105 120, Gula, 121 126 Sin,
128 Indian Brahms a , 159
Vedic, 159, Agni, the divin,
piu in, 472 474, cult of Apollo in 478
P yehopompo 83 331
Ptah, 8, 11 32 33 46 53 54 62
64 74 76, 80 138, Sot u 30 75
Ptolemies, the, 335
Pudiatra 415, 426
Pulydama, 231
P r n as, th , 149, 163 167, 168, 170 174
Purific tion, the hou of 85 by
wat r oil and fire and meanta
tion for 109 111 Av st n,
185 1 8 Gre k c thartc rit ,
216 by f tung 232 Rom n
removal, 410
Pyth goras, 239
Pythi 218 221
Q
Qēb Egypti n rth godd 11
47 59 64 74
Quinquatru f tival of 435
R
R ka 160 not
R nnu 73 6
R hnu 190
Re 9 10, 11 12 13 16, 20 21 25
36, 41, 46, 47 48, 58, 59, 0 1
62 65 66, 67 68 71 76, 77, 79
81 Re Atum 11
R or tion at th A kl pi 1 291
292
R ligon Egyptian, 5 31 B by
lom n and As yri n 91 103
r ligoi h t rature 95 96, Phae
mcu n 132-135 Indi n 145
148 Irani n 181 183 Gr ek
201 222 l ek of dogm in 207
Rom n, 373 397, organization
of 379 380 foregn inva ion
of 384 388 Oriental influence ,
386 389 392 397 Gre k influ
ce s 384, 388 decline of na
tv , 387 390 religious toler
ce 390 391, reform 391
392 downfall of the p gan
397 C ltic 504 506
R m die Egypti n 44 48 V
die 156 157 geo religious
157 158, Irani n c tion of
183 184 holy h aling t xt
186 my nc of Mithr 193
Rom n 405 Celtic, 509 510
Ren nutet, 53, 86
R x N mor n i 447
Rhea 322 324 345, 484
Kybe le, 361, 363 364
Rhodes 250 260 276 299 312
327 354
Rgyva th , 145 di ea e m 150
re tion to the Ath rv veda
151 eur 1 153
Rat nd rtu l Egypti n m gi
26, m gic r ligous 42 44
B bylon n and A syri n 98
9 for exorc 107 112
Phoenician 135 Indi n 154
156 Greek 208 215 217 for
h ling 227 of the ult of A
kl pio , 275 2 5 of th or el
of Trophonoe 352 Rom n a
tur of 377 380 381 Oriental
m Rome, 395 396 of the cult
of Æ cul piu 468 of th cult
f I nd S rap 1, 482 492
494 of th cult of Mithr ,
489 of th Druids, 508
R v r god Clitumnu th 420,
Tib rnu , 440 441
Roman Empire, religion tend n
ci during 392 394 more ed
authority of th Æ eul pnu
cult under the Empir 471 472
the Mithr s cult under the 193
R o e 316 362 th religion and
denti of, 373 397 th h along
god of 414 499 the gu ridian
divinity of 416 S lu th wel
f re godd of 437
Rudr , 171 172 173, 178
S iv 172
Rumih e Rumina
Rumin , 443, 49

S

S b zi th , 346
S b zio or Sabazu , 229 323,
346, 411, 490 491
S r Arg oru th , 441
S cr d I l nd th e In ul
S er
S erfice huma ub tutut vic
tim for, 111 112 in Phœmci
135 rarity of in Gr eee 215
216 in Druidi m 50 mm l
112 135 215 277
S fekht the ‘L dy of lett r m
tre of th hou e of book 83
S gitt ruu 3 0
S i , 94 58 71 72
S kk r , th pyr mud of 54 62
63
Sahu’ the 433
S lu 403 437 438, 474,
Hygia 437
S mthr k 336 337
Samothr k , th , 137
Sanchu mathon 131 137
Sara peia th 348

Sar pis (th Gr k Ser p1 ) 221
229 230 237 269 335, 346 348
Sara vatis 170 173
Sarpântum 125 127
Sa uru 127
Satabhis j th con tell tion 178
S turnu , 438 439
Saura the 176
Savtri 173, 175
Se bie 463 464
School acerdotal 23 95 119
m die l, 34 82, 106, 260 299
471 templ 23
Scorpion, Horu bitt n by 61
Re bitt n by 66
S b st i nd A klepœi , the
295 297
S geta 520
S khaut S fekht
Sekhet Earu, the 1 nd of 15
S kh t 7 62, 71 75 76 77, 83
4
S lene 326
S mel 318 332
S it , th Pagan of th West
( ee a l o Ph iai ) th healing
god of 131 142 influence of
S ite cult on Rom n r h
gion 388 395
S mo Saneu te ple of 420, 428
Senti 499
Sentina, 377 496
S ntinu , 496
S ptimu Severu coin of, 138
Sequ n , 520 521
S rapeum, the, 30, 54, 56, 63, 77
78, 79 221
Ser p1 ( ee also Sarapis), Egyp
ti n d ity 50, 54 56 60 67, 8
75 77 79, in Rome, 389, 478
491 494, 515
INDEX

Srpu nt, inern sion of god in, 222 223 hrines located by
255 mblem of Akelepo 258
259 u d in h ling 230 283
285, impregn sion by 284 285
412, aer d, 277, 411 412
S'th 13 21 22, 25 33 41 59 1
2, 64 65 66, 67 74 81
Apop 21
S x d'sterm sion b for birth
35
sha' u, interpreter of vision
102
Sh man m 113 114
Sh m h, bel brn, lord of vi 10
93 99 102 108 111 122, 127, 132
Srhun nd term pl Egypt
22 23, 33 34 B byloman, 94
Phoenic n, 134, Gr k 208
ech school in 239 240 of
Aklpios 254 283 10
Edfu Philae Kar el 'Aguz
Theb, P opoli, Kopto Pr
hb t S 1 Ser p um Dear 1
B hr
Shu 11 47 83
Sh rpu ere th t t of th
105
Sibylline Book th 383 385, 392
394, 400 403, 464, 467 475
Sidon 136 139
Sigalo 60 349
Silvaton 138 256, 258 259, 260
275 284 309 342
Silvanu, 191, 439
Sin th moon god, 93 108 118
126, 127, 128
Smiv li 160 not
Sinquahs 521
Siron, 515 518
Siriu, e Ti htrya
Sit ia, 152
Shiva 149 165 167 170 172
Smith th Edwin papyrus 35 36
Sobk the Devourer 15 16
Sokari, 54, 75
Sokari 46
Sokrat 219 277
Sol Invicta 488 490
Solar y tem, r ligou r port ne
to the Egyptians 10, doctrin
of th 20 Marduk deity of
th, 123
Soma, 168 173, 174 175, 191 196
Sophokl 20, 232 268 293 361
Sor cte, Mount 425, 440 477
Soranu 425 439 440, Pr t r
440
Sorcy Hekat te cher of
326
Sotmu 30, 75
Soul the, Egyptian s of 1
19 Gre k id of 206
Sparta 306 314 315, 329
Spe 415, 444
Sphyro 249 355
Spirit Egypti n b li f in 20
22, the f r of vi 97 154
fr v shu a guardian, 187 da
mons nd demon Gr k 212
213 Rom n person 1 Ge in
and Inno, 37
Spiritual world, th, Ro n id
of 375
Srao h 190
Stadium the at Epid uro 266
St tanu, 499
Statina, 499
St thlnus, 499
Sterility Egyptian te t for, 48
49 test for, in the Corpus Hip
poor ticum, 37 48 relief from
63 cur of, 230, 284 285 p
peal for relief from 443
tr t r t of in the cult of
M gna M ter, 486 s e l o
F unu, and L b r re
Stumul, 499
Str m a, 440
Sub r r a pio 114 117
Sul, 519.
Sum r 90 91 10
Sun th, Egypt a n wor hip of
10 Kh pr th m rning, 10
Re, god of th noon day 10
Atum, god of th vening 10
Horus, th R bng Sun 0
Sha h the B bylom n un
god 127 Helo the Greek un
god 327
su u, the 42
sumu-ovru, th, 41 42
Suraj 175
Surg ry rly Egyptian, in Ed
win S ith p pyru 35 37 50
51 B bylom A y n
105 th A vin ur g o,
13 Gr k 2 3 Ro n 4
4
Sury , 170, 175 176
Sury t k th 176
Su r t 152 168 169 not
Sydyk Right ou nes 137 33

T
Tahuti s Thoth
T k n, 152
T uz 136
Tanaqu il C a C c h
Ta it 135, 141 142, 44 484
INDEX

Z u , 78 138 177 201 204 207 329, 331 336 339 343 344,
211 218 219 222, 223 245 353 354, 360 429  Hyper
251 254, 264 281, 297 302  dexio , 229 354  Ep pho
318, 323 324, 326 327 328  L ukaio , 354