In Praise of Asclepius

Aelius Aristides, *Selected Prose Hymns*

Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris
ad Ethicam REligionemque pertinentia
XXIX

Mohr Siebeck

SAPERE

Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris
ad Ethicam REligionemque pertinentia

Schriften der späteren Antike
zu ethischen und religiösen Fragen

Herausgegeben von

Reinhard Feldmeier, Rainer Hirsch-Luipold,
und Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

unter der Mitarbeit von
Natalia Pedrique und Andrea Villani

Band XXIX

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Introduction, Text, Translation and
Interpretative Essays by

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Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, Robert Parker,
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SAPERE

Greek and Latin texts of Later Antiquity (1st–4th centuries AD) have for a long time been overshadowed by those dating back to so-called 'classical' times. The first four centuries of our era have, however, produced a cornucopia of works in Greek and Latin dealing with questions of philosophy, ethics, and religion that continue to be relevant even today. The series SAPERE (Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam REligionemque pertinentia, 'Writings of Later Antiquity with Ethical and Religious Themes'), now funded by the German Union of Academies, undertakes the task of making these texts accessible through an innovative combination of edition, translation, and commentary in the form of interpretative essays.

The acronym 'SAPERE' deliberately evokes the various connotations of sapere, the Latin verb. In addition to the intellectual dimension – which Kant made the motto of the Enlightenment by translating 'sapere aude' with 'dare to use thy reason' – the notion of 'tasting' should come into play as well. On the one hand, SAPERE makes important source texts available for discussion within various disciplines such as theology and religious studies, philology, philosophy, history, archaeology, and so on; on the other, it also seeks to whet the readers' appetite to 'taste' these texts. Consequently, a thorough scholarly analysis of the texts, which are investigated from the vantage points of different disciplines, complements the presentation of the sources both in the original and in translation. In this way, the importance of these ancient authors for the history of ideas and their relevance to modern debates come clearly into focus, thereby fostering an active engagement with the classical past.

Preface to this Volume

In the middle decades of the second century AD the acclaimed orator Aelius Aristides wrote a number (eight in all) of prose hymns to traditional Greek gods and thereby demonstrated that the cults of these gods had not yet become obsolete and were more than just a topic of backward-looking paideia. This volume presents four of these texts, specifically those that focus on the god of healing Asclepius, together with a new edition of the Greek text, a new English translation with commentary, and a number of essays shedding additional light on these texts from various perspectives. (Drafts of the translation and the essays were discussed during a very enjoyable little conference in Oxford in March 2014.) All in all, the volume wants to show how in these texts of Aristides the author's rhetorical skills, his outlook on the world and his personal religiosity come together to form a remarkable whole.

The introduction (on Aristides himself, his life and his work on the one side, and on the peculiar literary form of the prose hymn on the other) is provided by one of the most knowledgeable experts on second century Greek prose literature, Michael Trapp (Professor of Greek Literature and Thought, King's College London), who is also currently working on a comprehensive new Loeb edition of Aristides's works. As for the texts and their translation, we were very fortunate (once again) to be able to enlist the incomparable scholarship and long-standing expertise of Donald Russell (Professor and Fellow Emeritus of St. John's College, Oxford), who – although by this time almost ninety-three years old – readily consented to be part of yet another SAPERE enterprise (he had already contributed substantially to volume 16 on Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* and to volume 24 on Synesius's *De insomniis*). The notes on the translation are a team effort by several of the volume's contributors: Donald Russell, Milena Melfi, Robert Parker, Michael Trapp and myself.

The four essays in the second part of the volume were written by experts in various fields of Classical Antiquity and aim to provide additional insights into the content and meaning of Aristides's hymns concerning Asclepius and his healing cult. Robert Parker (Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in New College, Oxford) inquires into the role of religion in these prose hymns and how it interacts with other, and at first sight often incongruous, components (myth, philosophical tradition and rhetoric), making these texts the home of an interesting multiplicity of perspectives. Milena Melfi (Lecturer in Classical Art and Archaeology, New College, Oxford),

one of whose main research interests has been Asclepius and his sanctuaries, presents an overview of the archaeological history of the Asclepieum of Pergamum and then a detailed description of what it looked like at the time Aristides was intimately connected to it. Christian Brockmann (Institut für Griechische und Lateinische Philologie, Hamburg), who has worked extensively on ancient medical authors, provides a very interesting comparison of the attitudes towards Asclepius that were held by Aristides and the greatest (and also literarily most productive) physician of his time, Galen, and indicates that the two may have more in common with regard to Asclepius that one might assume at first sight. And last but not least, Florian Steger (Institut für Geschichte, Theorie und Ethik der Medizin, Universität Ulm), expert in the History of Medicine with a special focus on practical, day-to-day medicine in the times of the Roman Empire, discusses Aristides as a patient of Asclepius, looking not only at the prose hymns presented in this volume but also at the famous *Hieroi Logoi*, which seem to provide (quite literally) a view of the patient from inside himself.

All the contributors hope to have put together a volume that sheds some new light on a part of Aristides's oeuvre that so far has not yet been much of a focus of interest but may well deserve a closer look. Finally many thanks are due to the indefatigable work of the SAPERE editorial staff (Dr. Natalia Pedrique, Dr. Simone Seibert and Dr. Andrea Villani, who has provided the indices), without whom this volume could not have been published.

Göttingen, April 2016 Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

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A. Introduction

Introduction

Michael Trapp

"I am not one of those who vomit their words out, but one who crafts them to perfection." (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.9, 583)

"For all this time, Asclepius kept me alive and gave me one day after the next, and even today it is He and He alone who sustains me." (Aristides, *Sacred Tales* 2.37)

1. Aelius Aristides: Life and Works

1.1. Outline of a life

Publius Aelius Aristides Theodorus was born in 117 AD (perhaps on 26 November) into a rich landowning family in Mysia in north-western Asia Minor (to the east of the Troad and the north-east of the city of Pergamum).[1] Besides his estates in that region, his father Eudaemon also had strong ties to the city of Smyrna, which his son was to inherit and enhance.

[1] Aristides's birth-date is established by reference to the personal horoscope he cites in *Sacred Tales* [= *ST*] 4.58: see Behr 1968, 1–3, with the corrections in: id., "Aelius Aristides' Birth Date Corrected to November 26, 117 A.D.", *AJP* 90 (1969) 75–77. His full Roman name appears on the honorific inscription *OGI* 709 = *IGRom* I 1070; his adoption of the extra surname 'Theodorus' is explained at *ST* 4.53–54 and 70. Aristides's life and career can be reconstructed in more detail than many that are known from the second century AD and from the reigns of the Emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, through which he lived. This is in large part because his surviving works include, besides speeches and essays containing incidental biographical information, the extraordinary medico-hagiographical diary known as the *Sacred Tales* (*Hieroi Logoi*), which in its own selective way documents his experiences and achievements in the years 143–155 and 165–177 AD. But it is also because of the status he rapidly gained as a literary classic, which was responsible for the accumulation of further quantities of biographical material; this is now represented principally by the subscriptions that can still be found attached to four of his speeches in the manuscript tradition (*Orr.* 22, 30, 37 and 40: see Keil's (1898) *apparatus criticus*, p. 31, 211, 312 and 330), the scholarly *Prolegomena* with which editions of his works came to be prefaced (see Lenz 1959), and the biography that is included by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* (*VS* 2.9, 581–585). In modern scholarship, the most elaborate attempt to synthesize this biographical information is Behr 1968, supplemented by id., "Studies on the biography of Aelius Aristides", in: *ANRW* II.34.2 (Berlin / New York 1994) 1140–1233, but this is over-optimistic about the degree of certainty that can

In 131/2 AD the Emperor Hadrian visited the area, and oversaw the reorganization of its civic structures. Aristides's birthplace became attached to the newly constituted *polis* of Hadriani, with its neighbours Hadriania and Hadrianutherai;[2] it was perhaps also at this time that both Aristides and his father were granted Roman citizenship.

He was naturally given the literary-rhetorical education standard for his social status, though thanks to the combination of parental resources with the natural aptitude which he presumably began to manifest at an early stage, the teachers from whom he received it were of more than average quality. His *grammatikos* was Alexander of Cotiaeum, who also taught the future emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius;[3] his tutors in oratory were said to have been among the most distinguished declaimers of the age – Marcus Antonius Polemo in Smyrna, Tiberius Claudius Aristocles in Pergamum, and Herodes Atticus (Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes) in Athens.[4] At this stage, the young Aristides will have given every appearance of being set for a prominent career both in elite politics (perhaps at Imperial as well as local level) and as a star oratorical performer.

The first documented events of his adult life come with the early 140s AD, when he undertook a journey south via Cos, Cnidus and Rhodes to Egypt, some of the results of which were later exploited in his *Egyptian Discourse* (*Or.* 36). How many speaking engagements, if any, he undertook in the course of the excursion is unclear,[5] but at least two of the surviving works have been argued to stand quite close to it in time: the very first of the prose hymns, *Or.* 45, *Regarding Sarapis*, may have been delivered in Smyrna soon after his return, in approximately 142 AD;[6] and *Or.* 25, *The Rhodian Oration*, if genuine, ought to belong to the same period, because addressing the aftermath of the earthquake that devastated the island at

be achieved and must be used with caution: see most recently Jones 2013, Chronological Appendix.

[2] See Behr 1968, 3–5, with nn. 3 and 6.

[3] Behr 1968, 10–11. The surviving fragments of Alexander's work are edited and discussed in A. R. Dyck, "The Fragments of Alexander of Cotiaeum", *Illinois Classical Studies* 16 (1991) 307–335; Aurelius acknowledges him and the lessons he has learned from him at *Meditations* 1.10.

[4] Behr 1968, 12–13. Their status as oratorical superstars of their age is reflected in the admiring treatments given to them in Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists*: *VS* 1.25, 530–544 (Polemo), 2.1, 545–566 (Herodes) and 2.3, 567–568 (Aristocles).

[5] Behr 1968, 14–16 is as usual over-optimistic about the possibility of establishing a large number of appearances (tendentiously citing *Orr.* 33.27–29, 24.56, 26.26 and 95, and 36.18 and 34 as evidence of performances); but it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that Aristides must have been doing some writing and performing during this period.

[6] See e.g. Behr 1968, 21–22; Russell 1990, 200. This dating is however anything but secure, particularly in so far as it rests on the suppostion that the dedication to Sarapis as a saviour deity makes it impossible for Aristides to have composed it later in his life, when Asclepius had become his principal divine patron: ancient religious devotion did not standardly have this kind of exclusivity (see Parker in this volume, p. 86–87).

this time.[7] Oratorical ambitions were however very much to the fore in his next venture, a trip to Rome undertaken in 143 or 144. Though nowhere explicitly stated,[8] a major motive behind the expedition must have been to establish a presence and a reputation on the grandest stage of all for a performer. Whether any of the surviving works can be assigned to this episode is again uncertain. The possible candidates are the speech *Regarding Rome* (*Or.* 26), which some would however date much later in Aristides's career;[9] and the speech *Regarding the Emperor* (*Or.* 35), which is normally dismissed as an impostor from the third century AD, but has recently been argued to fit well with what is known of the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius.[10] What is entirely clear, and of fundamental importance for the shape of Aristides's career, is the premature and bitterly disappointing end to which this Roman venture came; his health, already fragile before departure from home, gave way spectacularly, and after months of assorted indispositions he had no choice but to make his painful and ignominious way home to Smyrna.[11]

It was at this point, soon after the return from Rome, that the course of Aristides's life took the turn that was to prove decisive both for his self-image and for much of his reputation in modern scholarship. Impelled by the first of what was to prove a life-long series of dream visions from the healing god Asclepius, commanding him to walk barefoot,[12] Aristides made himself into the god's protégé and devotee and took up residence in his sanctuary, the Asclepieum, at Pergamum.[13] There followed a two-year stay, which he subsequently dubbed the *kathedra*,[14] a term which literally means "staying/sitting still" or "inactivity", but may also hint at the stability and security he felt this period to have brought him.[15] For the first year of this retreat, Aristides retired completely from oratorical ac-

[7] See Behr 1968, 14–16; and cf. *Or.* 24.3, where Aristides recalls a meeting with Rhodian ambassadors in Egypt after the quake.

[8] Indeed, perhaps deliberately suppressed in the light of actual events.

[9] See Behr 1968, 88–90 with n. 92 for the argument for a later dating; Jones 2013 reasserts the older assumption that the documented visit to Rome is the natural place to locate this speech.

[10] Jones 2013, Part III.

[11] *ST* 2.60–70, supplemented by 2.5–8 and 4.32–37 (plus perhaps 4.31).

[12] *ST* 2.7.

[13] On the topography and history of the Pergamum Asclepieum, see Melfi in this volume, p. 90–113.

[14] Aristides uses this term at *ST* 2.70 and 3.44; it is also found in the manuscript subscription to *Or.* 30.

[15] Behr's suggestion (1968, 26) that he was also thinking wistfully of an official 'chair' of rhetoric, tentatively accepted by S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, classicism, and power in the Greek world, AD 50-250* (Oxford 1996) 257 seems less likely. If there is a sophistic reference at all, might it be to the period of seated reflection the performer could take before launching into a declamation (e.g. Philostratus, *VS* 1.25, 537; cf. D. Russell, *Greek Declamation* [Cambridge 1983] 79–80)?

tivity,[16] devoting himself instead to healing dreams and medical therapy. The god, however, besides ordering him to keep the record of the healing dreams on which the bulk of the *Sacred Tales* was later based,[17] also urged him back into oratory with a series of highly complimentary nocturnal visions.[18] At first, he studied and performed only within the shrine, to small audiences of fellow inmates;[19] of the surviving orations, number 30, the *Birthday Speech to Apellas*, is firmly dated to this period by its subscription ("during the *kathedra* in Pergamum, when he was twenty-nine"), and numbers 24 (*To the Rhodians: Concerning Concord*) and 32 (*Funeral Address in honour of Alexander*) may belong in it as well.[20] Eventually, apparently some time in 147 AD, Aristides was able to emerge again into the outside world, and though still not robustly healthy, to resume his public activities both as member of the land-owning and gubernatorial elite and as orator.[21]

For the remaining thirty or forty years of his life, though he remained prone to bouts of illness, and continued to feel himself deeply dependent on the protection and healing commands of Asclepius, Aristides seems to have enjoyed a notably successful career. Not many of his surviving works can be given a precise date with any confidence, but on any account the bulk of them must belong to the years after 147, and the *Sacred Tales*, themselves apparently published in the very late 160s and 170s, claim a good number of triumphant performances at major venues such as Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus and Cyzicus.[22] *Or.* 37, *Athena*, is dated by its subscription to 152/3 AD; 40, the *Hymn to Heracles*, to 165 AD; and 22, *The Eleusinian Oration* (in fact delivered in Smyrna), to 171 AD. The orations relating to the destruction of Smyrna by an earthquake, and its subsequent reconstruction with Imperial assistance, *Orr.* 18–20 (*A Monody* [*Lament*] *for Smyrna*, *A Letter to the Emperors Concerning Smyrna*, and *A Palinode for Smyrna*) must all date from the years 178–180. The *Tales* also show Aristides repeatedly embroiled in legal manoeuvering aimed at escaping the imposition of costly

[16] *ST* 4.14.
[17] *ST* 2.2.
[18] *ST* 4.14–29.
[19] *ST* 4.16–18.
[20] As suggested by Jones 2013. The case for placing *Or.* 24 here is that it refers to the earthquake of ca. 140 AD as a past event (24.3) and that at the time of writing, Aristides himself is too ill to travel (24.1). *Or.* 32 refers back to the visit to Rome as a past event (32.39) and also makes reference to Aristides's own physical weakness (32.41). But these are clearly not decisive indications; Behr 1968, 76 places *Or.* 32 in ca. 150 AD.
[21] According to its subscription, *Or.* 30, the *Birthday Speech to Apellas*, was "read" during the *kathedra*, in 146 ("when he was twenty-nine"); it is an open question whether this means that Aristides performed the speech in person, or simply sent it for someone else to read at the festivities.
[22] *ST* 5.26–46.

and troublesome priesthoods and administrative posts, which implies continuing wealth, prestige and public profile.[23]

The date of his death cannot be fixed with certainty. Philostratus records disagreement over whether he was sixty or closer to seventy when he died, which gives a date range from 177 to around 185.[24] Charles A. Behr supposed that none of his surviving works could be placed later than 180 (*Or.* 53), but Graham Burton and Christopher Jones have defended a date of 183/4 for *Or.* 21 (*The Smyrnaean Oration* [II]);[25] "between 180 and 185" may then be the best that can be done in the current state of our knowledge. The secure dates in Aristides's career can thus be tabulated as follows:

117:	birth
ca.142:	*Orr.* 25 [?], 45 [?]
143–144:	visit to Rome; *Orr.* 26 [?], 35 [?]
145–7:	*kathedra* in Pergamum Asclepieum; *Orr.* 24 [?], 30, 32 [?]
152/3:	*Or.* 37
165:	*Or.* 30
ca.168–175:	*Orr.* 46, 47–52 (*Sacred Tales*)
171:	*Or.* 22
178–180:	*Orr.* 18–20
180:	*Or.* 53 [?]
183–184:	*Or.* 21 [?]
ca.180–185:	death

1.2. Surviving works and the corpus

The manuscripts of Aristides present his surviving works in what at first appears a bewildering variety of orders. As was first recognized by Keil, it is the sequence followed by the eleventh-century codex Laurentianus 60.8 (T) that makes the most coherent sense, and is likely to have been devised for an early collected edition, from which the traditions represented by the other surviving manuscripts diverged by selection and relocation of the individual works:[26]

[23] E.g. *ST* 4.71–94, 4.95–99, 4.100–104; see Behr 1968, 63–68, 77–86 and Bowersock 1969, 36–40.

[24] Philostratus, *VS* 2.9, 585.

[25] Behr 1968, 113–114; G. Burton, "The Addressees of Aelius Aristides, *Orations* 17K and 21K", *Classical Quarterly* 42.2 (1992) 444–447 and Jones 2013.

[26] So Behr, rightly (1973, xix; Lenz / Behr 1976, lxxiv–lxxxiv, xcvii). The process will have been the same as can be seen at work in the manuscript traditions of Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre.

Orr. 1–4:	*Panathenaic Oration, Platonic Orations*
Orr. 5–16:	declamations on historical and mythological themes
Orr. 17–36:	orations and essays on contemporary themes
	17–27: political themes
	28–36: personal issues
Orr. 37–46:	prose *Hymns* and related items
Orr. 47–52:	the *Sacred Tales*
Or. 53:	*On the water in Pergamum* (fragment)

The overall progression seen here, from star pieces to declamations, to civic material, to personal material, to (personal, idiosyncratic) hymns, to the extremely personal *Sacred Tales* (which share themes and preoccupations with the *Hymns*), though not the only one that might be devised and slightly strained in its placing of one or two individual items, nevertheless makes coherent sense as the result of an effort both to display the range of Aristides's output, and to sort it into a relatively tidy set of categories.[27] The Aristides who emerges from it is an individual highlighted both for his genius as a performer and champion of oratory (*Orr.* 1–36), and for his highly distinctive contributions to religious discourse. How these two sides to his published personality intertwine and balance against each other will be the theme of the next section of this Introduction, after the more detailed review of his work that now follows.

By beginning with the *Panathenaic Oration* (1) and the three *Platonic Discourses* (2–4: the *Reply to Plato*: *In Defence of Oratory*, and the *Defence of the Four*, and the shorter *Reply to Capito*), the manuscript arrangement gives pride of place to the works which are not only Aristides's largest, but also most effectively highlight him as a champion of Hellenism and of oratory. The *Panathenaic Oration* allows Aristides both to show off his mastery of the classic historians and panegyrists of the city of Athens, itself the chief glory and principal touchstone of Hellenism, and to construct an idealized portrait of the city that by implication (though crude confrontation is avoided) throws even Rome into the shade.[28] In its title and its subject matter it links Aristides very directly with the great precedent of Isocrates, but at the same time it is, quite explicitly, an ambitious attempt to outdo not only Isocrates but any and every author who has ever treated of the city of Athens, in an account that will do justice to its subject as never before.[29] Moreover, in one of the oration's most distinctive manoeuvres, Aristides

[27] Compare the analysis of sequence of Aristides's orations offered by M. Korenjak, "Conversing with posterity: Hermogenes, Aristides and Sophistic φιλοτιμία", in: Roskam / De Pourcq / Van Der Stockt 2012, [253–266] 262–265.

[28] See *Or.* 1.25, 26 and 30, which contrast Athenian autochthony with the status of the Romans as migrants from abroad, and invite speculation on what this says about the value of Roman citizenship.

[29] *Or.* 1.4–5.

seeks to associate the city's status as the cradle of eloquence and linguistic excellence with his own entitlement to be seen as the embodiment of a particularly pure and principled form of oratory.[30] This stress on the high moral value of oratory, and on Aristides himself as its chief exponent and defender, is then continued in the three *Platonic Discourses* (*Orr.* 2–4), in which Aristides takes elaborate and vehement issue with Plato's dismissal of oratory and orators (politicians) in the *Gorgias*. *Or.* 2, the *Reply to Plato*, concentrates on rebutting the charges that oratory has no status as a skill or science (*technê*) and is morally irresponsible, while *Or.* 3, the *Defence of the Four*, defends the reputations and records of the four great orator-politicians of the fifth century BC (Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles) whom Plato singles out for special criticism; *Or.* 4, the *Reply to Capito*, offers a smaller-scale response to some Platonising objections to *Or.* 2. In these orations, Aristides once again, as in the *Panathenaicus*, demonstrates his mastery of both a body of classic writing (he ranges over the *Phaedrus*, *Laws*, *Politicus*, *Apology* and *Seventh Letter* as well as the *Gorgias* in constructing his reply to Plato) and of a set of key oratorical skills, at the highest level of development: those of polemical argumentation this time, to match the encomiast's repertoire displayed in *Or.* 1. In *Or.* 2 in particular, Aristides repeatedly casts his discourse as a personal confrontation between himself and Plato as spiritual equals, metaphorically toasting each other in argument as if at a feast of the great and the good;[31] Plato has Aristides's respect as a giant of Greek literary achievement, but at the same time Aristides displays throughout a buoyant confidence that he has succeeded in teaching even the great master of philosophy a lesson or two in sound argument.

Next in the sequence come twelve historical and mythological declamations (5–16): the *Sicilian Orations* (5–6), the *Orations on Peace* (7–8), the *Orations to the Thebans* (9–10), and the *Leuctrian Orations* (11–15), all of which conjure up situations and events from fifth and fourth century BC Greek history, plus the *Embassy to Achilles* (16), which revisits a celebrated oratorical opportunity from Book 9 of the *Iliad*. The two *Sicilian Orations*, picking up on material from Books 6 and 7 of Thucydides,[32] argue the cases for and against the dispatch of Athenian reinforcements to Sicily in 413 BC. The *Orations on Peace* make a pair of two separate episodes from elsewhere in the Peloponnesian War: the visit of Spartan ambassadors to Athens following defeat at Pylos in 425 BC (remembered from Thucydides 4.16–21), and the visit of Athenian ambassadors to Sparta after the defeat at Aegospotami in 405 (recalled from Xenophon's *Hellenica*, 2.2.12–14); in

[30] *Or.* 1.2 and 322–330.

[31] *Or.* 2.462–466; cf. 2.11–12 and 2.18–19.

[32] Aristides thus supplies the debate implied but not described in Thuc. 7.11–15, as the Athenians react to the letter from Nicias.

each case, Aristides impersonates a representative of the victorious city arguing for clemency to the defeated. The *Orations to the Thebans* present a Demosthenic speaker (who indeed picks up on a lost Demosthenic oration of 338 BC) attempting to persuade the people of Thebes to resist pressure from Philip of Macedon to allow him free passage through their territory on his way to attack Athens. The five *Leuctrian Orations* imagine a series of speeches in the Athenian Assembly in 370 BC, following the Battle of Leuctra, arguing the relative merits of alliance with Sparta against Thebes (*Orr.* 11 and 13), alliance with Thebes against Sparta (*Orr.* 12 and 14), and neutrality (*Or.* 15). The *Embassy to Achilles*, finally, presents an extra speech of persuasion, in addition to those given by Homer to Odysseus, Phoenix and Ajax,[33] attempting to bring home to the angry Achilles the folly and the unreason of his secession from the Greek army.

There then follow twenty orations and essays on contemporary themes (17–36). The first eleven of these (17–27) are 'political' in the sense of being either about cities or addressed to city audiences. The five Smyrna orations (17–21) divide between the three that relate to the destructive earthquake of 178 AD and its aftermath (*Or.* 18, *A Monody* [*Lament*] *for Smyrna*, deploring the damage to the city; *Or.* 19, *A Letter to the Emperors Concerning Smyrna*, soliciting Imperial assistance for the work of reconstruction; and *Or.* 20, *A Palinode for Smyrna*, celebrating the ensuing renaissance), and two pieces of other dates that blend praises of the city with gracious compliments to visiting Roman proconsular governors of the Province of Asia (*Orr.* 17 and 21, *Smyrnaean Orations* [I and II]). *Or.* 22, the *Eleusinian Oration*, in fact also delivered in Smyrna, is a reaction to the news of the sack of Eleusis by the marauding Costobocci in 171 AD. *Orr.* 23 and 24 (*Concerning Concord*, and *To the Rhodians: Concerning Concord*) are both exhortations to civic and inter-city harmony *(homonoia*) of a kind familiar also from the somewhat earlier works of Dio Chrysostom.[34] The former is addressed to the Provincial Assembly (*Koinon*) of Asia at Pergamum, and aimed in particular at relations beween the cities of Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna, while the latter deals with the internal troubles of just the single city of Rhodes. *Or.* 25, which may or may not be a genuine speech of Aristides's, also addresses the people of Rhodes, but this time – somewhat in the manner of *Or.* 18 – in consolation for an earthquake (presumed to be that of the early 140s AD). *Or.* 26 is the panegyric *Regarding Rome*, celebrating the city and its Empire as models of responsible power and virtuous order. *Or.* 27 is the *Panegyric (Festival Oration) in Cyzicus*, celebrating the restoration and reconsecration of an earthquake-damaged temple.

The remaining nine of the 'contemporary' pieces (28–36) group together as all relating to matters more personal to Aristides, bearing either on his

[33] *Iliad* 9.223–642.

[34] E.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Orr.* 38–41 and 44.

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About the Authors of this Volume

Christian Brockmann is professor of Classical Philology (Greek Studies) at the University of Hamburg. His fields of research are Greek manuscripts, paleography, text-editions; Greek drama (Aristophanes); Plato; Aristotle; ancient medicine (Hippocrates, Galen).

Select publications: *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Platons Symposion* (Wiesbaden 1992); *Aristophanes und die Freiheit der Komödie. Untersuchungen zu den frühen Stücken unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Acharner* (München / Leipzig 2003); "Manuskriptanalyse und Edition II. Weitere Beispiele aus Galens Kommentar zu Hippokrates, De articulis", in: L. Perilli / Ch. Brockmann / K.-D. Fischer / A. Roselli (eds.), *Officina Hippocratica. Beiträge zu Ehren von A. Anastassiou und D. Irmer*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 289 (Berlin 2011) 329–343 (Abb. 1–4); "Scribal annotation as evidence of learning in manuscripts from the First Byzantine Humanism: the 'Philosophical Collection'", in: J. B. Quenzer / D. Bondarev / J. U. Sobisch (eds.), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1 (Berlin 2014) 11–33 (Fig. 1–10).

Milena Melfi is a Lecturer in Classical Art and Archaeology (New College) at the University of Oxford and a curator of casts of Greek and Roman sculptures at the Ashmolean Museum. She has been a fellow of the Center for Hellenic Studies (Harvard), of the British and Italian Archaeological Schools in Athens and of the American Academy in Rome. She worked on surveys and excavations in Greece, Sicily, and Albania and specializes in the archaeology of ancient religion.

Select publications: *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia. I* (Rome 2007); *Il Santuario di Asclepio a Lebena* (Athens 2007); "Rebuilding the myth of Asklepios in 2nd century Epidauros", in: A. Rizakis / C. Lepenioti (eds.), *Roman Peloponnese III. Studies on political, economic and socio-cultural history* (Athens 2010) 329–339; "Religion and communication in the sanctuaries of Early-Roman Greece: Epidauros and Athens", in: M. Galli (ed.), *Religion as communication system: networks and rituals in the traditional Greek sanctuaries of the Roman period* (Athens 2013) 143–158; "Religion and Society in Early Roman Corinth: a forgotten hoard from the Sanctuary of Asklepios", *Hesperia* 83.4 (2014) 747–776; (together with O. Bobou) *Hellenistic Sanctuaries Between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2016).

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Select publications (only monographs, commentaries and translations): *Lukians Parasitendialog. Untersuchungen und Kommentar* (Berlin / New York 1985); *Die attische Mittlere Komödie. Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin / New York 1990); *Platon und die Erfindung von Atlantis* (Leipzig / München 2002); *Platon. Kritias. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Göttingen 2006); *Libanios. Zeuge einer schwindenden Welt* (Stuttgart 2012); *Iulianus Augustus. Opera* (Berlin / Boston 2015).

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Select publications: *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983); *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford 1996); *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford 2005); *On Greek Religion* (Ithaca 2011).

Donald Andrew Russell was a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, from 1948 to 1988, when he became an emeritus fellow. From 1952 to 1978, he served the University of Oxford as university lecturer in classical literature, becoming a reader (i.e. senior lecturer) in 1978 and a professor of classical literature in 1985. In 1971, he became a Fellow of the British Academy. He also was a visiting professor at the University of North Carolina in 1985 and a visiting professor at Stanford University, California, in 1989 and 1991.

Select publications (only monographs, commentaries and translations): *Longinus. On the Sublime* (Oxford 1964); *Plutarch* (London 1972); *Criticism in Antiquity* (Berkeley et al. 1981); *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge 1983); *Anthology of Latin Prose* (Oxford 1990); *Anthology of Greek Prose* (Oxford 1991); *Dio Chrysostom. Orations 7, 12, 36* (Cambridge 1992); *Plutarch. Selected Essays and Dialogues* (Oxford 1993); *Libanius. Imaginary Speeches* (London 1996); *Quintilian. The orator's education*, 5 volumes (Cambridge, Mass 2001); (together with D. Konstan) *Heraclitus. Homeric Problems* (Atlanta 2005); (together with R. Hunter) *Plutarch. How to Study Poetry* (Cambridge 2011); (together with J. Dillon and S. Gertz) *Aeneas of Gaza. Theophrastus, with Zacharias of Mytilene. Ammonius* (London 2012).

Florian Steger holds the chair of History, Theory and Ethics of Medicine at Ulm University and is director of the same-named institute. From 2011 to 2016 he held the chair of History and Ethics of Medicine at the Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg. His main research fields are ancient medicine, the field of medicine and arts (esp. literature), injustice in medicine in totalitarian states and bioethics.

Select publications: *Asklepiosmedizin. Medizinischer Alltag in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2004); *Das Erbe des Hippokrates. Medizinethische Konflikte und ihre Wurzeln* (Göttingen 2008); (together with B. von Jagow) *Was treibt die Literatur zur Medizin? Ein kulturwissenschaftlicher Dialog* (Göttingen 2009); *Prägende Persönlichkeiten in Psychiatrie und Psychotherapie* (Berlin 2014); (together with M. Schochow) *Traumatisierung durch politisierte Medizin. Geschlossene Venerologische Stationen in der DDR* (Berlin 2015); *Asklepios. Medizin und Kult* (Stuttgart 2016).

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Select publications: *Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes* (Stuttgart / Leipzig 1994); *Maximus of Tyre. The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford 1997); *Greek and Latin Letters. An Anthology* (Cambridge 2003); *Philosophy in the Roman Empire: Ethics, Politics and Society* (Aldershot 2007); *Socrates from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot 2007, edited volume); *Socrates in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot 2007, edited volume).