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Los Angeles

Healing in Motion:

The Influence of Locotherapy on the Architecture of
the Pergamene Asklepieion in the second century CE

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

by

Ece Sayram Okay

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor Diane G. Favro, Chair

Healing in Motion introduces the concept of locotherapy in order to examine the relationship between Roman temple healing and architecture in the second century CE. Healing through movement was a new phenomenon that emerged in the Roman period involving collective and individual, formal and informal, ritual and non-ritual kinetic actions specific to therapeutic practices. A close reading of the Asklepieion at Pergamon, a prominent Greco-Roman healing center in Asia Minor, reveals the potent connection between locotherapy and architectural design. The analyses draws upon engaging urban phenomenological theory, the extensive literature on Greco-Roman healing, the

meticulous archaeological reports on Pergamon, and first-hand data gathered during site visits. Applying an interdisciplinary approach, *Healing in Motion* emphasizes the embodied, kinetic aspects at play in the design of ancient healing centers, which had been missing from previous scholarship.

By addressing the textual and numismatic evidence and tracing the history of temple healing, the project first substantiates that locotherapy is a direct consequence of the socio-cultural circumstances of the second century CE. The following chapters trace the architectural development of the Pergamon Asklepieion from its beginnings until the second century CE, followed by sections focusing on the architecture of the second century, a period when temple healing and secular healing practices begin to merge. At this point in time, the somatic movement regimen that belonged to the secular medical tradition began to manifest itself in the cures of Asklepieia. The analytical term locotherapy applies specifically to these changing practices and developing relations between medicine and architecture of the second century. In the final chapters, the dissertation demonstrates how the careful coordination of pathways, materials and calculated design choices facilitated and shaped the movements associated with healing. Overall, the project introduces a new kinetic reading, an alternative interpretation contributing to the art historical, archaeological and classical scholarship on the Pergamene Asklepieion.

The dissertation of Ece Sayram Okay is approved.

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2016

To my parents Tuğrul and Sara Okay,
Georges and Marie-France Dissard

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Chapter 1: “Locotherapy” in the Pergamene Asklepieion

1.1 Introduction

In Antiquity, particularly in the Roman era, human bodily movement always influenced the architecture and design of urban landscape. This became even more evident in the second century CE when medicinal practices began to adopt movement as a part of the healing process. In this project I argue that curation through movement, or locomotion therapy, became a key factor in the design of healing centers around the Greco-Roman World during the second century CE. *Healing in Motion* examines this statement in the specific case of the Asklepieion in Pergamon.

The literature on Roman medicine, however, has failed to recognize the importance of movement in healing. In order to fill this gap in the scholarship, I introduce the term locotherapy (locomotion therapy), a neologism fashioned for the purposes of this study that encompasses the myriad varieties of movement within the Asklepieia. The term is purposefully inclusive to embrace all movements, ritual and profane, in the context of the Asklepieion and ranges from the minutest gesticulation to the most grand scale procession, from festivals and myriad processions to activities of sick pilgrims from all echelons. This analytical tool also serves as a launching pad to scrutinize more informal types of movements performed by the pilgrims’ companions, and the various hierarchies of temple staff.

When Galen (131- 201 CE), a prominent Greek physician wrote: “The uses of exercise, I think are twofold, one for evacuation of the excrements, the other for the production of good condition of the firm parts of the body.... these are followed by all

the other individual benefits which accrue to the body from exercise...”¹ (Galen, *On Hygiene De sanititate tuenda*, 180 CE), he was effectively contributing to an already established notion of dietetic and movement healing. Curing the body through nutritional and exercise regimen, originally a 5th century BCE Hippocratic notion, was always a part of Greco-Roman healing practices.²

However, in the critical intellectual atmosphere of the second century CE, where there was already an apprehension against superstition and oracular practices, this regimental therapy began to dominate the secular practice of Roman medicine. Expectedly, the secular practice also made its way into healing temples as the Asklepieia gradually began adopting bodily curation and regimental movement therapy. By the second century these sanctuaries became fully developed establishments practicing both cultic healing rituals and secular regimental movement therapy. In this move away from the oracular supplication of earlier temple practices towards a more complex form of movement therapy, which incorporated both secular and ritual healing, I argue that locotherapy became a key factor in the design of the sanctuaries.

The Pergamene Asklepieion is taken here as a case study for at least two reasons. Firstly, the sanctuary itself was central to debates of dietetics and movement therapy because of its proximity to secular medical schools, the Galenic tradition, as well as being in close proximity to other Asklepieia. Secondly, and perhaps a more vital reason, the Asklepieion went through an extensive transformation in the second century CE. This

¹ R.M. Green, *A Translation of Galen's Hygiene (De sanititate tuenda)* (Springfield, Mo.: Charles C., 1951), 54.

² *Diaita*, dietetics was a prominent concept in Greek medicine, which defined some sort of regimen. This regimen did not only include a person's diet but also included his/her habits, activities and even moods. Often unbalanced and unaccustomed *diaita* or the neglect of habitual *diaita* was given as the cause of a disease and a simple readjustment of the conditions and *diaita* is recommended as the cure, in Susan P. Mattern. *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 126.

dissertation aims to remedy this failure by scholars to contextualize this impressive architectural period. I argue that the Roman architectural expansion and redesign clearly reflected the implementation of locotherapy in a temple setting. As such, Pergamene Asklepieion provides us with the most vivid illustration of Greco-Roman approaches to healing and its undisputable dependence on spatial design.

The argument I develop here thus combines insights from the History of Medicine and History of Architecture, while remaining firmly grounded in theoretical discussions around phenomenology, urbanism and space/place theory. Making use of philosophical and archaeological scholarship on Roman medicine, *Healing in Motion* first foregrounds the major tenets and characteristic of healing during the Roman period, and more specifically in the second century CE, and provides a broader understanding of its significance in Asia Minor by incorporating ancient sources such as the writings of Greco-Roman physicians like Galen.³

Throughout the dissertation, I nonetheless keep a critical distance from the sometimes largely philosophical approaches adopted by scholars in Classics to discuss the Asklepieion itself. More often than not, the literature on Roman medicinal centers fails to incorporate the architecture itself in the discussion. The layout of the physical place where the patients were treated strangely seems to be ignored. *Healing in Motion* remedies this lack of attention to architectural design by carefully examining the excavation reports that have been meticulously published by the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institute (DAI) over the past decades. In the end, my analysis places

³ In addition to a special emphasis given to Galen (129 – 200/216 CE) and Aelius Aristides (117–181 CE) who provide the socio-medical background for the second century, the writers often referred to in this study are Rufus of Ephesus (98 – 117 CE), Aulus Cornelius Celsus (25 BCE – 50CE), as well as non-medical writers such as Vitruvius (80 BCE – 15 CE), Pliny (23 – 79 CE) and Pausanias (110 – 180 CE).

these two approaches, literary and architectural, in conversation with one another in an effort to foreground the predominance of movement in our understanding of ancient Roman medicinal practices.

Therefore, locotherapy is the conceptual tool that best grasps the relationship between, on the one hand, the healing practices of Roman medicine and, on the other, the architectural modifications made throughout the centuries to accommodate this “healing in motion.” The project thus puts forward a fruitful approach that reads and understands the workings of the cult through the study of configuration and composition of architectural components in each specific site under its own terms. If we consider more specifically the site in the second century, *Healing in Motion* argues how the one aspect unifying all of the varied design solutions was this particular ability to accommodate and facilitate movement and bodily curation. In the end, the Asklepieia of the Greco-Roman world need to be reevaluated not as the origin of our modern-day hospitals, but rather as healing spaces geared towards the curation of mobile agents.

1.2 Movement and Healing in Roman Medical Practice

The interpretations of disease and medicine are culturally and temporally bound. Michel Foucault, while tracing the development of the clinic through the epistemological shift in 18th century medicine, rejects the existence of a constant and stable experience of the patient’s bedside.⁴ The preoccupation with fixity and passivity comes with modern notions of healing. After the 18th century, as the structure of knowledge changed and the disease was seen as a separate entity away from the patient’s body, to be categorized and discussed, the suzerainty of the medical gaze demanded passivity from the modern

⁴ Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of the Clinic; an Archaeology of Medical Perception*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

patient.⁵ Although anachronistic attempts at comparing modern hospitals or clinics with healing temples in antiquity will obscure the understanding of the true nature and workings of the Asklepieion healing, it is important to draw the distinction between the difference in patient profile. There is an astounding difference between the expected passivity of the modern patient and its active moving Greco-Roman counterpart.

Contrary to modern practice, in the Greco-Roman world, illness lacked a clear description, only taking shape and definition through the patient's body. The individual's body in ancient medicine was in unison with his/her identity so there was no medical separation, no scientific objectification of the body. It was not recognized as a separate organism that required its own classificatory analyses that systematized it into families, genera and species.⁶ Beginning with Hippocratic corpus, the diseases were depicted simply through cause and effect. Thus, Greco-Roman medicine aimed to treat the individual and not the disease. A patient's own temperament had an effect on the prognosis. The prescriptions were given based on age, temperament, gender, faculties as

⁵ Today, hospitals, infirmaries and sanatoriums essentially architecture designed to hold as many beds as possible, have strict rules when admitting patients. Often a patient has to be wheeled in into the facilities, on a wheelchair or a gurney. Even, the act of bed-rest or rest cure, since its first employment in the 19th century as a cure for hysteria, chosen or prescribed is still a common practice in modern medicine. The importance of passivity was seen so entirely crucial to the profession that at a certain point in the 19th century, the term rest cure was first employed by Dr Silas Weir Mitchell to imprison his, mostly female patients to beds to 'cure' their hysteria. See S W, Mitchell and E C. Seguin, *Rest in the Treatment of Nervous Disease*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1875). Another example can be given from the modern dichotomy between the hospital approach to childbirth, which favors bed and medication and the more recent midwife approach, which opts for an non-medicated and active birth.

⁶ Despite the existence of many medical treatises from Hippocrates to Galen, as well as work by non-medical writers, disease and illness lacked a clear definition. The medical episteme, though trying hard to explain the state of disease in a patient by using verbose descriptions lacked the capacity to use precise definitive language to define what sickness is. Garland stresses that there were no accurate definitions of disability. For further discussion see Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) It is also interesting to note that the only term that was clear-cut and recurrent, perhaps due to its long mythical tradition from Ancient Greece, was 'Health', *Hygieia*. Hygieia depicted as Asklepios' product appeared in classical imagery quite often.

well as the elements surrounding the individual such as weather, natural and artificial surroundings.

From Hippocratic medicine to Galenic treatises on humors, almost all the medical writings have been based on understanding the *physis*, the nature of the body and its diachronic humors. To perpetually seek, establish and maintain this state of balance a patient should pay close attention to not only his/her activities and state of mind but also his/her surroundings.⁷ This will to understand and subsequently heal the *physis*, the nature of the individual, became heightened in the second century. Furthermore, this was also a time when the boundaries between secular medical and temple healing practices were blurring. As I stressed before, my larger argument is that the practices and notions on healing in the second century CE became ordering mechanisms in the Asklepieia.⁸ The theories of medicine from Hippocrates in the 4th century BCE to Galen in the second century CE were holistic theories targeting the entirety of the citizen's body. As the temple healing and secular medicine drew closer together, healing came to depend more on dietetics, the control of the body's intake and equally on the curation and control of its movements. Loco-therapy, movement therapy, became a commonplace cure.

In the light of all this, it was only natural for the practice to ask for active patients, who could participate in their own cures. In actuality the sickbed in antiquity implied a certain kind of severity of illness, and even a particular way of suffering. There was a certain stigma attached to immobile patients confined to their private quarters who had no

⁷ Walter Pagel, "Prognosis And Diagnosis: A Comparison Of Ancient And Modern Medicine," in *Journal of Warburg Institute* 2, no 4 (1939): 387-8.

⁸ Here it is important to stress that I am not interested in views of Foucault on the Antiquity but I am instead trying to employ the method in which he demonstrates that the changes in the medical episteme of the period and their effects on the architecture of its sanctuaries. See Michel Foucault, *La Politique De La Santé Au Xviiiè Siècle, In Les Machines À Guérir, Aux Origines De L'hôpital Moderne*, (Paris: Institut de l'environnement, 1976).

other hope than to consult doctors. The immobile patient was the rejected individual not the ambulating active pilgrim, whose affliction was most often chronic not acute. Rosen states "...the diseases associated with the bedroom were more intractable than those encountered at the temple..."⁹

As can be imagined, there were many facets to healing in antiquity: myriad activities, facilities and various kinds of healers, charlatans, professionals, and the varying spaces and places in which they received patients, yielding to diverse experiences of sickness across the Mediterranean.¹⁰ All the different participants and actors within the world of ancient medicine displayed the same attitude against the incurable patients that prevented travel and/or any kind of movement to a sanctuary or a doctors' office.¹¹

Even though, disease was considered an abnormal and unnatural state of being, "worthy of rejection" by the civic milieu, being afflicted by an incurable disease -- provided it was known to be so-- was the ultimate punishment. Laying bare the limits of the profession and the limits of miracle cures within the temple, these diseases and their victims were pushed to the margins, away from public gaze and away from society.

Strabo, the Greek geographer of the first century, who lived in Nysa, a Carian settlement in Asia Minor lying north of the Maeander River, describes a peculiar festival

⁹ For discussions on *aporia* see Ralph M. Rosen, "Spaces of Sickness," 243.

¹⁰ The designated spaces for medical procedures as well as divine healing were equally multifarious: from homes and bedchambers to doctor's houses to the army Valetudinaria, Tabernae Medicae, baths and to most manifest of all, the healing sanctuaries. For details on the healers, their activities and their spaces accommodated by the Greco-Roman society see Patricia A. Baker, *The Archaeology of Medicine in the Greco-Roman World*. (Internet resource, 2013). Also see Rebecca Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Introduction.

¹¹ See Heinrich von Staden, "Incurability and Hopelessness: the Hippocratic Corpus," in *La maladie et les maladies dans la Collection Hippocratique, Actes du VIe colloque international Hippocratique*, ed. P. Potter, G. Malloney and J. Desautels (Quebec, 1987), 76–112, For the incurable diseases see Ralph Rosen and Andreia I Sluiter, *Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 95–114 and Rosen, "Spaces of Sickness," 233.

that took place outside of the city boundaries, in Acharaca. The festival involved the exposure of the incurably diseased and Strabo's report essentially demonstrates the attitudes towards the passive and placid afflicted.

On the road between the Tralleis and Nysa is a village of the Nysaeans, not far from the city, Acharaca, where is the Plutonium, with a costly sacred precinct and a shrine of Pluto and Core, and also the Charonium, a cave that lies above the sacred precinct, by nature wonderful; for they say that those who are diseased and give heed to the cures prescribed by these gods resort thither and live in the village near the cave among experienced priests, who on their behalf sleep in the cave and through dreams prescribe the cures. These are also the men who invoke the healing power of the gods. They often bring the sick into the cave and leave them there, to remain in quiet, like animals in their lurking-holes, without food for many days. And sometimes the sick give heed also to their own dreams, but still they use those other men, as priests, to initiate them into the mysteries and to counsel them. To all others the place is forbidden and deadly. (Strabo. *Geography* 14.1. 44)¹²

Strabo's description implies the passivity of the sick since they were *brought* to the caves and were *left*. The description emphasizes the passivity of the patients even more, as it points out that the priests were the ones that slept in the caves to find the cure. Whether in the village or in the cave, the sick were truly at the mercy of the gods. During the festival, the young men of the gymnasium, nude and anointed, start a procession with a bull up to the cave. The bull, which was carried up to the cave, after going forward for a short distance would fall and breathe out its life.¹³ The cave itself was not a place of incubation or healing but a place to die. After this sacrificial act, the young were allowed to lay eyes on the terminally ill.

Whether there was treatment or not is unclear. On the one hand, Strabo begins his

¹² Perseus Project under Philologic, "Strabo Geography" accessed April 2014, <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseuscgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekFeb2011&getid=2&query=Str.%2014.1.45>.

¹³ "μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνακομίζουσιν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον· ἀφεθεῖς δέ, μικρὸν προελθὼν πίπτει καὶ ἔκπνους γίνεται." Ibid.

description by the word *θεραπείας*, which indicates a healing procedure revealed by the priests. On the other hand, the description underscores that the sick were simply left in the caves and cast aside, kept away from the public gaze apart from the day of the festival. The immobile were essentially seen as hopeless. There is no evidence to suggest that anyone who was left in the caves recovered.

In terms of motion therapy, both the temple healing and the Hippocratic tradition functioned similarly. The cures and the terminology generated by the practitioners, as well as cult participants, were based on either the movement of the humors or the movement of the patient, which were all employed to cure the curable.¹⁴ Unless they were unable to move, the patients were kept mobile and their treatment was applied while standing or sitting (Figure 1 & 2). From the depictions of treatments or surgeries to the terminology used in the accounts of Hippocratic Physicians such as Celsus or Galen, it is easy to deduce that healing was an active process, involving the participation of the patient.¹⁵

¹⁴ For the Pneumatics the nature and gravity of the disease depended on the degree of *disturbance of pneuma*, an imbalance in the system while Galen argued that the correct balance of dichotomies of the body kept it healthy. His methodology outlined dichotomies in the body: hot and cold, moist & dry, dark colored & light colored and his stance on nature and diseases were influenced by Aristotle, Plato and the Stoics. Conforming to the notion of *natura*, meant that Nature may actively determine certain types of physical movement and these physical movements could in turn be read as a reflection or manifestation of nature written on the body.

¹⁵ Celsus was more an encyclopedist than a medical historian. Even though, he is known most often for his eight volume on *De Medicina*, his *Artes*, in 26 volumes covered a number of different professions. For further discussion see Christian Schulze, "Celsus, Aulus Cornelius" in *Brill's New Pauly Supplements I - Volume 2 : Dictionary of Greek and Latin Authors and Texts*, ed. Manfred Landfester, in collaboration with Brigitte Egger, (Brill Online, 2016), accessed in 01 January, 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly-supplements-i-2/celsus-aulus-cornelius-COM_0061 First appeared online: 2011.



Figure 1 Fresco from the “House of Siricus” (VII.1.47) in Pompeii, the surgeon Lapyx is removing an arrow from Aeneas’ thigh, Naples Archeological Museum.



Figure 2 Physician inspecting a child (212 CE), Museo Civiltà, Ara Sepolcrale del Medico.

As early as the second century, Hippocrates argued for the benefits of walking as an exercise for the soul and the body. Vitruvius, the architectural writer who lived in the time of Augustus, listed the benefits of walking with exceptional scientific precision and stressed its effects on the necessary modulation of the dry and the humid body, and underscored the importance of walking in the open air and its benefits to one's eyesight as well as to the body's humors.¹⁶ Vitruvius' contemporary Aulus Cornelius Celsus, who had written an extensive work on Medicine entitled *De Medicina*, also believed in the curative powers of walking specifically for epilepsy patients and the *imbecilli* –what he termed the weaklings who spent too much time sitting and reading. He stresses:

...Walking on a level surface is not especially good, since it is better that the body move from variation in ascent and descent, unless, however that body is extremely weak; moreover walking under open sky is better than walking in a portico. If the head can endure it, to walk in the sun than in the shade; better to walk in shade made by plants or walls than in the shade under a roof and a straight walk is better than a meandering one. (Celsus, *Med*, 1.2.6.)

Celsus not only stresses the importance of keeping an active body but also carefully clarifies in what circumstances one should go about doing it. His sentiments on walking and exercise are echoed in the second century CE through writings by Galen who went to great extents to define and prescribe specific forms of exercise according to specific conditions of the body.¹⁷ His Book 1 of *On Hygiene*, is devoted solely to exercise

¹⁶ "...because of the movement of the body, the fine and rarified air from the greenery flows into the eyes and leaves behind clear vision and sharp sight. Moreover, since the body heats up with movement during a walk, the air reduces saturation by sucking moisture out of the limbs, and thins them out by dissipating whatever is more than the body can sustain," Vitruvius *De Arch.* 5.9.5.

¹⁷ The context in which Galen discusses exercise is important to stress here. Celsus' advice on exercise is often as a part of a daily health regimen. He does not prescribe it as a cure. Galen on the other hand, often sees exercise and walking as a means to recover the balance of the body, which is almost always compromised due to disease. As his ideas of soma and its balance is heavily drawn from notions of *natura* and from figures such as Aristotle, Plato and other 5th century Stoics, he sees the body as a balanced entity of a series of dichotomies: hot & cold, moist & dry, dark colored & light colored. Exercise helps to keep these forces in equilibrium. Celsus, writing in Latin, in the first century CE did not allude to exercise as exclusively as Galen did later in the second century CE.

and walking to restore balance to the body, Galen's treatise entitled *Exercise With A Small Ball*, and countless other references all attest to the fact that he considered exercise and movement of the body as a method for keeping the healthy balance of the humors of the body.

1.3 Movement and Healing in the Asklepieion Tradition

Movement, whether in the form of a large-scale procession or an individual's pilgrimage, was essential in the practices of the cult of Asklepios. From its beginnings in Epidauros (6th century BCE), the Asklepieion cult required active pilgrims/patients who had to participate and actively receive treatment for their ailments. After the cult became ubiquitous around the first century BCE and began manifesting itself around the Mediterranean, the establishment myths surrounding the foundation of a temple/precinct that followed also highlighted the importance of movement. It is only through travelling in the body of a snake that Asklepios could install and establish himself in a spot.¹⁸

It is telling that even the foundation of the god himself assumed a transitional, active quality. Although after its initial inception, movement of the god away from his healing realm came to be accepted as an unnatural act and a bad omen for the pilgrim. It was the patient or the suppliant that was supposed to make the journey. Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica* (2.37) makes this distinction between the passive god and active patient clearly. He argues that when the god is "fixed in the temple and standing on his statue base" he will indeed bring healing. If he is, however, in motion and approaches or enters the private realm of the patient, for instance his home, he brings sickness and plague.¹⁹

¹⁸ Pausanias recounts its arrival in Rome, Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, II. 23, 7; On how cult came to Sikyon & to Epidauros see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. XV. 622 and Livy X. 47, 7; XXIX. 11, 1.

The process of supplication for a cure functioned only after the act of pilgrimage and only those who could travel could ask for and obtain divine healing. There were cases of paralytic or physically disabled patients who were brought to the temple to be healed and then were encouraged to move as a part of their treatment. A dedicatory inscription from Epidauros claims that a lame man was told to go down a ladder and was immediately cured of his lameness as he did so.²⁰ Another inscription recounts a patient who was told to go fetch the largest stone he could and dedicate it at the temple, after which, the inscription states, he was cured of his paralysis.²¹ The suppliant, the one who was asking for divine favor who was expected to move, to act, shift position and change physically and psychologically, but not the god himself. The plethora of evidence on the private worship of Asklepios suggests that the sick would indeed muster and pray to the god from their sickbed.²² Yet the actual recovery always took place within the healing grounds or during the process of the treatment, while traveling or performing tasks away from the temple that the god ordered.

As any other religious and ideological system, the cult of Asklepios did not stay stagnant but evolved through time. As it assumed many forms, its healing practices also changed. In the earliest phases of the Asklepieion worship, the individuals would consult the god overnight for health or any other reason. Thus movement was limited to the act of

¹⁹ Emma J. Edelstein and Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), 451. Rosen also quotes it in Ralph M. Rosen, "Spaces of Sickness," 239.

²⁰ Johannes Baunack, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion zu Epidauros; Studien auf dem Gebiete des griechischen und der arischen Sprachen von J and Th. Baunack*. Vol. I. (Leipzig, 1886) 80, 87.

²¹ Alice Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios*, (Boston: Ginn, 1894) 64; Baunack, 59 and 107.

²² On prayer and healing, see also Bronwen Wikkiser, *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece* (Baltimore and London, 2008), 30-34.

pilgrimage or ritual supplications such as sacrifices and festivals. As the oracle became more popular and the cult developed, the priests were employed to carry out specific rituals and interpret suppliants' dreams. Subsequently, the sanctuary began acquiring other personnel for surgical operations, magnetism, applications of drugs during which the priests gained a higher status by solely concentrating on completing the correct ritual.

Beginning with the first century CE, however, the temple shifted its healing procedures so much that physicians called *Asklepiadae* were hired as consultants. This marked the beginning of a period where secular healing practices would continue alongside ritual supplications. The priests would carry out the general ritual supplications and collective ritual events while the physicians would offer consultations on regimental prescriptions of the god Asklepios. In one of his many dreams of Asklepios, Aristides the famous orator and a relentless hypochondriac of the second century, recounts that the god himself alludes to Hippocrates, the quintessential figure of secular medicine. The fact that Aristides, a devotee to Asklepios, chooses to include this dream in his *Logoi*, bespeaks the blurring boundaries between the two milieus, the temple healing and the secular practice.

What does Hippocrates say? he said. "What else than to run ten *stades* to the sea and then jump in?... At the same time I changed in my own interest the phrase to the sea and I made clear the descent to the river. And so I said 'to run ten *stades* by running parallel to the river. (Aristides, *Orations*, 49-50, 170 CE)

From the first century well into the second century CE, temple healing began requiring patients to follow certain regimens specific to their conditions. Instead of an overnight miracle cure, the pilgrims/patients had to stay in the temple grounds for longer periods of time.²³ The god did not just bestow salvation; he merely showed the way to

²³ Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios*, 67.

healing by prescribing treatments specific to each individual in his/her sleep.²⁴ One pilgrim wrote,

I, Marcus Iulius Apellas, from Idrias, was summoned by the god, for I was often falling into illnesses and suffering from indigestion...When I entered the sanctuary he told me to keep my head covered for two days; it was raining during this time. (He also told me) to eat bread and cheese and celery with lettuce, to bathe without any assistance, to *run for exercise*, to take lemon rind and soak it in water, to rub myself against the wall near the 'Place Where Supernatural Voices Are Heard', to *go for a walk on the 'Upper Portico'*, to *swing on a swing [or, to engage in passive exercise?]*, to smear myself with mud, to *walk barefoot*, to pour wine all over myself before climbing into the hot pool in the bathing establishment, to bathe all alone, to give an Attic drachma to the attendant, over a joint sacrifice to Asclepius, Epione, and the goddesses of Eleusis, and to drink milk with honey....²⁵ (Marcus Iulius Apellas, from Idrias, second century Epidauros)

This quote, recorded on an epigraphic document from the Asklepieion of Epidauros, describes a familiar scene one would come across in any Asklepieion of the second century. It clearly exemplifies the physical regimen a suppliant had to follow, underscoring the vital role that movement and exercise played within this healing procedure.²⁶ Throughout his account Marcus Iulius Apellas, goes into detail about both his prescribed physical exercises and various ritual movements he has to follow.²⁷ Aristides, similarly, in his *Hieroi Logoi*, gives countless examples of his prescribed

²⁴ Mary Hamilton, *Incubation, or, the cure of disease in pagan temples and Christian churches*, (St. Andrews: W.C. Henderson & Son, 1906), 44.

²⁵ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig, 1915–24), 1170; *Inscriptiones Graecae*, (Berolini: Reimer, 1873), 4.955; Marco Galli, "Pilgrimage as Elite Habitus: Educated Pilgrims in Sacred Landscape During the Second Sophistic," ed. Jas' Elsner and Ian Rutherford, *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. (Oxford University Press), 279-80; Also see G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi. Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman World* (Baltimore, 1985), 146.

²⁶ The information available from second century discourses of Aristides, from the inscription of M. Julius Apellas, in Epudairos in the reign of Antoninus Pius and inscriptions from the island of Tiberina effectively indicate that there were no overnight miracle cures but courses of treatment, which varied from baths, to physical exercise to dietary restrictions in Baunack, 60; Walton, 66-67.

²⁷ It is also of note that Marcus Iulius Apellas only accepts the medicine and various other remedies prescribed by the god, after he does 'some studying' to confirm the diagnosis.

exercises and dictated regimens.²⁸ In one cure Aristides is wading through water or swimming, while in another he is running against a stormy wind or taking up horse riding.²⁹ The individuation of locotherapy is clear since the god could prescribe both short bursts of exercise or long journeys as cures depending on the constitution and needs of the suppliant.

Against this background, the architecture of the sanctuaries began evolving in order to accommodate these new needs. A longer stay in the temple, inevitably required a more nuanced design adapted to new ways of moving. The architecture had to provide spaces for formal and informal pathways for both pilgrims and the increased number of staff to carry out what is necessary for the new locotherapeutic treatments, whether this was to run 10 *stades*, to orate a speech, to take in a bath or to simply incubate as a rest cure. Movement for therapy covered a number of categories within the boundaries of the sanctuary: *moving* as a form of cure (exercise), *moving* in order to acquire the cure, *moving* in order to establish particular rituals in the name of the cure. Thus, the need for complex types of locotherapy resulted in complex architectural design solutions, an essential point I explain in further detail later in the chapter (section 1.5) as I put forward my central argument.

²⁸ Aristides moved and dreamt about moving as a cure to his many ailments. His descriptions were, most often than not and perhaps intentionally, oblivious to any form of physical surrounding. He avoids giving space and time parameters where dream and reality merge. What was important for Aristides was stressing how much and under which arduous conditions he had had to exercise. The agonistic attitude is explicit and firmly situates him in the center of the second century intellectual debates. His typical treatments usually began with a dietetic of some sort or a contraption such as a plaster of cinnamon, and then were promptly followed by a run of about several hundred stades; Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi*, 311.

²⁹ Aelius, *Logoi* 357.

1.4 Pergamon: A Nexus of Locotherapy and Dietetic Healing

1.4.1 Mystifying Asklepieia

There were over 207 Asklepieia identified in literary and epigraphic sources, 161 of these can be attested through numismatic evidence.³⁰ Despite a shared belief in the healing ability of Asklepios, the various Asklepieia in Asia Minor varied greatly in their presentations of the god and in their architectural design. Each region and city associated with the god, betrayed a different character, a different meaning due to varying forms of ritual practice. The fragmentary knowledge from numismatic records, classical texts and even archaeological evidence does not merge to form a definitive, homogenous image of the healing god Asklepios.³¹ The cult itself was full of incongruities and there was a general confusion in its original elements.³² Depending on its locality and its proximity to other religious sites, there was also a propensity for the cult to assimilate the characteristics of other gods. The most common of which were Apollo, Panacea, Hygeia, Telesphorus.³³ All these factors contributed to a wide array of design solutions, particular to each city.

There was no general design system or a unified architectural language that united Asklepieia in the Greco-Roman world. It seems that certain spaces were included as a

³⁰ Walton, Appendix, 95-121.

³¹ Hart examples quotations from Emma and Ludwig Edelstein, authors of the Edelstein Testimonies as well as numismatic evidence to uncover the real identity of the god. For a broader perspective on numismatic evidence in context of medicine see Horatio Robinson Storer, *Medicina in Nummis: A Descriptive List of the Coins, Medals, Jetons Relating to Medicine, Surgery and the Allied Sciences*, (Boston: Wright & Potter printing Company, 1931).

³² Walton stresses the many facets of the god of healing. In one location Asklepios is known as the god of light, in another he is affiliated with water or the earth. Walton, 8.

³³ Telesphorus the accomplisher, also considered to be a son, became the Greek god of convalescence, first celebrated numismatically by Hadrian. For more information see Gerald D. Hart, *Asclepius, the God of Medicine*. (London: Royal Society of Medicine, 2000), 33

given in the sanctuaries such as rooms dedicated to incubation, bathing, wells for libations and other activities and altars. In rare instances such as Pergamon or Athens there were also Odeon and/or theaters associated with the complex. However each space was designed according to the local needs, as well as to site conditions. The type of deity and its associations controlled the utilities within the sanctuary whether these were banquet houses, guesthouses, schools, gymnasia or simply temples of local gods that were considered akin to Asklepios. If in fact ritual practice determined these varying designs, their variety is well explained.³⁴ Although, almost all larger Asklepieia accommodated similar facilities with water for drinking, bathing, ritual cleansing, hydrotherapy; gymnasia; theater; an incubation chamber (*abatōn*); exhibition and display of votive objects and testimonials; space for rituals, festivals and processions.

Given their diversity there appears no over-arching rule that coordinated or controlled the architectural designs to accommodate these various nodes of activity.³⁵ There was a common vocabulary but it produced a different architectural language in each *topos*. In Epidauros, for instance, in addition to these structures there were two hexastyle temples of Asklepios and Artemis, a tholos (a rotunda with 26 Doric columns); a great altar of Asklepios; a stadium and various other temples from Temple of Thetis to

³⁴ Soyöz claims that the particular design and specific architectural framework of oracular sanctuaries of Asia Minor, is due to their own unique ceremonial and symbolic requirements. It is the ritual practice that determines the form, the structures and the layout. Ufuk Soyöz, “The Labyrinth as a Metaphor for the Ritual of Oracle in Temples of Apollo in Asia Minor” in *Visualizing Rituals. Critical Analysis of Art and Ritual Practice*, ed. Julia K. Werts, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006). Also see Soyöz, *Paths to Ritual Dreams: The Sanctuary of Asklepios at Pergamon. The Design of the Cure Building* (University of Texas, online publication 2008), accessed May 2014, <http://laits.utexas.edu/sites/medterms/greek-and-roman-essential-terms>.

³⁵ Hart, *Asclepius*, 54.

Egyptian Apollo and Aphrodite.³⁶ The abaton, where incubation took place also varied greatly. The suppliants could sleep in any number of places from porticoes to under ground cellars, to ante-rooms or special apartments.³⁷

The place of the cure, the place of the incubation and even the place of sacrifices varied. In the earlier temple practices, the act of incubation was a culmination point, yet as the cult evolved it came to be a stop along a path that included series of ritual and other movements. This variety in practices and flexibility in settings meant that the activities, which occurred in these diverse architectural settings, did not dictate form.

1.4.2. The Pergamene Asklepieion: A Nexus of Healing

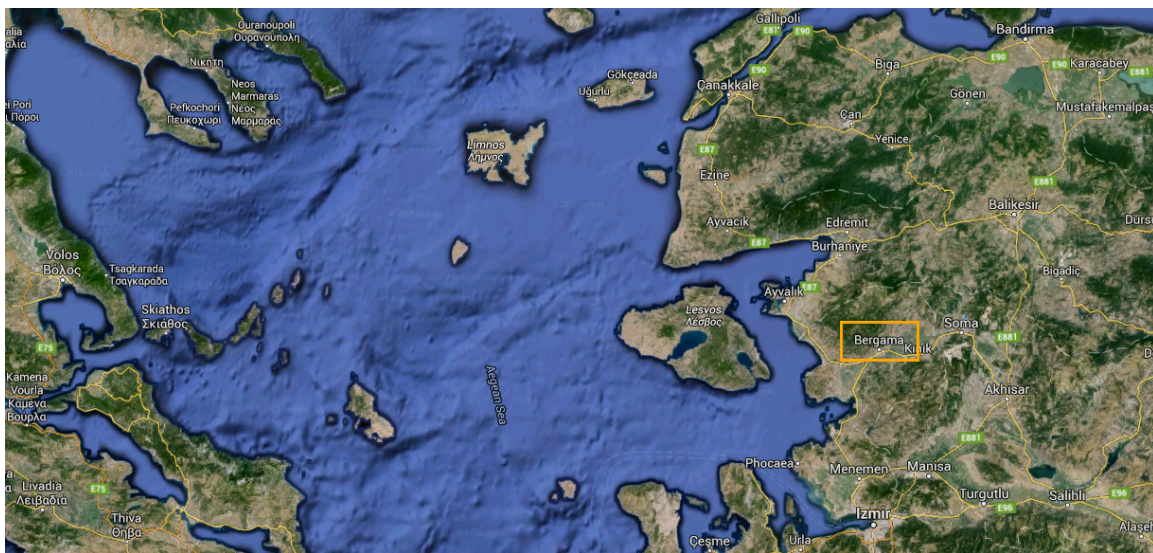


Figure 3 Map indicating the position of Pergamon in Asia Minor

³⁶ Papadakis T. *Epidauros*. (München: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 1988). Richard Allan Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, (Austin : University of Texas Press, 1983); Alison Burford, *The Greek temple builders at Epidauros, a social and economic study of building in the Asklepieion sanctuary, during the fourth and early third centuries B.C.*, (University of Toronto Press, 1969); Richard Caton, *Two lectures on the temples and ritual of Asklepios at Epidauros and Athens : delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, (Hertford : Printed by S. Austin and sons, 1899).

³⁷ Plutarch, *Aristides*, 652-747; In Athens, the incubation took place in a single room containing an altar, which connected to a shrine that contained the healing snakes, which would freely enter the incubation chambers. Walton suggests that in addition to incubation, it was in such a place that a cure could have taken place. Walton, 45.

Located on the northern side of Caicos Valley in the region of Mysia, and situated between Ceteios and Selinus rivers, Pergamon began its life as a small settlement in the Archaic Period (7th century BCE). After going through various phases of expansion and recession over the centuries, assuming first a Hellenistic identity under the Attalids (3rd century BCE), and later successively becoming a Roman (first century BCE) and a Byzantine (14th century CE) city Pergamon, still continues its existence today as a sprawling Turkish town.³⁸ The extensive scholarly publications on the Hellenistic period, particularly the period of Eumenes II (197-60 BCE), conclude that the city consisted of three parts: An acropolis, an upper and a lower city. The temple of Asklepieion built around this period, was positioned 8 km outside of the lower city, in the fields across the river Selinus.³⁹ After being completely absorbed into the Roman governmental organization as early as 133 BCE, the city of Pergamon went through a major expansion and renovation between the first century and second century CE. During this period the Hellenistic grid (92 x 58m) was restructured to include a temple of Trajan finished under Hadrian, a Roman theater, a stadium, an amphitheater and a sanctuary to Egyptian Gods (the so-called Red Hall).⁴⁰

³⁸ Today the Turkish town Bergama, is a sprawling settlement diffused around the Bakırçay plain, positioned 1-2 km away from the Acropolis and close to the lower town ruins.

³⁹ Within this remarkably long history, the scholarly conversation has focused on the intellectual and artistic flowering of the early Hellenistic city, particularly period beginning with Attalos I Soter (241—197 BCE) and Eumenes II (197-60 BCE), and it has largely overlooked the extensive expansion of the city, after roman governmental organization was installed. Without a doubt, a significant amount of publications on Pergamon -beginning with Wilhelm Dörpfeld in 1900- have concentrated on particularly this Hellenistic-Attalid era that lasted half a century and produced remarkable sculptural and literary works. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, *Strabon Und Die Küste Von Pergamon*. (Berlin: s.n., 1928).

⁴⁰ The city itself also had a significant expansion as its previously compact urban fabric spilled out of its Hellenistic fortifications. The newly created lower city, now included various new public buildings, baths and an amphitheater as well as the so-called Red Hall while on the Akropolis Trajaneum, a large gymnasium as well as a new version of the Temple of Dionysos on the theater terrace was completed during the same time period. For more information about the development of the site see W. Radt, “The

As mentioned previously, trying to find a common denominator for the Asklepieion temples is nearly impossible; the type and design of temples, the various permutations of structures for incubation, healing, sacrificing, supplicating all differs drastically. What is common is the change they all go through in design and practices between the first and second centuries. The Eumenesian Pergamene Asklepieion had its share of refurbishments and Romanization during the second century. In its early beginnings as a Hellenistic sanctuary, the complex located outside the city walls was a loose combination of isolated entities consisting of a small temple of Asklepios, an incubation room, several fountains and altars. It gradually expanded as a result of increasing demand, adding to its design other facilities for supplication (See Appendix for further details on its expansion).

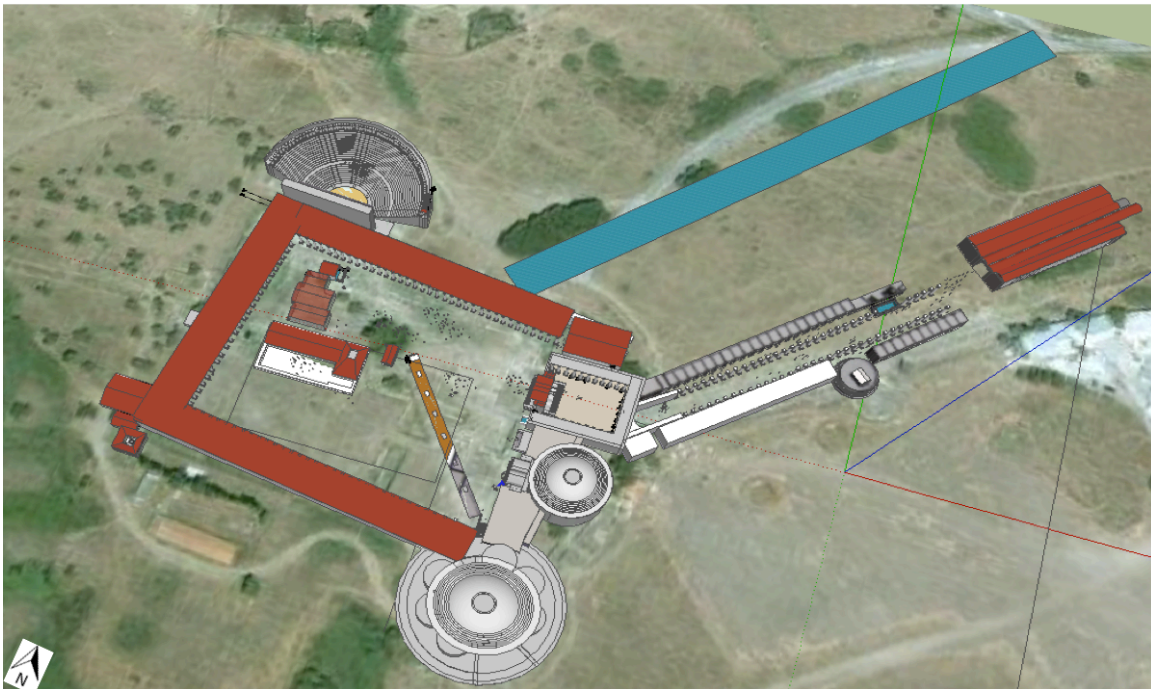


Figure 6 Overall layout of the sanctuary, Sketch-up Model by the author based on 2nd century layout

Urban development of Pergamon” in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge, and Xanthos*. ed. Parrish, David, and Halûk Abbasoğlu. *Journal of Roman archaeology* supplement no. 45. (Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001).

During its gradual expansion around the first century CE, the Pergamene cult of Asklepios began to assume a heterogeneous identity as the god merged with other divinities, particularly with Telesphorus, and became the main deity of the city.⁴¹ During the period of the middle Roman Empire the coinage of Pergamon displaying the god Asklepios with his caduceus under his arm became widespread in the Empire.⁴²

When the cult first flourished in the Hellenistic period, both the temple and the road --11km in total from the city gates to the sanctuary-- were detached from the city of Pergamon. As the city grew and took over the entire plain with the interventions of 210 CE, the sanctuary became incorporated into the urban fabric. The popularity of the temple and the increased number of visitors had an effect on the design of the main avenue, which traversed the entire lower city. The last 1km stretch was redesigned to enforce a particular boundary between all the visitors and the civic urban sprawl pushing against the gates of the sanctuary.

With its newly built monumental structures --including a grand Rotunda dedicated to Asklepios, a theater, a library, fountains and altars, and a prominent propylon system to greet the visitors-- the Pergamene Asklepieion became a significant complex (Figure 7).⁴³ The second century marked the height of the cult's popularity. It had an imperial

⁴¹ Telephorus, almost always depicted with a cloak over his head, was the semi-god of convalescence and was also considered to be the son of Asklepios. Pausanias refers to him as Euamerion. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.11.4.

⁴²In fact, when Martial referred to the healing god as 'Pergamus Deus' in his elegy for Flavius Earinus, he did not need to clarify it further for citizens of Rome who immediately knew that he was alluding to Asklepios. For more on Asklepieion coinage see Peter Kranz, *Pergameus Deus: Archäologische Und Numismatische Studien Zu Den Darstellungen Des Asklepios in Pergamon Während Hellenismus Und Kaiserzeit ; Mit Einem Exkurs Zur Überlieferung Statuarischer Bildwerke in Der Antike*, (Mönnesee: Bibliopolis, 2004), 11.

⁴³ Alexia, Petsalis-Diomidis. *Truly Beyond Wonders : Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asklepios*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010] 3. In truth, these Hadrianic restorations and additions to the already existing Hellenistic structures -Asklepios Soter, Hygieia, Telesphoros and

resonance since emperors such as Caracalla and Hadrian visited and paid homages to the sanctuary. Amongst the 19 distinct building phases of the Asklepieion, the second century Roman intervention was the most comprehensive and radical in its method of reorientation and reorganization of the entire site.

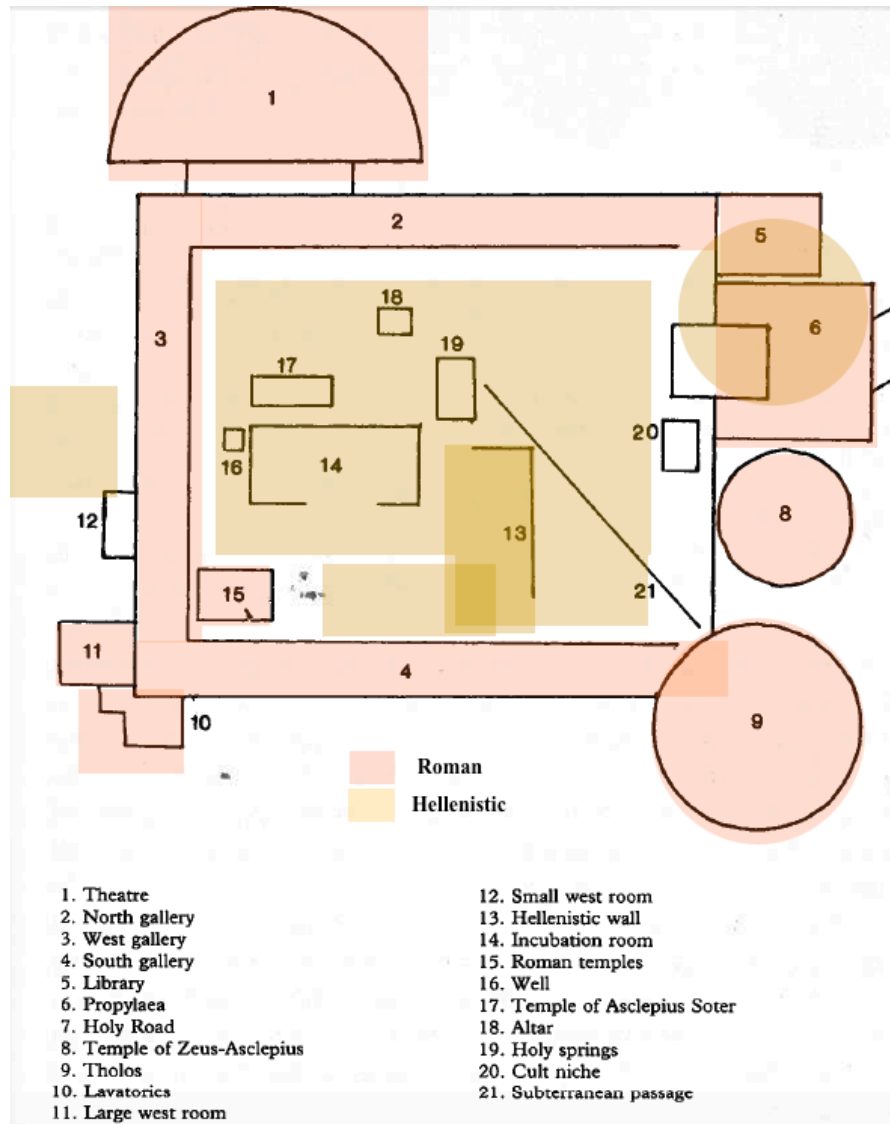


Figure 7 Annotated plan showing 2nd century CE additions framing the Hellenistic remains.

Apollo Kaliteknos- provided as Petsalis-Diomidis states “an encyclopedic, all encompassing sacred framework.”

Apart from the sheer size and quality of its remaining architecture, the Pergamon Asklepieion is a prime example for this study for many reasons. Above all, as discussed previously, there is a pressing need to reintroduce agency and study the spaces of the sanctuary in context rather than its buildings as objects.⁴⁴ The particularity of Pergamon, unlike the other Asklepieia, is the variety of available information and the convenient history of multidisciplinary approaches already applied to the site, which allow for my study of embodiment and phenomenology. In addition, the Pergamene Asklepieion was a locus of healing due to its strategic geographical positioning near other Asklepieia. Cos and Smyrna Asklepieia, both of which included medical schools in their compounds, were close enough to the Pergamene Asklepieion so as to create a veritable network of healing.⁴⁵ Furthermore, there is a plethora of textual information from primary sources describing the site and its experiences.

⁴⁴ This need is also apparent for the study of other Asklepieia, although some attempts have been made to employ a more of architectural stance, the agency is still missing in most cases. The main archaeological studies on Koan Asklepieion was by Paul Schazmann, *Kos: I.* (Berlin: Keller, 1932); Also see Vasilis S. Chatzivasileiou, *Das Asklepieion Von Kos: Ein Denkmal Aus Weltweiter Erbschaft*, (Kos: 2004); Senseney's work on visuality, though a heavily art historical methodology is seminal in John R. Senseney, "Idea and Visuality in Hellenistic Architecture: a Geometric Analysis of Temple a of the Asklepieion at Kos." *Hesperia: the Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.* 76.3 (2007), 555-595.; For Epidauros the architectural discussions are more based on ritual and processions, see Faraklas, N. *Epidauros: the Sanctuary of Asclepios*, (Athens: Lycabettus Press, 1971); Richard Caton, *Two Lectures*, 1900.

⁴⁵ For understanding the relationship and networking between various sanctuaries see, Irad Malkin, Christy Constantakopoulou, and Katerina Panagopoulou. *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean.* (London: Routledge, 2009)

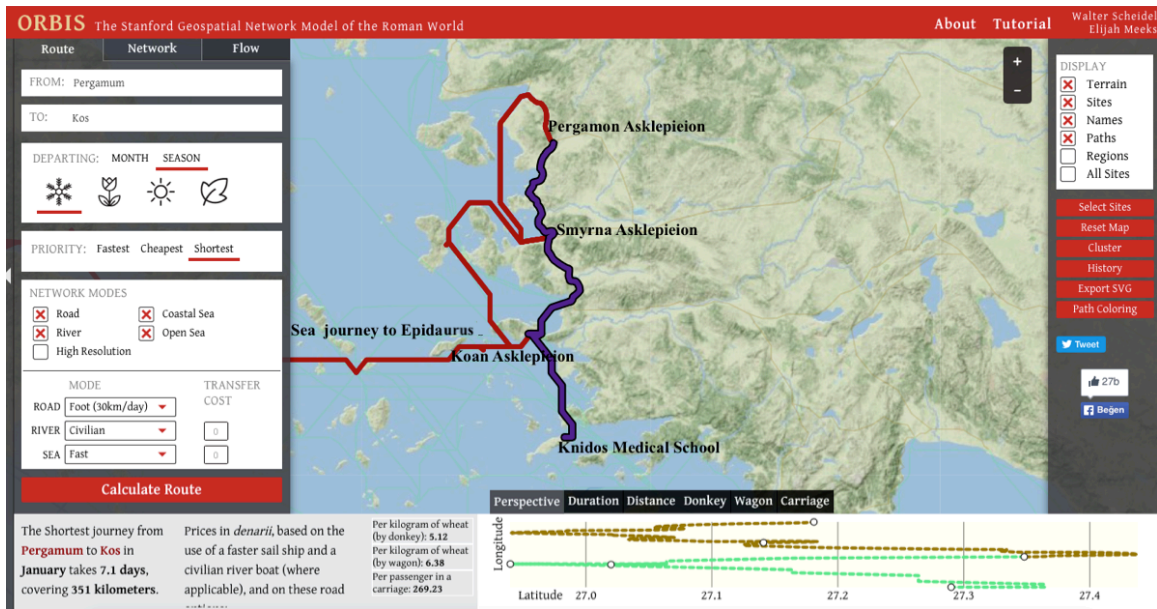


Figure 8 Map of ORBIS, The Stanford Geo-Spatial Network Model of the Roman World, showing sea and land routes from Pergamum to Smyrna, to Koan Asklepieion and to Knidos, annotated by the author.

From Aristides' accounts, it is evident that the pilgrims would travel in between these three centers participating in a collective healing procedure. Galen, the prolific Greek physician was originally from Pergamum and later in his career was appointed as the chief priest and head physician of the city, a position he held from 157 through to 161.⁴⁶ The extent of his involvement with temple practices is not clear, however, it would not be surprising to find a connection at a time when the boundaries between the secular and the ritual were becoming indistinct.⁴⁷ It was also during this period that Asklepieia began including physicians as consultants in their ever-expanding staff. It is for all these

⁴⁶ Susan P. Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 3. For a recent discussion of Galen's experience as a physician to the gladiators see chapter 5 of Heinrich Schlang-Schöningh, *Die Römische Gesellschaft Bei Galen: Biographie Und Sozialgeschichte*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003).

⁴⁷ It is perhaps necessary to mention here that Galen's father was an architect whether this had a particular effect on his involvement is not clear however. *Medicina Antiqua* suggests that Galen became a *therapeutes* or 'attendant' of the healing god Asclepius, and not of Pergamum Asklepieion but the whole of Asia Minor. UCL, *Medicina Antiqua*, "Galen: A Biographical Sketch," http://www.ucl.ac.uk/~ucgajpd/medicina%20antiqua/bio_gal.html, Lee Pearcy, accessed May 2015.

above that this project focuses on the Pergamene Asklepieion, which held a privileged position as a nexus of locotherapeutic healing.

1.5. Sources and Scope

1.5.1 A Critique of Prevailing Approaches

The influence of locotherapy on the design of the Pergamene Asklepieion is only apparent when movement is discussed in the context of healing. The interaction of mind, body and the built environment remains an uncharted territory in the study of healing sanctuaries of the ancient world. This is partly due to the fact that available literary sources giving glimpses of everyday wanderings --primarily Roman elegies and satires-- are urban genres staged specifically in the cityscape only.⁴⁸ Publications on travel and pilgrimage such as the valuable edited volume of Elsner, do nonetheless tackle the subject of movement and the sick body in transit or in extramural sanctuaries.⁴⁹ However, as far as the historiography of healing spaces is concerned, the literary and architectural fields frequently miss each other in scholarly conversations.

The scholars of material culture and those of text do occupy different critical terrains. Field research may be teamed with epigraphic work and may often be available for philologists. In general the archaeology separates itself from the heavy burden of text. When it becomes a material for archaeological exploration, architecture is most often described rather than discussed in terms of its context and never tackled critically. There is a lack of critical theory when discussing ancient architecture in context of healing.

⁴⁸ Miller exemplifies the urban oriented satires of Horace, Ovid and Juvenal. Paul Allen Miller, "I Get Around: Sadism Desire and Metonymy on the Streets of Rome with Horace, Ovid and Juvenal" in *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory*, ed. David H. J. Larmour and Diana Spencer (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 138-167.

⁴⁹ Jas Elsner and Ian Rutherford. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity : Seeing the Gods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Unexpectedly even the studies incorporating material culture in their analysis tend not to consider the role architecture plays in determining meaning and experience.

The existing scholarship on Asklepieia is primarily located in the terrain of Classics, yet these healing complexes, rich with architectural narratives, ought to also be considered within the purview of architectural history. This project owes much to classicist Petsalis-Diomidis who examines the spaces of the Pergamene Asklepieion in a spatio-temporal framework through the examination of Aelius Aristides' writings dating to the second century CE. By bringing together textual and material evidence, she firmly positions this healing site in its cultural context, interpreting the way the experience of illness and healing is constructed. Petsalis-Diomidis' contemporaries such as Helen King, William Harris and Brooke Holmes follow the same text-based approach to space and to discourses on the Roman body. The connection between architecture and kinetics of the body is missing in these studies.

The second area of scholarship this study is akin to but nevertheless finds problematic addresses motion and embodiment primarily through an urban functional analysis. Generally limited to western Mediterranean examples, these studies investigate matters of accessibility, connectivity and other issues related to urban geography disregarding extramural spaces and ancillary sanctuaries. They mostly employ quantitative methodologies for describing and assessing the organization of space in Roman cities and overlook phenomenological inquiry. This genre predominantly includes

publications on Greco-Roman pilgrimage, tracing ritual space and memory through the literary evidence.⁵⁰

A third strand related to this research contains publications on the ancient body and the somatic constructions of the self in art historical analyses of Greco-Roman imagery. *Roman Bodies*, a valuable edited volume by Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke on the narratives of the body from Antiquity to the eighteenth century, is a fitting example for this discourse that is highly dependent on literary and visual representations. Other works such as Cornelia Evans' *Physiognomics in the Ancient World*, Tamsyn Barton's and Mladen Popovic's publications positioned in the nexus of Physiognomics, astrology and medicine, also follow the same line of evidence to reconstruct the body and its interactions in the ancient world. Other similar sources belong more to the category of Roman medicine. Titles such as *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing* by Susan Mattern, and Rebecca Flemmings' *Medicine and the Making of Roman Woman* all contribute to the understanding of second-century psyche and attitudes on healing. Despite accurately foregrounding the socio-cultural background to which this project often alludes, all of the titles above overlook architecture and its persistent role in augmenting and creating experience.

The nearest approach that lays out an architectural view is the skillful work of the DAI (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut) on the Pergamene Asklepieion. Since the 19th century and more recently under the supervision of Wolfgang Radt --director of the excavations since 1971-- the DAI has been conducting excavations and continually

⁵⁰ Marco Galli, "Pilgrimage as Elite Habitus" in Elsner, Jaś, and Ian Rutherford. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 253-290; George Williamson "Pilgrimage and Toursim in Asia Minor" in the same volume.

producing significant amounts of archaeological and textual data on Pergamon.⁵¹ The DAI on the forefront of Anatolian Archaeology should be considered in the broader context of the changing nature of archaeological practice in Turkey. The archaeology of DAI transformed over the years along with the field from its quintessential art historical and archaeological beginnings into urbanistic forms of analysis. For instance, in addition to the expansive typological analysis of the monumental structures within the city of Pergamon such as the Trajaneum, the Great Altar of Zeus and the Sanctuary of Athena, the DAI team has focused on the street systems and their relationship to the general urban fabric as a part of a more holistic approach.

DAI has pursued an active and impressive program of documentation and formal analyses over the years and its publications have laid the foundation for a more experimental phenomenological investigation. This project is essentially taking the next step and performs investigations that DAI itself has not yet completed. In the appendix, a walk-through of the sanctuary, I provide a close critical reading of these layers of archaeological data and underscore how this form of typological precision, despite its rigidity, can be useful for a phenomenological analysis.

Due to available evidence all the investigations of DAI have concentrated on the upper levels of Pergamon where monumental civic structures lay on acutely steep hills displaying the magnificence of Roman and Hellenistic engineering.⁵² Moreover, the published reports and articles concentrate on the Eumenesian city rather than the invasive Roman period during which the urban fabric spilled down the valley erasing the neat separation that was achieved during the Hellenistic period. There are few tentative moves

⁵¹ For more information see W. Radt, "The Urban development of Pergamon," 2001.

⁵² Remodeling by Alexander Conze, Wilhelm Dorpfeld, Theodor Wiegand, Erich Boehringer, : http://www.pergamon.secondpage.de/slideshow/index_en.html, accessed 16 March, 2011.

to describe the later phases of the city; however in general the DAI has not yet applied their rigorous methodology to fully investigate the surrounding region of Asklepieion and the changes it went through in the second century CE.

Because the priorities of DAI's investigation to date lay elsewhere, the position of the temple of Asklepieion is obscured particularly because the temple, old as the city, underwent continuous development and change during which its physical features and its mythical associations altered greatly. In several publications the impressive sanctuary has been studied and represented as an object frozen in time and isolated from the rest of the urban layout.

As is the case with the meticulously executed architectural drawings of the DAI, the buildings of the sanctuary are also analyzed and categorized separately. Standard arguments of 3D reconstruction highlight the problem of isolated analyses of individual monuments. The representations in turn, emphasizing this isolation and persistently distancing the viewer, indicate that the architecture in question is an object under scrutiny, observed, classified and dated, and preferably seen from a plan or a bird's eye view.

Apart from focusing on singular buildings, the publications of the DAI on the Pergamene Asklepieion also favor comparative typological analyses. In order to decode the second century CE architectural language of the Pergamene Asklepieion, Wolfgang Radt compares it to the design of the Marmut Kale complex, and the Demeter Sanctuary both of which have colonnaded porticoes and 'U' shaped enclosures similar to Pergamene Asklepieion. Since Radt's impactful study focuses more on typology rather

than contextual meaning, the use and experience of these spaces are unfortunately not accounted for.

Distancing the agency in this manner eliminates essential questions that would otherwise prove useful for understanding the meaning and usage of a particular space. Asklepieion with its numerous inhabitants, actors and visitors along with its rituals and habits is a ripe area for this kind of study.

1.6 Overview of Chapters

The consideration of healing centers and specific buildings as equivalent to therapeutic machines was forcefully articulated in the 18th century and studies have focused on this notion of the architecture manifesting itself as the healing apparatus. The Romans did not consider the architecture of the Asklepieion as a healing machine, but rather as a collection of curated components that catalyzed healing. It is for this reason that this study relies more on urban theory rather than a Foucauldian philosophy of spatiality. The architecture of the Pergamene Asklepieion was an assemblage controlling and manipulating movement and activities which themselves were believed to facilitate therapy. The entire architecture itself was a container of numerous locotherapeutic experiences.

The increase in type and number of structures and the newly introduced architectural elements to the Pergamene Asklepieion during the second century, created a closely-knit architectural web. The appendix presents a walk-through description of this architectural web, a first preliminary methodological step necessary to later develop my argument in this project that underscores the architectural details and spatial reconfigurations emphasized and curated movements of the patients, placing and

displacing them in precise calculated ways, in an effort to facilitate a holistic healing process.⁵³ As the healing practices changed and locotherapy became prevalent, pathways became instantiations of this change.

The analysis supplements the digital and experiential tools critical engagement with phenomenological theories of Edward Casey and Rudolph Arnheim to understand movement and its perception. It utilizes anthropological theory on flow and stasis, to which figures such as Lynch, Rene Thom and more recently Graham Shane have referred.⁵⁴ In purview these urban theories, various schematic plan drawings with notational overlays are utilized throughout the dissertation to map points of pause and flow. These particular studies when employed against the digital reconstructions help discover and highlight differing particularly less evident pathways that might be hidden in the intricate design of the sanctuary as well as explain the relationship between points of pause and continuous movement.

Chapter 2 ‘Approaching the Cure: From the Street Into the Temple’ is the first to discuss the movement in the context of healing, as it tackles the approach and entrance to the sanctuary. The chapter discusses the way the armatures⁵⁵ and the other markers manipulate pilgrims’ bodies and generated highly ritual sensitive experience. The armatures were paired with the mnemonic devices such as sculptures and inscriptions to

⁵³ Holistic healing is a modern concept that belongs to the vocabulary of modern medicine. Both holistic and non-holistic medicine comes into existence as terminologies after the enlightenment when there is a distinct separation between religion and medicine.

⁵⁴ Shane, David G. *Recombinant Urbanism: Conceptual Modeling in Architecture, Urban Design, and City Theory*, (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005) 33.

⁵⁵ The term urban armature first defined by Roman architectural historian William MacDonald as “an architecture of connection” which “clearly delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas that provided uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings.” William MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal*. Vol. 2. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 3.

impress the image of Asklepios and his associations on the incomer. The commotion of the bodies in Asklepieia was simultaneously contained and leaky, spilling out of the boundaries into the street. The journey of the pilgrim from the street into the temple is mapped, as are the visual, physical displacements, and experiences along the way.

Chapter 3 ‘Taking the cure at Pergamon’ considers the former, the formal movements that were inscribed within the bounds of the sanctuary. A different movement rhythm governs the courtyard of the temple as here each pilgrim follows their own healing procedure ordered by Asklepios himself and conveyed by the priests. Even though these disparate movements appeared inarticulate and uncurated they were in fact highly formal and controlled remedial activities. This movement therapy –locomotion therapy- was strictly tailored to each individual person and his/her illness and as it was performed at a specific given period, thus revealing a component of temporality and also an inevitable ephemerality. The discussion follows the preordained movements of pilgrims, with their predetermined pauses and their controlled paces, their bodies pausing at various spatial enclaves and subsequently moving in transit into other locales.

This chapter also touches on the festivals, processions and smaller scale collective rituals that took place in the temple grounds that can be listed under the category of formal collective movement. These were highly organized and ritualized movements either controlled or regulated by state and/or temple laws. As mentioned previously, as the cult progressed, the number of temple officials and priests increased so did the complexity of its public sacrificial ceremonies. The collective rituals could vary from small choral performances to larger celebrations and stately dedications.

Among all the formal ambulation and exercise that composed active locotherapy, the cult still maintained areas for rest, incubation and dream supplication. As locotherapy became a general practice, these spaces became isolated, entities cut off from the rest of the architectural network of narratives. Particularly in the incubation chambers, the cultic rules were reversed. The patient was expected to be immobile, Asklepios himself, was invited to act physically and apply the cure. Chapter 4 ‘Curative Pauses: Mind in Motion, Body at Rest’ focuses on these curative rest points as architectural nodes of repose and supplication, which become more acute and enduring as the architecture shifts to accommodate movement.

Among all the formal movements of pilgrims prescribed and controlled either by the personal visions of the god or by temple regulations, there was an infinite number of informal movements, of the staff and of non-pilgrims, who would impede on the formal pathways of pilgrims. As other informal ramblings, these types of movement were not controlled and manipulated by architecture, thus it is impossible to map. Nevertheless, amongst the personal narratives of bodily curation, there were doubtless sporadic movements of various cult personnel permeating the porticoes, and entering, exiting various spaces within the temple grounds. Chapter 5 ‘Informal, Un-Prescribed Movements’ addresses these movements, as it traces the subtle in-between pathways that were accommodated in the architecture.

The conclusion aims to address some of the shortcomings of such a study, which has to rely on partial primary evidence. The questions of how locotherapy and the architecture were tailored to gender and class still remain. In addressing movement in context and defining it under a neologism, one must be careful to stress the period-

specificity of the term. Locotherapy does not continue in the Byzantine period as healing begins to entail a different process and carry different connotations. The conclusion highlights the uniqueness of movement in temple healing and proposes further studies.

CHAPTER 2 Approaching the Cure: From the Street into the Temple

As underlined previously, this project resides at the nexus of four disciplines: Art History, Archaeology, Classics, and Architecture. Incorporating a multi-disciplinary methodological framework and relying on diverse forms of evidence the project remedies the absence of contextual specificity, absence of agency and reinsert these factors into an architectural investigation. Here, the contextual specificity comprises both the intangible macro-scale socio-cultural milieu and the immediate physical urban environment surrounding the sanctuary. As mentioned previously my main argument largely depends on the former, i.e. the medical notions and social atmosphere of the second century precipitated the practice of locotherapy in healing sanctuaries, which in turn resulted in particular design choices. The physical context, the immediate urban surroundings within which the sanctuary is placed also provides significant fodder for this argument.

Perhaps due to the extra-urban positioning of most Asklepieia, there is less deliberation given, by scholars of different fields, to the study of the relationship of Asklepieia with its proximate urban or rural landscape. The street leading up to the sanctuary also lacks contextual clarity. This gap in scholarship is made even more visible in Pergamon scholarship since the sanctuary by design has a particularly complex and immediate relationship with its surroundings.

The first part of the present chapter addresses a vertebral road that was designed as a part of the sanctuary and how it communicated both with the sanctuary doors and the immediate urban milieu. The street itself acted as an urban enclave as well as a transition space, mentally preparing the visitors for the ritual and the dietetic movements ahead and physically manipulating their bodies to fit the particular path they should be following.

After a general description of the architectural subtleties along the street, an in-depth analysis maps the formal approach of the suppliants moving from the street into the temple.

The second part of the chapter examines the act of entering the sanctuary, the first threshold, which is not a monumental gate but a transitional structure: a forecourt connected to the street via a vaulted passageway. This unusual amalgamation of architecture, the consolidation between the street and the temple gates is examined at ground level through the lens of the movement. The chapter in general focuses on the continuing and changing formal movement narrative from the street into the temple. Architectural elements such as armatures, nodes and enclaves, all manipulating pilgrims' bodies leading them to pause, contemplate and resume their movements, and prepare them for the locotherapy that was to come ahead.

2.1 The Street

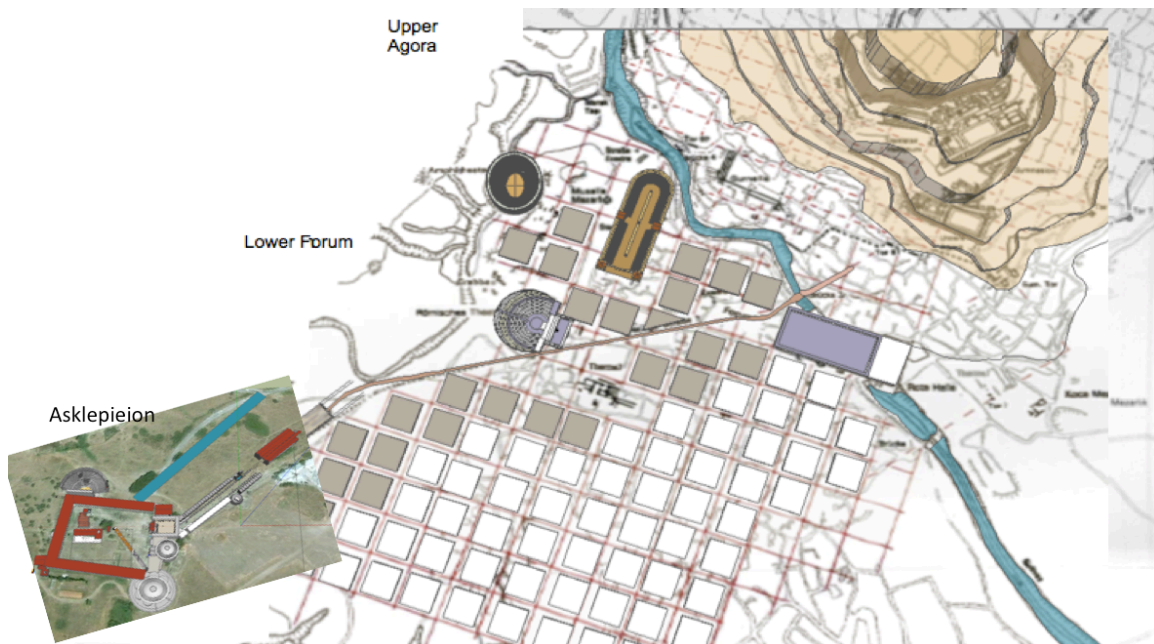


Figure 9 Annotated overall layout of the lower town, Base plan: JRA Supplementary Series no 45, *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*

By the end of second century CE, Pergamon has been under the Roman rule for a total of two centuries and displayed all the characteristics of a well-established Romanized Asian polis. By now, the urban sprawl with its new and old public and private structures and its ever-expanding network of urban infrastructures, took over the plain and almost completely engulfed the sanctuary of Asklepios (Fig 9). This urban transformation was a gradual process, nevertheless, this slow but steady expansion of the civic realm until the gates of the temple did not fail to engender a specific design scheme, which in turn, impressed a change in the way the visitors approached the sanctuary. The previously undefined road to the temple was expanded and redefined by armatures to express varying degrees of ritual sensitivity. This reformulated artery and its architectural additions morphologically clarified the territory of Asklepios to the incomer. Neither the momentum nor the exact process of this urban construction is known. However, the resulting design was a complex mixture of armatures and other architectural components that promoted a particular way of approaching the temple.

The 30 km long main and most probably oldest thoroughfare of Pergamon traversed the entire lower city, changing shape and meaning, before it met the gates of the sanctuary.⁵⁶ The last 3km of this main stretch was transformed into three kinds of street systems boasting three different types of architectural vocabulary, manifesting varying transitions in its path to the sanctuary (Fig 10).

⁵⁶ Radt, "The Urban Development of Pergamon," 52. The roads have been studied both by Hoffmann and Radt. They conclude that there were sidewalks on side streets and on main streets, and a separation in pedestrian and vehicle traffic as well as packed animals. The general width of the road fluctuates between 5-6 meters, corresponding to two lanes. Radt also states that there were large-scale open sewers and also fresh water pipes that would pose as obstacles in the road system. For more information see W. Radt, "The Urban development," 2001 and Adolf Hoffmann, *Wege der Kommunikation in kleinasiatischen Städten*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2008).

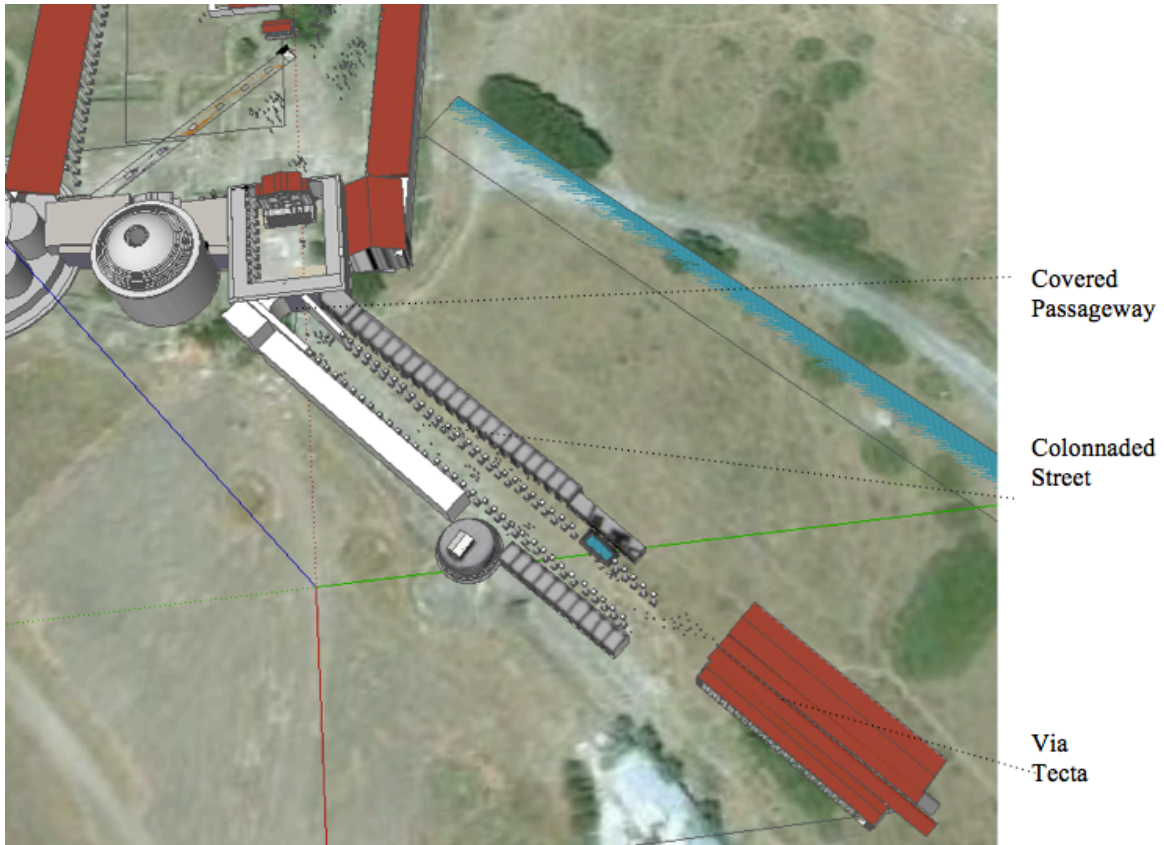


Figure 10 Plan view from Model, showing Via Tecta, Colonnaded Street and Covered Passageway

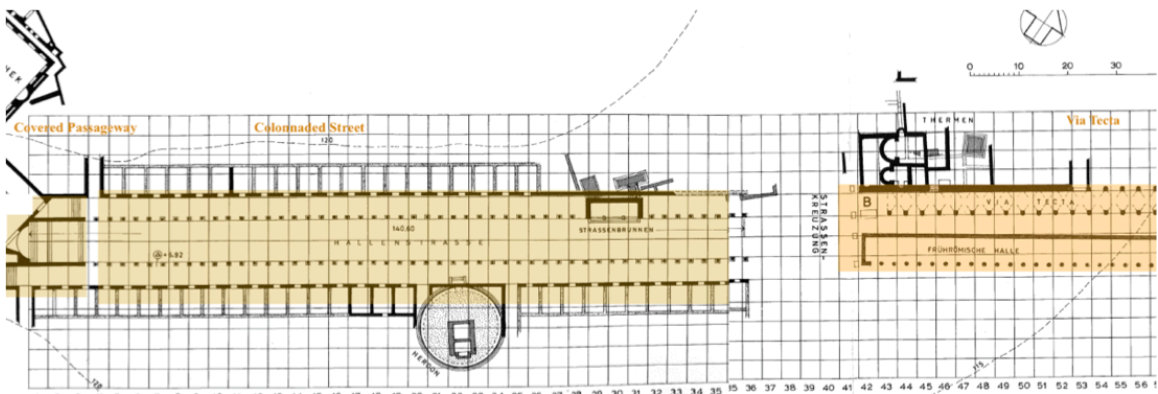


Figure 11 Annotated plan view of the three street systems.

The first substantial structure along the route that can be identified from the ruins is an immense Via Tecta (covered walkway) 20 meters wide and 40 meters in length. This impressive structure with immense piers and cross vaulting carefully incorporated an early Roman stoa and a compact Roman bath into its design scheme. It was positioned

suitably at the center of the dense civic milieu and contributed to the complex urban circulation governing the lower town. The numerous amounts of ceramic sherds, metal weighing and measuring instruments, the abundance of coinage all attest to the existence of commercial activities.⁵⁷ The specifics in regards to activities carried out in the recesses of this building and whether they would have anything to do with the cult of Asklepios are unclear, nevertheless its central positioning implies its role as a unifier of varying urban activities.

The Via Tecta itself as a structure imbued with a plurality of meanings and uses, needs much experiential analysis, nonetheless, the present study is concerned not with the structure itself but with its proximal relationship with the Asklepieion. The western entrance to the Via Tecta was bordering the colonnaded street, the principal road of the sanctuary. The definitive formal approach to the temple of Asklepios began with this colonnaded street, or the Hallenstrasse, as dubbed by the DAI team: a 140.60-meter long colonnaded road interspersed with sculptures, a large fountain and a Heroon (a dedicatory tomb). A colonnaded street was a frequently occurring urban instrument in most Hellenistic sites in Asia Minor as well as Asklepieia, particularly around the second century.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, apart from some common contextual markers such as sculptures, inscriptional plaques, fountains, there was no tectonic similarity between Pergamene Hallenstrasse and other armatures. The street was significantly shorter at length and

⁵⁷ For more on the Via Tecta's structure and its recovered artifacts Oskar see Ziegenaus, Luca G. De, and Adolf Hoffmann, *Das Asklepieion: 4. Via Tecta und die Hallenstraße, die Funde*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984).

⁵⁸ From Ephesus to Aphrodisias to Perge where a main artery peppered with sculptures and inscriptions generates a processional narrative, which cuts through the entire city.

wider at its width (10 m at breadth) than the archetypal urban armature.⁵⁹ The urban sprawl of the second century, did not allow for many broad public areas. Essentially the network of streets was perhaps the only spatial interval among the dense urban fabric. Buttressed by various structures and framed by stoas on either side, the Hallenstrasse acted more as a wide enclave, almost a forum than a simple urban street. With a regular gait (a modern approximation 4.51km/h ~4.75km/h for older individuals and 5.32km/h ~5.43km/h for younger individuals) today it takes about 3-4 minutes to walk from the end of the Via Tecta to the gates. Given the shortness of this pathway, the expansive width and the flanking stoas, this urban armature did not only act as a urban connector, a pathway to reach the gates of healing where individual and collective pilgrim movements were simultaneously contained and displayed, but also as a recess of activity where the pilgrims could stop, converse and perhaps obtain supplies for their supplications.⁶⁰ Essentially, the changing temple practices and their dependence on regimented cures and locotherapy did require particular dietetic provisions. The healing procedures not only included locotherapy (such as bouts of exercise and ritual gesticulations) but also involved dietary requirements. Thus, in addition to incense and sacrificial cakes that were required for supplication, there was a need to acquire particular nutritional effects.

The disrupting crowds, visual markers and indeed affects of illness on the pilgrim might have made the experience of the *Hallenstrasse* a longer and a more arduous affair,

⁵⁹ The separation of the two roads and the varying rhythms of architectural elements may denote to a practical meaning. The change in the structure and size of the road could be a case of demand and supply. The colonnaded street with its significant width must have provided enough space for the increasing number of visitors and pilgrims who started frequenting the Asklepieion after Hadrianic restorations. In this case, its breadth and openness must have relatively reduced problems of crowding and both visual and physical density. Giorgio Bejor, *Vie Colonnate: Paesaggi Urbani Del Mondo Antico*, (Roma: G. Bretschneider, 1999).

⁶⁰ Vitruvius demands “the sides of public roads should be arranged so that the passers-by can have a view of them and make their reverence in full view. (De arch. 4.5.1)

or contrarily, the curative provisions and imagery of the god⁶¹ along the way, might have made the journey more pleasant and encouraging. There were many senses modulating the experience, both exterior –sounds of the ailing pilgrims, the shop venders and noise of water from fountains, smell of incents and herbs or burnt sacrifices wafting from the temple, visual displays such as sculptures of Asklepios, Hygieia Telesphorus or perhaps even graffiti along the stoa walls- and interior –sense of wellbeing- of the approaching body.⁶² The architecture of *Hallenstrasse* was designed to contain and frame these experiences. Even though, as is its nature, phenomenology requires a certain amount of conjecture and it is nearly impossible to capture the significance and the multitude of experiences surrounding the avenue, the tectonic elements and the subtle changes in architectural language give us enough clues to at least partly reconstruct the street experience.

For the most part, it is not possible to fully understand the complexity of urban circulation at this dense urban zone; however, there are subtle clues in the remaining architecture that point to the existence of movement curation and bodily manipulation. Despite, the inconclusive information regarding the relation of the two urban structures, the termination of Via Tecta 15 m prior to the Asklepieion’s main artery, indicates a will to physically separate the civic realm of the Via Tecta from the ritual milieu of the sanctuary. This separation was achieved through several ways. Firstly, there is evidence that Via Tecta emphasized its termination point –or entrance depending on the direction

⁶¹ The imagery that is available on the street would also provide a new point of fascination and observation. In this light, Cicero speaks of “observantia by which we revere and cultivate those whom we recognize as preceding us in age or wisdom or honor or in any form of worthiness.” Cicero, *de Inventione* 2.66; See also David Fredrick, *The Roman gaze: vision, power, and the body*. (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

⁶² Richard Brilliant, “Let the Trumpets Roar: The Roman Triumph”, in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. Bettina A Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1999), 222-3.

of the incomer- with an armature –possibly an arch, the details of which are not known. Secondly, the generously wide, 25m road crossing at the end of Via Tecta, acted as a conclusive element, a closure point to the main artery of the city.

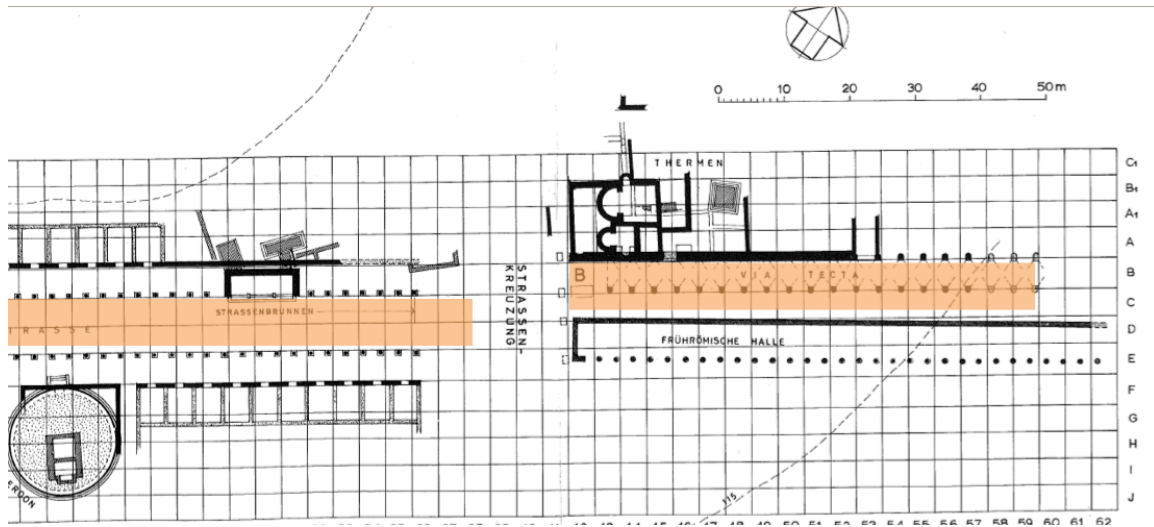


Figure 12 Annotated plan (DAI) indicating the misalignment of *Hallenstrasse* and *Via Tecta*.

Furthermore, the two roads were not only disconnected but also misaligned and displaced so as not to reference one another (Fig 12). *Via Tecta* lied 10-15 m north of the colonnaded street hence the paths of the two roads did not cross. Whether this was a intentional design decision is not clear, however the resulting bodily maneuvering prepared the visitor for the realm of Asklepios. The views from the closed walkway betray that there was no direct visual relationship between the two structures and the views do not display much of the entrance to the temple. It is possible that this offset relationship was created purposefully to startle the visitor and perhaps was intended to cause a mind shift as he/she stepped into the sacred way.⁶³ The pilgrims coming out of

⁶³ Ron Maldonado states in an interview that a Navajo sanctuary in the Rainbow Bridge Canyon was deliberately set up to have this kind of an effect on the visitor. In the area of Diné where a lot of ceremonies and rituals are tied to the natural landscape, a sanctuary was carved out of a rock that was itself situated on the top of a hill. The Navajo built holes carefully carved onto this rock to act as a ladder that leads up to

the cool and dark Via Tecta would have to rethink their path to enter the sun drenched sacred way.

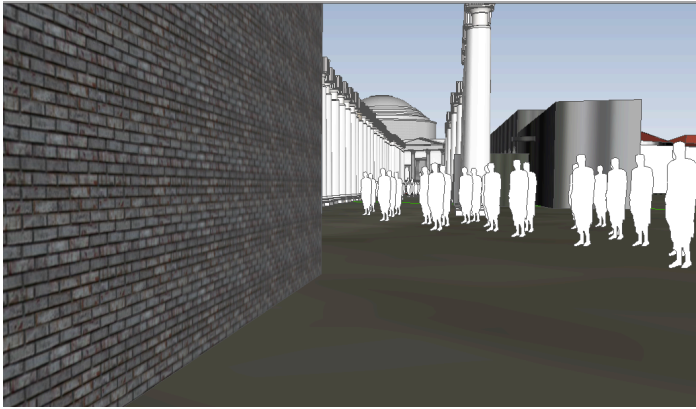


Figure 13 Gradual approach to the temple gates beginning with Via Tecta



Figure 14 Gradual approach to the temple gates from the Roman portico

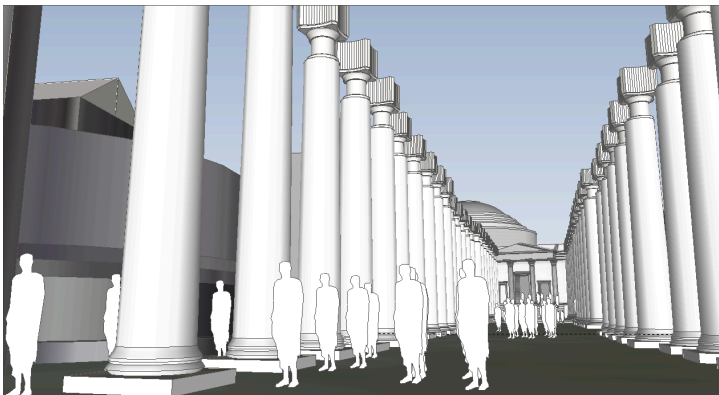


Figure 15 Gradual approach to the temple gates from Via Tecta through the Hallenstrasse

this sanctuary. At the last hurdle, the steps were deliberately to stop the visitor and to urge him/her to think about the sacredness of the space as he/she arranges his feet. (2010, March 20, Interview at ETC Visualization Portal). For more information, see <<http://hypercities.ats.ucla.edu/#collections/31105>>

The architectural configuration of *Hallenstrasse* armatures, and their perspectival emphasis makes the viewer look towards the temple, towards the end point of the journey. As the gates to the propylon forecourt were positioned at a 52° angle to the road, the temple and the presence of Asklepios remained visually elusive. Although, the architecture of the armature acted as a system that produced tension and uncertainty the pilgrims through various other sensory stimuli were already aware of what was to come ahead. Their senses exposed to the smell of incense, burnt offerings, sounds of lamentations and prayers that resonated through the sanctuary walls; the pilgrims were propelled forward to catch the sight of the entrance.

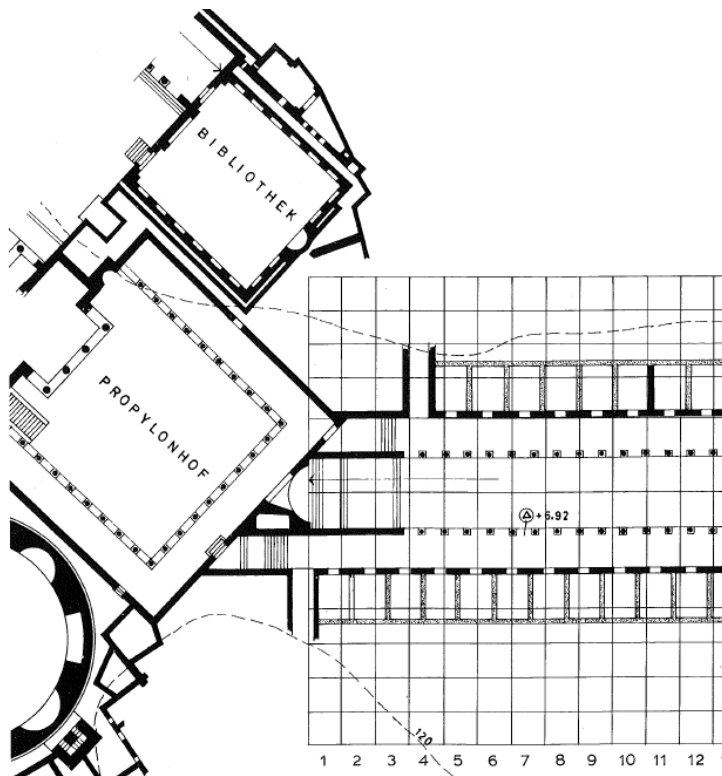


Figure 16 Plan (DAI) showing connection to Propylon forecourt



Figure 17 View towards the gates today, photo by author



Figure 18 View while entering the covered (Conchenausbildung) passageway today, screenshot from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZlglFhCon2g>

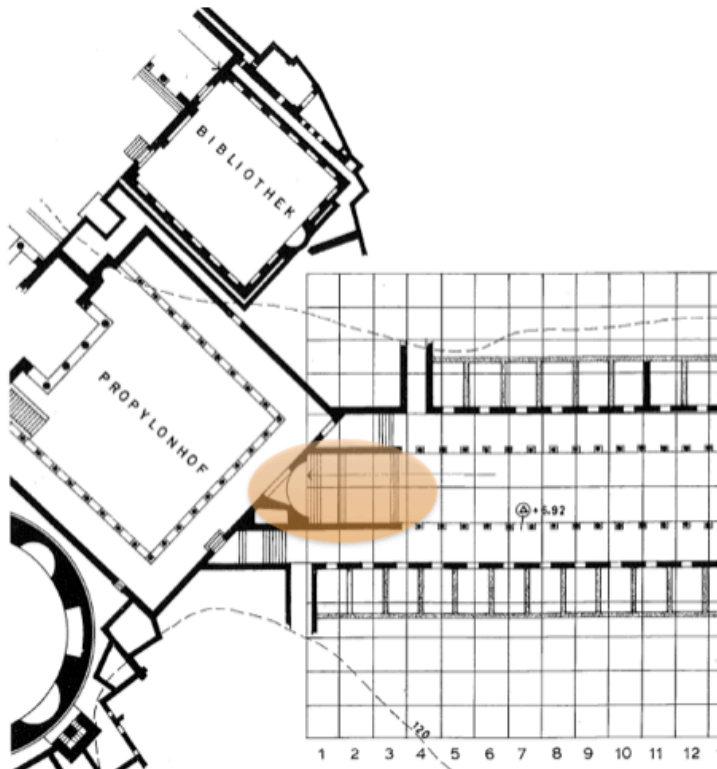


Figure 19 Plan (DAI) indicating the covered passageway annotated by the author.

After engaging with this highly manipulative and unsettling set of architecture, the pilgrims finally reached the gates of the forecourt (Figure 18,19) at which point they walked through a third architectural system: a covered passageway (*Conchenausbildung*). This piece of architecture was built to consolidate the angle between the street and the forecourt. Its enclosing sides and narrowing ends guided the pilgrims. It allowed them to correct their posture in relation to the sanctuary doors. The temporary transition of the pilgrims into the darkness of the covered passageway and then immediately into the light flooded forecourt appears to be a conscious decision to prepare them for the ritual space ahead.

These postural adjustments are jolts that pause the automation in walking --and perhaps the train of thought that follows that rhythm-- to remind the walker of the

meaning of the space he/she occupies or is heading to. Macauley defines urban strolls as acts of dislocation and relocation within new boundaries and territories.⁶⁴ The possibility invites further reflection: This deliberate act of disconnection does indeed define a new territory, causing a mental dislocation followed by its relocation in a new mindset. The mind adjusts as the feet adjust.

Above discussions on the mental and physical experiences of moving pilgrims all fall under the category of individual movements. The collective movements, such as festival processions would render a different street experience, perhaps the ritual boundaries as well as the pace would be more fluid, continuous and better coordinated. There are records on the yearly festivals in Epidauros where the noblest citizens wearing white *chitons* would have a procession to the temple. There are no such records for the Pergamene Asklepieion. The limited textual and archeological evidence regarding the practice of Asklepieion festivals hinders the chance of understanding the street experience during ritual processions.⁶⁵ There are various references to collective ritual activities within the temple grounds from Aristides' accounts; whereas the nature of processional festivals is unknown. Were these ritual processions coming down to the temple, frenzied events, such as the Lupercalia⁶⁶ or Dionysiac festivals or were they solemn more quiet events, where the priests would simply carry the torches down to the

⁶⁴ David Macauley, "Walking the Urban Environment: Pedestrian Practices and Peripatetic Politics," in *Transformations of Urban and Suburban Landscapes: Perspectives from Philosophy, Geography, and Architecture*, ed. Gary Backhaus and John Murungi, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books: 2002), 194.

⁶⁵ We know from the epigraphic evidence (Ditt. 398, 13; CIG. 4016 and 4017; BCH. X. 415, n.24) that *Megala Asklepieia* contests were held in Kos, Ankyra and Thyateira although the details of these ceremonies and games are not known. Walton concentrates on recounting the festivals in Athens, as there is not much evidence regarding festivals of Asklepieia in other cities in Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios*, 72.

⁶⁶ Plut. *Life of Caesar*, 6.

temple altars?⁶⁷ What is of note however is the unsuitable nature of *Hallenstrasse* for such lavish and crowded events. There is a distinct lack of high podiums, prominent structures or even larger public spaces from which one could view the parade. Shops often took up the spaces in between the columns, and the little space left in between could not have accommodated a large audience, but perhaps only a small privileged crowd.

If in fact the entire design of the *Hallenstrasse* was a response to ideas of individual locotherapy and dietetic healing practices, then it is possible that the street was planned not for the collective movements of stately processions but for the movements of individual patients. In its design the street emphasized horizontality due to its wide breadth, its relatively lower columnar arrangement and its lack of podia. The porticoes closed off views to the rest of the city and isolated the street from the surrounding urban structures. The entire design along with its sculptural references to Asklepios, attests to this deliberation at accommodating the individual healing journey.

⁶⁷ Vitruvius mentions the heralds passing through streets preparing for the festivals. Vit, *Num.* 14.

2.2. At the Gates

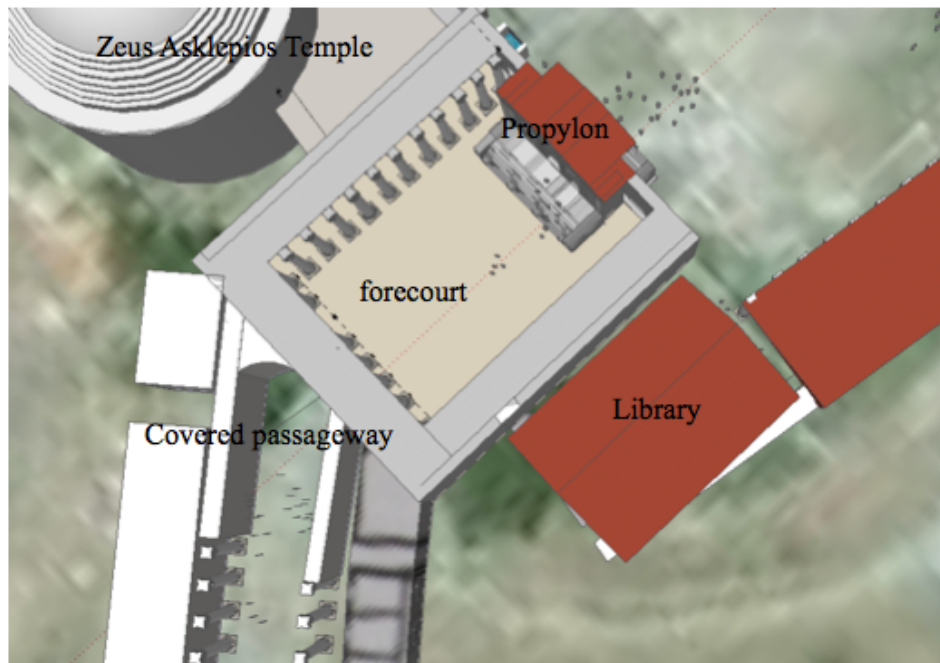


Figure 20 Aerial view of the model showing the forecourt

The first structure that one entered from the Passageway was the Propylon forecourt. The Charax Propylon, so-called due to the inscriptional evidence, was a transitional device strategically built between the street and the monumental gateway. This type of Hadrianic propylon often had generous interiors⁶⁸ and was found in several sanctuaries in Asia Minor during the Imperial Period. However here the court is positioned before the gate as a forecourt and is not a part or a continuation of the architecture of the propylon. This common architectural trait was employed in the context of the Asklepieion in a very specific way. As hinted before, the participation in the cult of Asklepios was largely individualistic. Even though, the healing processes were controlled

⁶⁸ Eleusis went through a similar refurbishment during Hadrianic rule and the Popylaia, were a part of a general refurbishing of the whole entrance area to the sanctuary In Margaret M Miles, “Entering Demeter's gateway : the Roman propylon and in the city Eleusinion”, in *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, ed. Bonna D Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 128; Miletus, Bouleterion (170 BCE) also entailed a propylon forecourt and the Aphrodisias propylon to the temple of Aphrodisias and the Sebasteion, entailed spacious interiors.

and guided by the priests and the temple staff the experience itself was geared towards the individual. In this light, the forecourt was constructed as a preparatory space for the individual, a space for pause and contemplation, a space, which simultaneously defined a boundary between the street and the temple.

Despite its highly moderated and curated scheme of architecture, the forecourt acted less as a *place* of inherent activity and more as a *space* through which the pilgrim passed.⁶⁹ Aristides refers to a smaller and momentary assembly, a processional gathering, which materializes around the propylon, which later moves down the steps to the courtyard to participate in the courtyard rituals. The limited size of the entire forecourt and its surrounding unpaved porticoes, which clearly continue the architectural language of the *Hallenstrasse*, attest to the conclusion that the structure acted as a curated passageway not an enclave for gathering.⁷⁰

The remains today indicate that there were three gates that led to the propylon forecourt: two of them were as side entrances from the hallways of the colonnaded street while the central one was accessed from the main *Hallenstrasse*. The covered side porticoes or stoas of *Hallenstrasse* meet the forecourt structure at a lower level than the main street thus, the two side entrances only need three small steps to reach the forecourt. The central entrance from the *Hallenstrasse*, on the other hand, gradually lowers to the level of the forecourt with a wider 2-stage staircase. This indicates a more calculated move, a slower descent to the forecourt. The guiding imagery and the architectural cues

⁶⁹ For details on the demarcation between space and place see Edward Casey, “How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: phenomenological prolegomena,” in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996), 13-52; see chapter 2 for relevance for this study.

⁷⁰ For the architectural detailing of the *Hallenstrasse* and the forecourt please refer to the appendix.

suggested that the formal journey to the realm of Asklepieion started out at the *Hallenstrasse*.

The walk from the beginning of the street up to the gates would have taken about 3-4 minutes, while passing the main gate, circling the forecourt and reaching the temple courtyard would have taken another 5-6 minutes. This short walk, which started out quite linear, began deviating and descending gradually, conceivably impacting the pace of the incomer. Despite the lack of evidence regarding the true use of these three entrances and whether they were designed for different echelons, the prevailing architecture indicates a distinction in experience. There is less of a formal descent and more a quick access from the two side gates while a ceremonious approach is expected of the main gate.⁷¹

Despite its inconsequential size the central doorway called for a more formal approach. Its size was equal to those of the side entrances. Furthermore, the spacious *Hallenstrasse* was deliberately narrowed at the very last minute before it connected to the doorway with semi-circular covered passage directing and almost forcing the walker to pass through this gate.⁷² This temporary narrowing of the path resolved immediately after walking into the generous forecourt.⁷³ The pilgrims were not in fact just following a continuous steady route, through it their bodies were being maneuvered and being prepared for the imminent locotherapy that they were going to receive once they have committed themselves to the temple rules and regulations. The variations and

⁷¹ Altertumer von Pergamon (AvP) 11 (3), 6; The narrative of the side entrances is however, a completely different phenomenon. What they represent is not a ritual sensitive move, but a practical one. They act as quick access points. For more information on the informal pathways see chapter 5.

⁷² O. Ziegenaus suggests that the semicircular so-called *Conchenausbildung* was most probably added later on to further make the transition a smoother one in AvP 11(3).

⁷³ This experience of a constriction and an immediate expansion has been noted by space-place theorists: Rudolf Arnheim, *The Dynamics of Architectural Form: Based on the 1975 Mary Duke Biddle Lectures at the Cooper Union*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977),157.

modifications of architecture stressed previously, as well as now-lost sculptures, modulated and informed the experience of the pilgrims causing them to pause and reflect on the treatments to come.

There is also a gradual lowering of the altitude for the pilgrims who advance from the street level to the temple ground level through the central doorway. These postural adjustments are interruptions that pause the automation in walking --and perhaps the train of thought that follows that rhythm-- to remind the walker of Asklepios and the proximity of his realm. This deliberate act of disconnection does indeed define a new territory, causing a mental dislocation followed by its relocation in a new mindset. The mind adjusts as the feet adjust. As the target changes the body advances to reach that target.



Figure 21 View showing the entrance through the gates into the forecourt and the resulting postural adjustments, photo by author

Pilgrims entering and immediately turning their bodies to position themselves within the forecourt met a continuation of the architectural language that was employed

in the *Hallenstrasse* (Fig 21). The 5m elegant columnar arrangements ,which started out at the beginning of the *Hallenstrasse* extended into this new enclosed space and became more attenuated with high relief Corinthian capitals.⁷⁴ This topological invariance was effective in informing the pilgrims of the continuing ritual language. The roughly square shaped forecourt was surrounded on three sides by a similar arrangement of porticoes with smooth finished andesite Corinthian ordered columns on pedestals. The eastern and southern walls were approximately at right angles, while the north wall to the east wall of the courtyard formed an obtuse angle.⁷⁵ This seemingly symmetrical arrangement was interrupted with the monumental scale of the propylon looming across from the three gates. The height and the size of the propylon were significantly larger than the forecourt to remind the visitors of this important threshold. The floor of the three circulating colonnaded porticoes around the courtyard was not paved while the courtyard itself was laid with 5cm thick marble panels horizontal rows from east to west.⁷⁶ There are few remains of andesite towards the east of Propylon; however they are not clear enough to attest for the existence of an altar for votive offerings.⁷⁷

As a wide square courtyard with surrounding colonnaded porticoes, the forecourt provided an interval or rather a prequel to the looming ritual experience, which was to be experienced after passing through the gates. It acted as a vital node, a moment of

⁷⁴ Avp 11(3), 11.

⁷⁵ The north-south overall width of the court, measured between the outer walls is, on the entrance side 32.0 m, on the side propylon 32.50 m. The corresponding clear dimensions between columns stylobaten amount to 22:22 or 22.66 m; the east/west dimensions are no longer precise as they were defaced by later changes in Avp 11(3), 7.

⁷⁶ Avp 11(3), 10.

⁷⁷ Avp 11(3), 12; The excavations of Wiegand and his conclusions also are critiqued by the O. Ziegenaus since they seem ambiguous. The details of the architectural order of propylon forecourt is problematic as well as the roofing of the courtyard (hofhallen).

preparation, and a *place* of reflection before entering the ritually charged atmosphere of the temple. This ‘place’ of recess was in fact the very first space where bodily curation was impressed on the ill pilgrims. This was the beginning of the formal sequential journey that would continue into the temple.

O. Ziegenaus argues that there is a lack of overall symmetry in the architecture of the forecourt and posits that this was a result of a state of “enforced emergency” during the building campaign whereby the builders were pressed for time for the reopening of the sanctuary.⁷⁸ However, these uneven situations that seem to ‘distort’ the symmetry of the forecourt, appear intentional and most often symptomatic to the workings of the Asklepieion. The forecourt is an example to how tenacious the architecture of Asklepieion is in manipulating bodies and accommodating their varied movements. It held in a configuration of various zones of pause, stop, and passage, fast and slow movement. Here, the symmetrical aesthetic concerns gave way to the necessity of bodily curation as well as the necessity to cater for the curated pilgrim. The space was subtly molded according to specific cultic practices.

After descending the staircases of the curving covered passage, and adjusting to the abrupt angle, the pilgrims entered the main gate and turning immediately 90 degrees right or left, walked through the colonnaded porticoes surrounding the courtyard. As the cult practices required suplicants to walk barefoot and make contact with the earth, the floor of the porticoes, left purposefully unpaved, enabled the very first physical contact with the deity and his sanctuary. The bare earth guided the pilgrims and provided them with a designated path, which extended into the sanctuary and its spaces. This act of passing through the doors and stepping onto the earth was a more corporal initiation, a

⁷⁸ Avp 11(3), 11-2.

form of tactile rite of passage as opposed to the more visual initiation experienced at the entrance of the *Hallenstrasse*. It was a higher degree of ritual experience, another pause, another point of displacement for the pilgrims' mind. In their particular state of mind, the pilgrims' would then circumnavigate the courtyard, which was paved with elegant marble slabs and perhaps view the *Lex Sacra*, or an altar that was positioned in its center and approach the monumental gate.⁷⁹

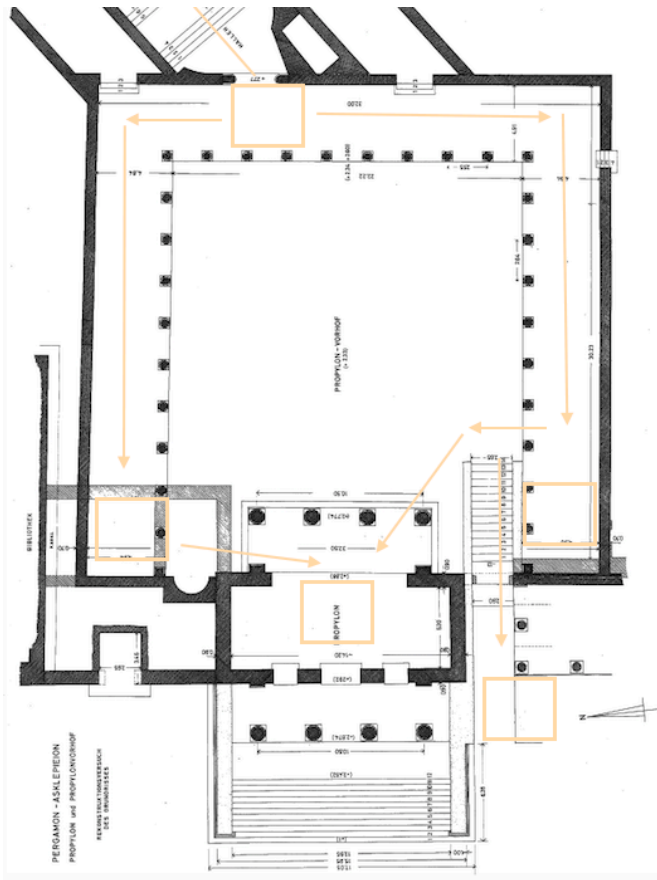


Figure 22 Plan (DAI) showing zones of pause and motion annotated by the author

Figure 22 proposes the possible zones of continuous movement and pause, areas of displacement and replacement where the pilgrims adjust to new conditions. At the entrance, the feet adjust to the stairs, the angled turns, eyes adjust to the bright sun

⁷⁹ Today there is a column, an altar remains that might have been brought from outside the sanctuary. The remains do not give enough clues to the existence of an altar in the center.

drenched forecourt as the mind adjusts and reflects; as they turn the corners the body orients itself once again until they reach the propylon or the side staircase.

Certain strategic places or nodes where pilgrims paused as they moved through the space could be interpreted as control points specifically laid out for varied activities. During the construction of the Rotunda building, the Zeus Asklepios temple, a new semi-circular niche was built on the north side of the building, which caused the shortening of the south hall of the propylon (Figure 23).⁸⁰

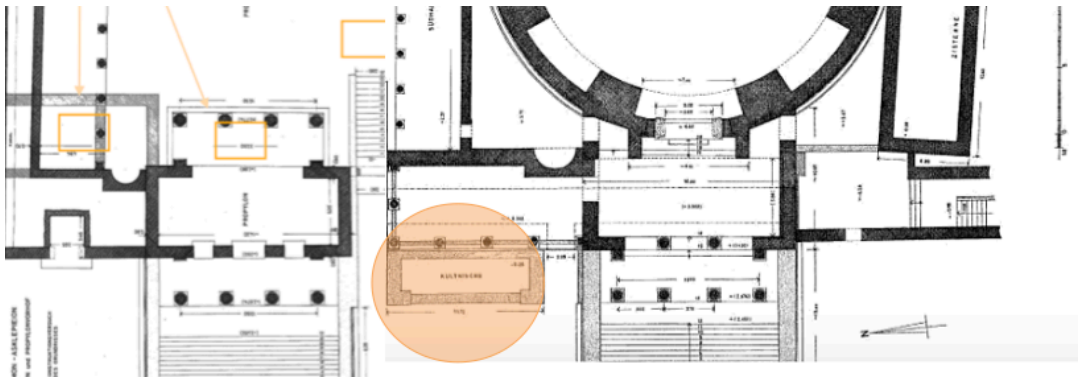


Figure 23 Plan (DAI) showing the cult niche between Propylon and Zeus Asklepios Temple annotated by the author.

Reports designate a cultic function for this niche. This could be one of the stopping points for the pilgrims where they interacted with the temple staff, perhaps going through the procedure of donating money or being inspected before they went through to the main gate.

It is not clear whether this circumnavigation around the courtyard and the pauses in between encouraged the pilgrims to move further along or exerted a breaking force on their pace as they were initiated into the temple space. Yet one can postulate that, they

⁸⁰ The north hall of the propylon was similarly shortened during the Byzantine period and a two roomed Baptisterium was added to its end.

were more encouraged to continue on the preordained path rather than discouraged since, as in the *Heilige* street, the end point of the journey kept shifting. Even though the monumental gate was visible, the temple grounds remained elusive and invisible as they were at a lower level than the forecourt. The side staircase positioned south of the Propylon was considerably narrow and was visually embedded into the podium of the forecourt. This positioning ultimately only provided limited views into the temple courtyard. The pilgrims could not see the Asklepieion in its full glory unless they were positioned within the propylon, which was at a higher level and framed views quite purposefully.

The west façade of Propylon was the first monumental Imperial form that the pilgrims experienced. It is not clear how they would approach this structure – from the sides through the unpaved halls or from the center through the paved courtyard. Arnheim, scholar of Art psychology argues that the way to experience a façade depends on “the plainness or richness of its appearance.”⁸¹ A very rich façade with volumetric precision and intense articulation will require more distance for viewing. The Romans had a similar notion as articulated by rhetoricians regarding mnemonic systems. Due to the limitation of space and the relatively oblique way with which the pilgrims were to approach the propylon, the eastern façade was particularly kept austere with little frill and almost no decorative elements or legible imagery.

The Propylon entailed major points of stasis for the moving body, exerting a breaking force these points caused an increase in impetus. It prompted the expectant pilgrim to move unhurriedly from a narrower, more modest volume (forecourt) into the immense volume of the sanctuary courtyard.

⁸¹ Arnheim, *The Dynamics*, 19-20.

It is not known if there was temple staff present at the Propylon; given the importance of this transitional monument, one would assume that some sort of mediation must have been present.⁸² In the Titane Asklepieion serpents were kept at the gates of the sanctuary and the pilgrims were required to feed them to gain access to the temple.⁸³ The sanctuary did have opening and closing hours and there were staff available to monitor the doorways as well as control and oversee access to the temple area.⁸⁴ However, considering the layout of this system of architecture, it is most likely that the personnel were positioned at the entrance to the forecourt and not at the Propylon itself. The side stairs and various auxiliaries to side spaces made the forecourt harder to supervise. Places have the capacity to both hold ‘in’ and hold ‘out.’⁸⁵ In this light the whole system of the forecourt was composed and designed as a filter; the various pauses, stopping points, causing displacement in mind and body operate as a refining mechanism. In fact, the Propylon itself -only attached to the wall system at its south end- seemed to have been built to act not as a control point, a simple architecture of passage but more as a symbolic gateway. If the forecourt was the architecture for ‘perpetual arrival’ then the propylon represented the exact point of arrival. It granted final permission.⁸⁶

⁸² Aristides comments on the temple opening hours and the locking of doors. Asklepios temples were locked at night but a single entrance was often left to give suppliants a glimpse at the treasures and/or the imagery within the temple. The key of the gates to the temple were considered sacred and the key-keepers were important personnel in the temple hierarchy. Arist. *Hieroi*, 448, 1. For more information on the key-keepers see Walton, 44-45.

⁸³ Paus. II. 11, 8.

⁸⁴ Aristides mentions this, Behr 1.30.

⁸⁵ Casey, “How to get from space to place,” 24-25.

⁸⁶ James F. D. Frakes, “Monuments of Passage: Roman North Africa and an Emperor on the Move,” *Arris; The Southeast Chapter of The Society of Architectural Historians*, 19 (2008), 55.

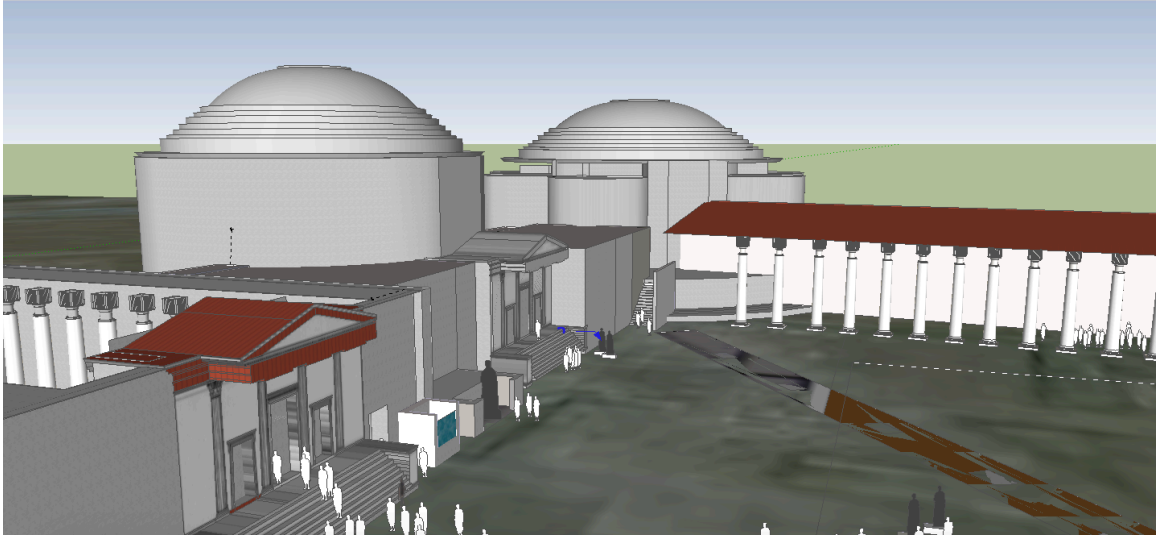


Figure 24 View Towards Propylon and Zeus Asklepios Temple

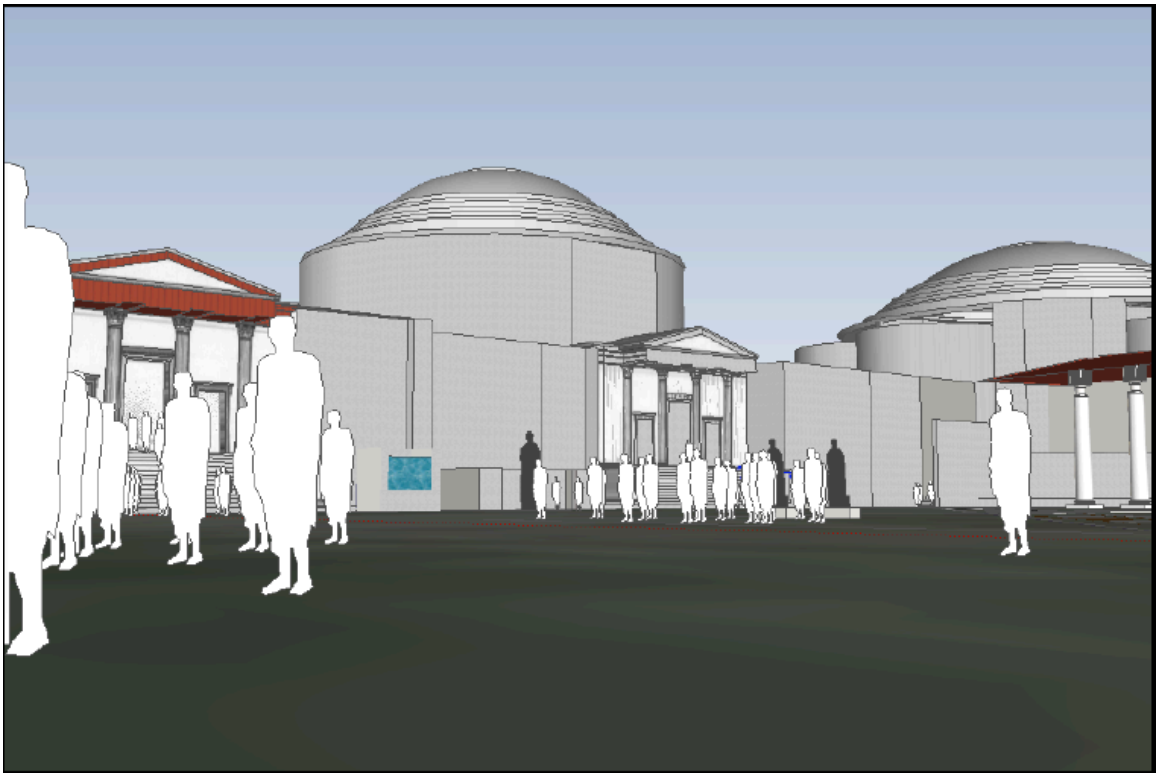


Figure 25 View from the courtyard towards the Propylon

Viewed from the lower level of the courtyard, this imposing authoritative point of entry, which acted almost as an architectural filter, assumed a different function. Juxtaposed between the Zeus Asklepios Temple and a two-story library building, the

building comfortably fit within an existing architectural narrative.⁸⁷ Viewed from this angle, it acted almost as a stage set. Beyond its walls and the three doorways, the forecourt itself, acted as a Roman theater building, the elaborate propylon a part of the *scaenae frons* with a *post scaenas* (a backstage) with *portus post scaenas* (three doorways leading to post scaenas), in other words, the entirety of the forecourt was a metaphorical backstage. As the pilgrims inhabiting the courtyard looked up towards the propylon, they would immediately see incoming visitors and their slow descend. This image of pilgrims making their way down the steps, was also a part of a much larger décor, a theatrical arrangement which not only included the Propylon façade but similarly featured the columnar ordering of the short portico and gateway of the Zeus Asklepios temple to the north. This slow descent of approximately 3 meters, was a continuation of the moving narrative that began in the *Hallenstrasse*. Even though, the pilgrims experienced a certain amount of bodily manipulation traveling into the temple, the formal initiation into the temple grounds where they would participate in their individual locotherapeutic treatments began after they set foot on the courtyard.

In his *Logoi* Aristides, records his own corporal and mental experiences throughout his stay and his journey as a pilgrim. He underscores the atmosphere of the forecourt and propylon by detailing the *purifactory* ceremony, as he entered the sanctuary:

“I stood at the propylea of the temple. Many others were also gathered together as whenever there is a purificatory ceremony at the Temple. And they wore white garments and the rest of us an appropriate form.”⁸⁸

⁸⁷ The main draining channel that lies beneath the remains, attests to the fact that the *Hallenstrasse*, the propylon, the forecourt and the Zeus Asklepios temple were all planned simultaneously. Avp 11(3), 13.

⁸⁸ Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi*, XLVIII; Charles Allison Behr. *Aristides, Aelius, and The complete works* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 31.

The propylon podium provided the first overall view of the sanctuary in its entirety. In Aristides' rendition the propylon forecourt is more a viewing platform than a ceremonial gate. As a high-class citizen, he had perhaps a more privileged position as a spectator to watch purifactory ceremonies from the propylon podium.⁸⁹ Even though, we have no evidence suggesting the particular use of this area as a platform for spectators or its use by other pilgrims, the view to courtyard was readily available to anyone descending the monumental steps. The ritual activities, the remedial movements of pilgrims prescribed by the god and the temple personnel involved in these personal journeys would have been visible to all. Viewing these movements, the pilgrims would have been mindful of their own bodily gestures, which were soon to be a part of this healing narrative.

Aristides, in an earlier log, recounts his initiation to the temple. The entrance, the point of pause and contemplation, the point of sacred passage is marked and memorialized with a collective choral song and a particular imagery:

On the second, I dreamed that I was in the Temple of Asclepius at dawn, having come straight from some journey, and was glad because it had been opened early. I dreamed also that the boys sang the old song, which begins. 'I celebrate Zeus, the highest of all' and were singing the following part of the song: By far, by far the essence of life for me. Is to sing of the gods and in joy to soothe my heart under such a teacher.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ There was a culturally imposed visual hierarchy and structure and statues were arranged according to this rule. Vitruvius stresses the importance of positioning altars and temples so that the ones who are praying and sacrificing may look upwards towards the deity. Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 4.9. In this light, in the Pergamene Asklepieion, the Zeus Asklepios was certainly revered by looking up, and did not allow views, who might be demeaning for the god. Ambrosius Macrobius states "Verrius Flaccus reports that when the Roman people were in the grip of a plague and an oracle said it was happening because the gods "were being looked down upon," the city was seized by anxiety because the oracle was opaque; and it came to pass that on the days of the Circus Games a boy was looking down on the procession from a garret, reporting to his father the arrangement of the secret sacred objects he saw in the cart's coffer. When his father told the senate what had happened, it decreed that the route of the procession should be covered with an awning; and when the plague had been put to rest, the boy who had clarified the ambiguous oracle gained the use of the praetexta as his reward." In Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.6.15.

The experiences of Aristides belong to a ceremonial, ritualistic entrance. It allows a kind of memorialization of an initiate who is following the preordained, formal path of pilgrimage. The sensory stimuli work in unison to reinforce architectural cues. The moving body is put into certain positions, squeezing through the doors, passes through certain paths –as it moves through the circling halls, as it stops it contemplates and is exposed to visual and aural cues. This system is designed to engender physical and mental displacement and replacement.

2.3 Conclusion

Regulating the path of the pilgrims who entered the grounds from the *Hallenstrasse* into the lopsided square structure of the forecourt was the prequel to a more ordered healing narrative, which was to come ahead.⁹¹ Observing various sculptures, smells and sights incense and medicinal herbs being sold by venders, the pilgrims slowly approached the temple. The loud cries of the venders and cacophony of the crowd most probably was reduced as the patients made their way into the propylon forecourt and subsequently other stimuli took over such as the prayers and sounds of the sanctuary, the smell of burning incense and offerings. The sanctuary with its hierarchical staff was much more choreographed in its scheduling and activities hinting a different pace and a redefinition of the everyday.⁹² The pilgrims now assumed a different mind

⁹⁰ Behr 1.30.

⁹¹ Galli has already underscored the preparatory function of the propylon forecourt in the context of pilgrimages. Galli, "Pilgrimage as Elite Habitus," 272.

⁹² There is significant stress given to the complexities of activities carried out in the temple and the staff involved in Aristides' accounts. See Aristides, Aelius, and Charles Allison Behr. *The complete works*. (Leiden: Brill, 1981)

frame and perhaps anticipated the changing atypical sense of time⁹³ as they wondered perhaps about the opening hours of the temple, the times and lengths of the rituals and other daily ceremonies that seemingly had different rhythms compared to the urban activities and the city bustle.

It was first in the forecourt that the pilgrims began to adopt the ways of the sanctuary, its rules were imposed on the incomers as they stepped into the colonnaded court. The perception of time was also modified as it took on a certain ritual sensitivity. There were set activities and bodily motions that had to be followed within a specific time frame. Here, the bodies were no longer seen as civic bodies passing through the streets, they immediately assumed the role of the patient, the pilgrim. They had to be controlled, clothed, properly purified and most importantly orchestrated according to the regimens assigned by the god himself.

⁹³ Romans read time in several ways, sometimes through the landscape and sometime through the built environment. Aristides refers to the time passing by, as he accuses of Bassus his companion of procrastinating: “You see,” “How the shadow is passing by?” In *Hieroi Logoi*. XLVII.

CHAPTER 3: Taking the Cure at Pergamon

3.1 The Courtyard as a Container of Ritual Movement and Dietetic Locotherapy

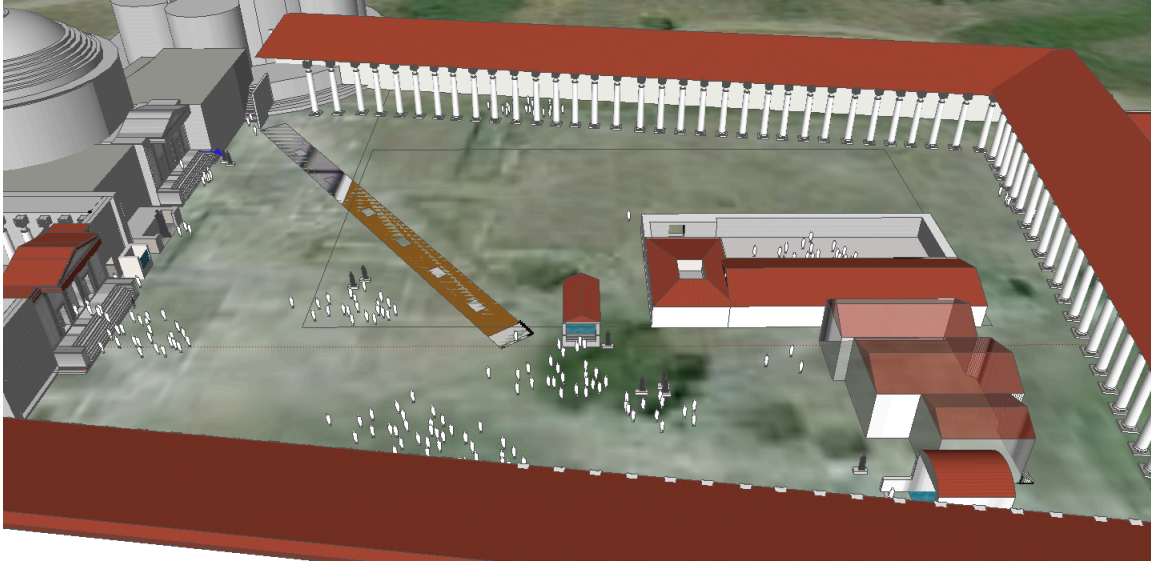


Figure 26 Overview of Courtyard from the Sketch-up model

Petsalis, in her seminal work, refers to Foucault's *Order of Things* to demonstrate how the design of the Pergamene Asklepieion uses ordering principles, and taxonomies to counteract the disorder of disease. In this light, the renowned scholar of Classics addresses *communitas* and personal journeys and how bodies were choreographed, governed physically and mentally controlled through the *Lex Sacra*, a second century inscription displayed at the gates of the temple.⁹⁴

Building on the premise of controlling and ordering of bodies in motion, this project proposes a different hypothesis. The Foucauldianism here is not the need for classification of disease and as a result an ordering of bodies in space, but the inevitable re-ordering and designing of space according to prevailing healing practices. The

⁹⁴ Petsalis-Diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wanders*, 221-276; Also Petsalis-Diomidis, "Visual Dynamics in Healing pilgrimage," 205.

changing nature of temple healing has been addressed in chapter 1. I postulate that the therapeutic movements at the courtyard of Asklepieion were under two categories: the repetitive and mandatory ritual tasks that were controlled by the temple staff, and listed on the *Lex Sacra*, outlining the cultic rules and regulations, and the personalized dietetic and therapeutic movements prescribed by the god for each individual pilgrim.⁹⁵ Petsalis tends to accept these two varying movement narratives as one and holds the *Lex Sacra* as the sole curator of movement.

As previously mentioned, the process of healing by the first and second centuries had become a more complex affair. Acquiring treatment in the Pergamene Asklepieion was a rather long and arduous procedure, which involved various activities and numerous people. The temple transformed by this process of inhabitation, assumed a more complicated architecture. The courtyard with its cluster of temples and its framing colonnades was the nucleus of all this activity. Since they were ritualistically and officially prescribed and controlled through the temple staff, the dietetic movements are best considered as formal and highly curated events.

Bathing, exercises and other therapeutic activities occurred here and within the courtyard while prayers and dedication were carried out in cult niches and temples located within this courtyard. The walking, running, talking, praying, washing and sacrificing pilgrims as well as the temple staff milling around the courtyard would have been immediately within the pilgrim's vision. It was here that the images, the sounds and smells of illness were most manifest.

⁹⁵ Michael Wörle, *Die Lex Sacra Von Der Hallenstrasse* (Berlin, 1969). E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents* (Leiden, 2005), 61-3.

In this, chapter I examine firstly the collective and individual ritualistic movements and their marked pathways within the courtyard as well as the neighboring spaces. In comparison to Petsalis, I take a more architectonic view and stress that the architecture and materials reinforce the ritual movements of the pilgrims already dictated by the *Lex Sacra*. Secondly, I focus on how the dietetic movements and exercise regimens prescribed are accommodated within the courtyard. In both cases, the analyses aims to reconstruct and map varying clusters of movements, moments of pause and motion, while factoring in the multi-sensory experiences.

3.2 The Collective Preordained Movements (Formal)

Like most cities and urban complexes, the courtyard was dense with fountains, sculptures, countless altars, tables on which numerous votive offerings, ranging in value from simple earthenware to expensive gold were laid. All these artifacts were set against the backdrop of an already hybrid architectural language. There were new and old buildings and buildings which were most probably in middle of restorations.⁹⁶ In addition to this inanimate amalgamation of artifacts there were sacrificial animals. Personal sacrifices were usually a cow or a ram while the state sacrifices could include larger animals such as oxen.⁹⁷ In this lively, noisy and most probably chaotic scenery, possibly sullied by animal sounds and litter, the movements of the pilgrims wearing white *chitons* were quite discernable.

⁹⁶ On the range of votive offerings see Hamilton, *Incubation, or, The cure of disease*, 32.

⁹⁷ Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum consilio et auctoritate academiae regiae litterarum Borussicae editum. (CIA). II. 1, Add. Et Corr. 453b and c; Paus. I. II, 7; Worth, *Asklepios and the Coins of Pergamon*, 46. Walton, 69.

The formal movements in the courtyard were not only carved out by various structures and nodes within the courtyard, but also through the temple staff and the *Lex Sacra*. This was a rather collective formal path, which every initiate had to follow. The Inscription *Lex Sacra* displayed at the entrance, on the *Hallenstrasse*, outlined the ritualistic movements of the pilgrims, which were closely monitored by the temple staff and by this inscription. There was a specific order to the ritual actions before each particular request and/or incubation. The inscription outlined clearly the type of sacrifice, its amount and the method with which it was carried out. The complexity of these dedicatory rights and thank offerings is clear from the list of multiple cultic nodes, sacrificial tables, boxes and multifarious statues mentioned in the inscription.

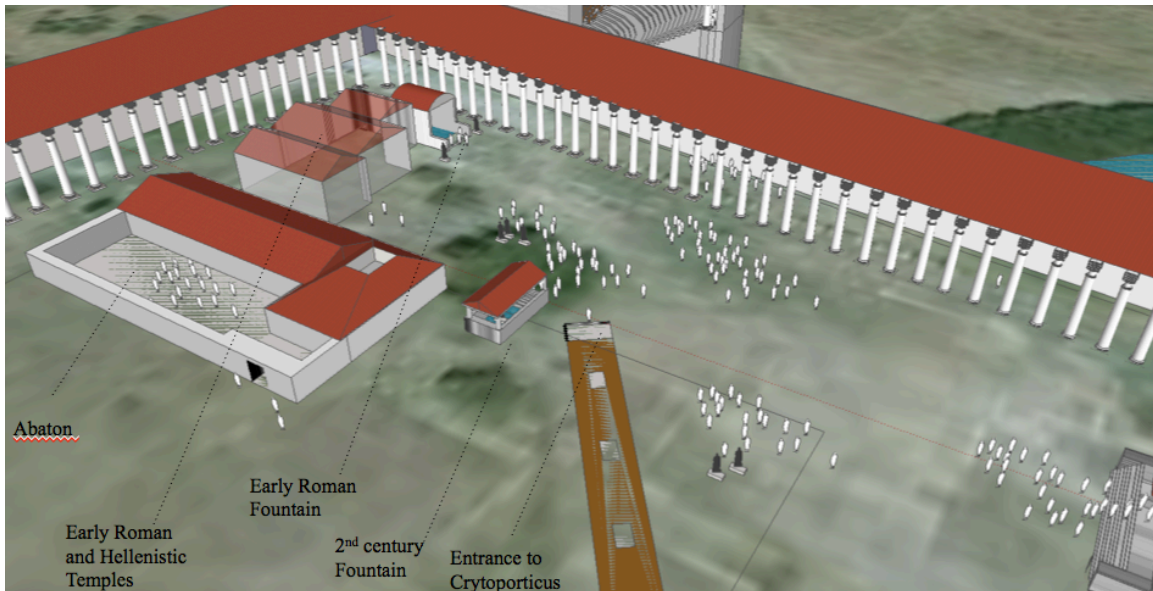


Figure 27 Structures within the courtyard

The *Lex Sacra* listed preliminary sacrifices before incubation, consisting mostly of a leg and entrails and ribbed round cakes with nine buttons made successively

to five gods: *Zeus Apotropaios*, *Zeus Mellichos*, *Artemis*, *Artemis Prothraia*, *Gaia*. The biggest sacrifice of all was to Asklepios. A suckling pig's right leg and entrails had to be placed on the altar table for the residing god and immediately after this act the suppliants were to put three *obols* (silver coins) into an offertory box. This indicates the complex movements of the pilgrims, their attendees as well as animals all milling around in between the altars, temples and fountains within the courtyard. The position of the various features associated with different gods such as *Artemis* and *Gaia* are not clear from the remains. There were however various niches and small cult spaces around the courtyard to where these gods might have been situated.

The spaces between the cluster of temples and fountains on the north-western section of the courtyard must have been quite packed with altars. The extant remains do not give any clues about the situation along the southwest zone; however, attached to the eastern retaining walls between the library and the propylon as well as between the propylon and the Zeus Asklepios building, there were two sizeable cult niches which presumed to have been part of these ceremonial acts. Similarly within the western portico there were two exedras, which may have served a similar purpose as they also face the courtyard. The complex and meandering paths of the suppliants in between these various sacrificial points despite seeming chaotic, was in fact controlled. They were instructed to move between various zones in a certain sequence and within a particular time frame.

The *Lex Sacra* not only spelled out the direction and destination of these collective paths but also the manner of the movements. It states:

All those worshipping the god are to perform a sacrifice in a circle (?) with [cakes] dipped in honey and oil and with incense following the priest and [. . .]⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Quoted in Petsalis Diomidis, "Body in Space," 203.

After the necessary sacrifices before and in between incubations, the suppliants were also expected to make payments. Coming out of the incubation chambers as cured or having acquired the necessary prescription, the pilgrims would have to again move to a specific zone within the courtyard and offer a payment into the offertory box of Asklepios, a Phokaian hekto to Apollo and a Phokaian hekto to Asklepios.⁹⁹

In addition to these personal ritual narratives, there is evidence that there were lively performances and collective rites at and around the courtyard. According to Pausanias, at the Pergamene Asklepios was celebrated in conjunction with Zeus, Athena and Dionysos; a bull was divided into four parts, to be offered as a sacrifice to each god.¹⁰⁰ The chorus sang and various other activities were organized such as performances in the theater honoring Dionysos.

For the public sacrifices the temple was magnificently adorned, the tables and altars were decorated by the head priest and "...the images of Asklepios and Hygeieia were placed on couches, and tables stood near for the offerings. An important feature of the public ritual was singing the pean, a song which was orthodox version of the birth and life of Asklepios."¹⁰¹ The procession of boys choir, who assisted the priest in lighting fires, swinging the incense and performing light duties chanted in unison and

⁹⁹ On the format of the collective formal movements see Galli, "Pilgrimage as Elite Habitus," 273.

¹⁰⁰ CIG. 3538; Paus. III. 26, 10. We don't have too much information on the route, the structures and temples that were included and were revered during the ceremony; what imagery was related and how did the procession move, clockwise or anticlockwise. Diane Favro states "rituals frequently moved counterclockwise and topographic descriptions, such as lists of Rome's hills, were often similarly ordered. Tacitus described Romulus plowing a furrow to define the area of early Rome by moving in a counterclockwise movement from the Forum Boarium to the Forum Romanum (Tac. *Ann.* 13.24). This rotational direction probably derived from solar orientation and timekeeping." In Diane Favro, "The Festive Experience: Roman processions in the urban context" in *Festival Architecture*, ed Sarah Bonnemaïson, and Christine Macy, (London: Routledge, 2008) 25.

¹⁰¹ Walton, 69; CIA. II. I Add. Et Corr. 373 b; Aristides, *Logoi.* 516, 15.

circumnavigated the courtyard, as the head priest officiating the sacrifice at the altars.¹⁰² The accounts of Aristides, though giving snippets of sacrificial acts and purification ceremonies do not include collective festivals or whether he was participating.

3.3 Secular Movements: Exercise/Walking

The secular dietetic exercises took up a significant percentage of the movement within the courtyard. After incubation and consulting the priests, the suppliants would follow what Asklepios ordered. This almost always involved a moderation of diet, abstinence or indulgence in bathing and a form of exercise.

Aristides always lists his therapeutic movements, as specific sequences prescribed by the god. He specifies his exercises, his ablutions and his dedications, which he performs mostly in the courtyard and in front of his ‘spectators’. His emphasis on the exactitude of his actions bespeak the importance of the appropriate positioning of one’s body during this locotherapy, according to the various sacred wells and altars as well as the timing and sequence of each activity in the courtyard.

One of his cures involved covering his body with mud and running three times around the cluster of temples in the courtyard during a stormy night.¹⁰³ Aristides, is careful in describing his corporal experiences in minute detail. The affective environment, the surrounding view and particularly the brisk weather impacting his senses are common threads in his movement narratives. He often specifies his physical exercises, particularly running and swimming and carefully notes them in *stades*. His reports carefully focus on clarifying the distances completed under specific temporal and

¹⁰² Ibid. 70

¹⁰³ ST 2.74–6, Jas Elsner, *Pilgrimage*, 197.

meteorological conditions, clearly matters that carry weight in his competitive individual healing regimen.¹⁰⁴

“A cold bath was given as a cure for rheumatism. It was cold autumn weather and he was unable to move. In a dream he received a message to run ten stades and take a cold bath at the end. He ran the ten stades, against a stormy north wind, had an enjoyable bath in the river, and for a few months after enjoyed good health.”¹⁰⁵

And in another account:

“It was foretold to me to return immediately once I had bathed and had chopped up some cassia and smeared it about my neck. I accomplished the two hundred and forty stades both ways while it was remarkably stifling and I endured the thirst more easily than someone going home from baths. Again he sent me after commanding me to drink cold water. And I drank it all...”¹⁰⁶

“And, drawing far apart from the others I went toward the Temple with one attendant and ran no less than three hundred stades. It was the time after the Sacred Lamps. While I waited for those who had been left behind and an inn was being got ready, I spent my time, just as I was from the road, walking about the Temples and going up and down about the sacred precinct.”¹⁰⁷

Aristides’ paths designated by the god had both formal and informal qualities. After carrying out specific exercises and ritual, he had the time and the permission to wander around the temple. Similarly, his account on January 3rd 167 AD, indicates an intense regimen followed by a less formal ambulation around the temple courtyard. Aristides’ accounts do raise certain fundamental questions regarding the circulation within the temple grounds, particularly within the courtyard and its adjacent spaces. Were the temple grounds readily available for such informal ramblings or was this only allowed for a privileged few? Were there any interesting features that would encourage

¹⁰⁴ Fitting well into the spirit of the sophists, Aristides displays an agonistic attitude when describing his exercises. He insists on stressing that his regimen were the hardest, his runs the farthest and his physical tasks the most difficult.

¹⁰⁵ Behr, 357.

¹⁰⁶ In the summer of 148 CE Aristides goes to another journey from Pergamum to the warm springs, *Logoi* III.7.

¹⁰⁷ *Logoi* V. 28.

such leisurely walks of the pilgrims? Radt proposes the possibility of the porticoes being used as *Museon* –ancient equivalent of museums where learned discussions and instructions would take place- as they boasted rich frescoes and possible display areas for sculptures.¹⁰⁸ Given that pilgrims could enter the porticoes at any point, one wonders whether these wanderings of Aristides in fact involved him walking the porticoes and viewing the displays with his so-called companions.

Apart from this possible use of porticoes as spaces of casual rambling and intellectual discussion, pilgrims could also follow the unpaved pathway around the courtyard as a form of physical and mental exercise. Providing shade and protection from the elements, these structures, in design and scale resembled the *xystoi* of gymnasia.¹⁰⁹ Both Hoffman and Radt argue for the existence of a Hellenistic structure underneath the south portico and arguably the dimensions of this portico resemble a *Laufhalle* – a running hall. It is not clear whether the second century portico was used for this purpose; however, among the various references to his walks and runs that Aristides includes in his *Logoi*, a significant number of them take place within the temple grounds, particularly

¹⁰⁸ AvP 11 (5) 239; For Museums in the Roman period and the economy of collecting see Steven H. Rutledge, *Ancient Rome As a Museum: Power, Identity, and the Culture of Collecting*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), D.E. Strong, 'Roman Museums' in *Archaeological Theory and Practice: Essays Presented to Professor William Francis Grimes* ed. D.E. Strong (London 1973), 247-64.; Bounia, Alexandra. *The Nature of Classical Collecting: Collectors and Collections, 100 BCE-100 CE*. (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ *Vit.* 5.11.4; This kind of colonnade is called among the Greeks *ξυστός*, because athletes during the winter season exercise in covered running tracks. Next to this "xystus" and to the double colonnade should be laid out the uncovered walks which the Greeks term *παραδρομίδες* and our people "xysta," into which, in fair weather during the winter, the athletes come out from the "xystus" for exercise. The "xysta" ought to be so constructed that there may be plantations between the two colonnades, or groves of plane trees, with walks laid out in them among the trees and resting places there, made of "opus signinum." Behind the "xystus" a stadium, so designed that great numbers of people may have plenty of room to look on at the contests between the athletes." Translation by Morgan from Morris H. Morgan, *Vitruvius, the Ten Books on Architecture*. (S.I.: Nabu Press, 2010).

around the courtyard.¹¹⁰ In Aristides' dreams, the god Asklepios specified not only the distances he had to cover but also the time and the place of these exercises. Aristides himself described his sensory experiences during his locotherapy in great detail as he moved around the courtyard under changing weather conditions. These snippets of ritual action and bodily curation provide enough evidence for a study of possible movement analysis within the courtyard.

3.4 Mapping of Movement: Pause and Motion, Zones of Movement along Porticoes

The pilgrims, like Aristides, guided by their dream visions would move along constantly undulating and oscillating paths within the courtyard. They drew water from the Hellenistic fountains whose stairs descend touching the sacred ground water, and made libations or giving prayers on the temple altars whose steps ascend towards the heavenly statues of gods and goddesses. The armatures defining the courtyard served as signposts. The colonnades served as boundary markers, guiding the circulation of pilgrims while the clusters of fountains, temples and altars acted as focal nodes around which pilgrims' bodies were compelled to move. Throughout the day ritual boundaries within the courtyard would alter in locality and time both according to individuals and according to communal movements.

In addition to the pilgrims taking up most of the courtyard and its auxiliary spaces, there were countless votive inscriptions and thank offerings, which combined text

¹¹⁰ *Logoi* 54-55 "...A river flowed by the estate where I was staying but the descent to it was rather rough and steep and at the same time less than ten stades. It was not possible to run by running parallel to the river but river proceeded to flow by another estate, where there was now a fair and picturesque spot for wading. I contrived the following. I ordered that the distance appeared as sixteen stades, I left the last ten stades for the race but I proceeded over the first six in a carriage. Then I alighted and ran and I scarcely dragged my feet and at the same time raging north wind drove my cloak back, and caused a remarkable amount of perspiration. Therefore when there was no end of it, I allowed it to chill me as much as it wished. When I reached the bank I gladly threw myself into the water."

with image that were positioned randomly in the space according to the god's or suppliant's wishes. In addition to the more expensive bronze votive plaques there were numerous cheaper wooden versions.¹¹¹ As was each offering, each form of locotherapy was also geared towards the individuals; hence, the courtyard became a container of both active –i.e. in the forms of locotherapy- and static –i.e. votive offerings- personal healing narratives.¹¹²

As mentioned previously, most scholars have already considered the colonnaded porticoes as framing devices. Radt argues that the Asklepieion porticoes lost their autonomy as singular buildings and as a part of the whole complex, worked more as multifunctional decorative elements.¹¹³ Here in the Asklepieion, the colonnaded porticoes operate not only as framing devices and mechanisms for holding disparate and various geometries of space together, but also as facilitators and conservers of movement and pause. The unpaved earthen floor of the porticoes presented a telling contrast to the colorful marble wall revetments. This unlikely juxtaposition was a purposeful tactic to mark out pathways for the pilgrims, who were required to ambulate barefoot and establish direct contact with the god.

Within the courtyard, the pilgrims were encouraged to walk, carry out libations and other curated tasks and enter various buildings and spaces allocated for differing functions such as the library, the theater or the incubation chambers, all of which required

¹¹¹ Petsalis indicates that “These dedications were dispersed throughout the sanctuary, but together constructed a community of past pilgrims in bronze and marble” in Petsalis, 2006, 217.

¹¹² Ibid. 206. Petsalis lists examples from *Lex Sacra* and from Hieroi logoi to underline the visibility of this personal encounter. The act of *theoria*, viewing offerings and the second century literature on the description of the imagery has been discussed by several scholars. She mentions Achilles Tatius' Leukippe and Kleitophon. In this study, however, the method in which these personal narratives were read gains importance; namely ‘viewing by walking.’

¹¹³ AvP 11.5, 240.

specific bodily gesturing and positioning. The placement and movement of the sick bodies were curated and regulated by several pathways that led to these specific spaces. The porticoes, in this context of the Asklepieion, can be categorized as armatures since they defined specific pathways around the courtyard and provided sensory cues for walking pilgrims. The overall simple architectural language, the unpaved floor, the various tectonic and framing motifs accommodated a range of behaviors including uninterrupted preordained actions. These could include continuous movement through the structures as well as sudden or predetermined stops creating points of *epiphora*¹¹⁴ and displacement.

Apart from the continuous circulation within the porticoes there were zones of miscellaneous activities as well as zones of pause, which perforated the barrier created by these structures. The long portico, which was closed for private functions, is conjectured to be the gymnasium, which Aristides mentioned often in his *Logoi*.¹¹⁵ Aristides writes, in the winter of 146/7 CE, the god ordered him "...to take some mud pour it on myself and sit in the courtyard of the Sacred Gymnasium, calling on Zeus, the highest and best god. This also happened before my spectators."¹¹⁶ The possible settings of Aristides' activities could be respectively, the mud pit next to the *abaton*, the exedra with its cultic niches or the long hall. Regardless of this conjectural positioning of this narrative, the proximal relationship of these structures in fact does define a specific zone, a focal area of movement and rest. This is only one of the myriad small-scale movement narratives,

¹¹⁴ Aristotle defined metaphor in terms of motion: as an *epiphora* --a displacement from something to something else--. Paul Ricoeur discussing the metaphorical denotations of the term suggests that *phora* means displacement in space and not meaning in Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 46.

¹¹⁵ AvP 11 5.p. 239

¹¹⁶ *Logoi*, II. 77

which take place both within the courtyard and within the porticoes. The pilgrims following the formal movements ordered by Asklepios created pockets of concentrated movement which infiltrated the colonnaded porticoes at various places.

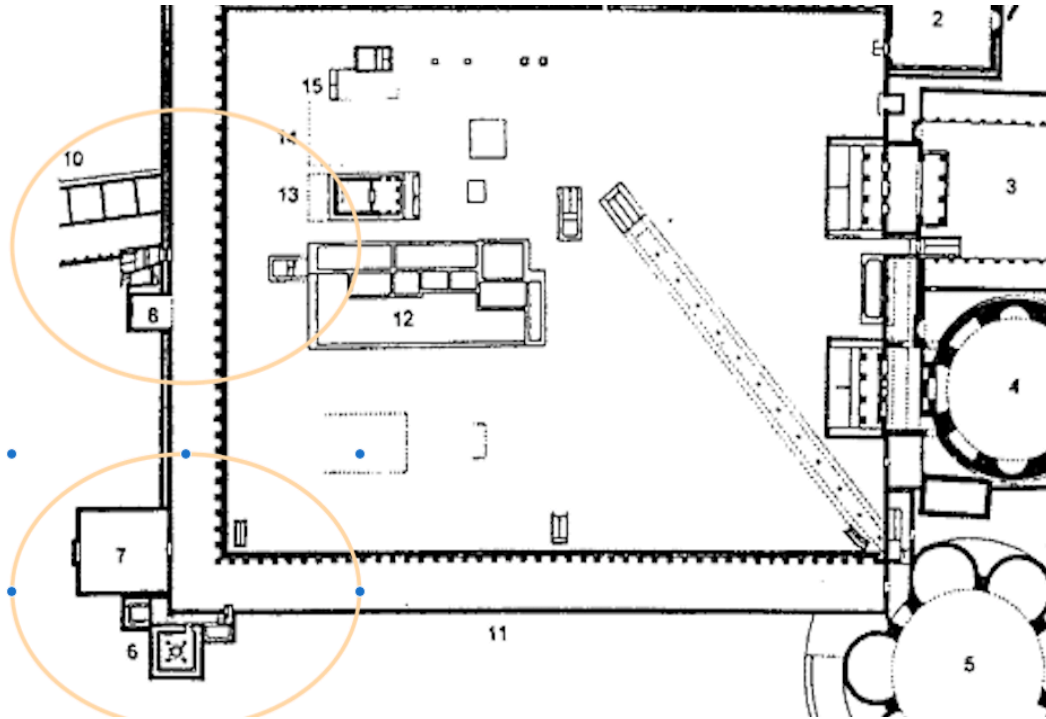


Figure 28 Plan (DAI) indicating two circles outlining pockets of movement annotated by the author.

The two zones of activity of Aristides are examples for possible bodily manipulation and movement direction that took place within the grounds. A similar hypothetical journey could be constructed between the mud pit, the exedra and the long hall. The pilgrims bathed in warm mud in the open courtyard, exposed to the elements then passed through the portico feeling the unpaved floor beneath, moving into the semi-closed space of the long hall by walking up steep steps then pausing to supplicate. They then moved back down into the portico to enter the adjacent marble clad exedra to place an offering before moving out of the portico one last time.

Another zone of pause and activity, yet another defined spatial pocket, which could be considered a part of a sequential journey was the cluster of southwest hall, the cryptoporticus and the latrines positioned on the southwest. The *Lex Sacra* specifies the carrying out of dedications and offerings before entering the incubation chambers as well as the sanitation processes which ought to take place prior to any supplication. The proximity of the spaces required for these sequence of activities, namely the southwest hall for dedications, the staircase to access the cryptoporticus and the latrines for profane tasks all suggest that pilgrims moved in between them.

The sensual undulation between various altitudes, movements between unpaved and paved spaces, closed space and open spaces all changed according to each personal journey and each healing narrative. These sequential journeys required a constant physical and mental placement and replacement. Aristides' accounts also clarify that his daily rituals and prescribed regimens took place both in and out of the bounds of the sanctuary. He travelled down to the river, often times on foot and bathed in it. In some instances, he was ordered by the god to first dig trenches, then walk uphill to the sanctuary, carry out a sacrifice within the courtyard where bowls were set up after which he would share it with fellow pilgrims.¹¹⁷

In another instance, he states:

“I was lying in accordance with a certain dream vision, between the doors and latticed gates of the Temple and the god gave me the following verse...Then I anointed myself in the open air, in the enclosure of the temple and bathed in the Sacred Well and there was no one who believed what he saw.”¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ *Logoi*, II. 18-22, II. 26-28; II 48-49

¹¹⁸ Behr, 71.

Whether these healing procedures took place within or outside the Asklepieion or simply in transition, the sensory aspect took on a particular importance. As Aristides follows his own prescribed locotherapy in the courtyard he comments on the weather and clouds: “Not many days later, there arose a storm and the north wind stirred up all the heaven and many black clouds gathered together and again a new winter weather.” Not only did the atmospheric qualities of the courtyard have an effect on Aristides, but also the activities he puts his body through cause him intense corporeal sensations and so he continues, “in these circumstances he [Asklepios] commanded me to use the mud by the sacred well and to bathe there. Therefore even then I afforded a spectacle. So great was the coldness of the mud and air that I regarded myself lucky to run up to the well. And the water sufficed me instead of other warmth.”¹¹⁹ In a way, the sensory experiences inextricably a part of the locotherapy confirmed the legitimacy of the cure.

3.5 Other Spaces for Individual Movement Curation

Aristides’ accounts also mention other spaces for ritual activities other than the courtyard. In one describing his dedications to Zeus, Aristides refers to a statue as well as a sacred tripod that was set up in a temple. Though it is not possible to confirm the context as the Zeus Asklepios temple it provides some clues as to how it might have been used.

“And I dreamed that I had this inscribed and that I was going to make the dedication as it were to Zeus... After this, when we took counsel in common about the dedication, it seemed best to us, the priest and the temple wardens to dedicate it in the Temple of Zeus Asclepius for there was no fairer place than this. And so the prophecy of the dream turned out. And the tripod is under the right hand of the god and it has three golden statues one on each foot, of Asclepius of hygieia and of Telephorus.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ *Logoi*, II. 74.

¹²⁰ *Logoi*, IV. 46-47.

Apart from larger festivals during which the space must have been used, temples were also frequented by priests to carry out dedications. Often these dedications were personally ordered by upper class citizens such as Aristides. Nonetheless, it appears that the architecture commanded exclusivity not inclusivity. Not all pilgrims' healing narratives would have included a dedication at the Zeus Asklepios Temple.

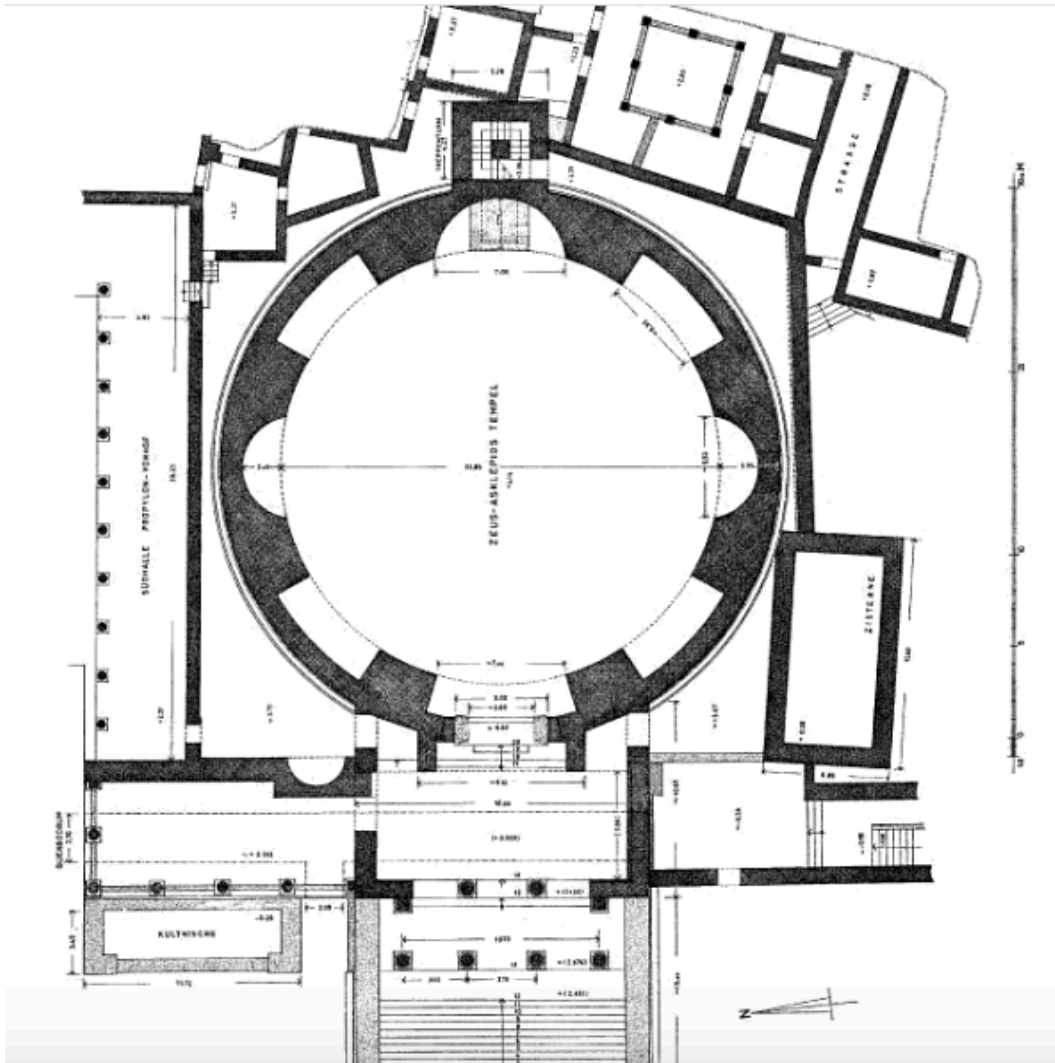


Figure 29 Plan (DAI) of Zeus Asklepios Temple: DAI Altertumer von Pergamon

Termed by Habicht as the Zeus Asklepios Temple, the large rotunda adjacent to the propylon was without a doubt the focus for a certain amount of ritual activity. The

particularly monumental temple financed by L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus meticulously plated with dark grey to reddish brownish andesite was an impressive structure.¹²¹ Built simultaneously the addition of the propylon to the complex, the temple sat on top of the plateau that partially covered the forecourt and the base of the temple.¹²² Its rather strange proximal relationship with the propylon forecourt was the result of a gradual construction process and the accumulation of elements from various building phases. When the final design was completed it quite literally touched the propylon forecourt and was aligned in the east-west direction had its entrance in the west and the main cult niche in the east.¹²³ The almost 5m thick walls, the circular and symmetrical geometry accommodating niches inevitably led the DAI team to associate the structure with the contemporaneous Pantheon in Rome; thus the subsequent reconstructions of the building in excavation reports both by Radt and Hoffman all include a grand dome topping off the design as a part of a Hadrianic design. Coordinating both formal and informal circulation, the architecture of the Zeus Asklepios Temple told a variety of stories.

To decode the narratives hidden in the architecture of the Zeus-Asklepios building, one needs to begin with its entrance. What did the pilgrims see when they took the steps to this massive structure? What formal difficulties did they face while entering it? The vast entry hall of the Zeus Asklepios Temple certainly calls for a formal approach, as it is divided into two parts: an indoor portico with wide intercolumnar

¹²¹ AvP VIII 3 (1969) 13; the evidence is scarce to support this assumption.

¹²² Avp 11(3) 30.

¹²³ Avp 11(3) 31.

arrangement, similar to the Propylon inner hall, and in front of it a grand staircase.”¹²⁴ Between the portico and the rotunda there was a 16m long vestibule, which in size repeats the motif of Propylonmittelhalle. A vaulted (*quaderbodrum*) passage was built under this deep portico, which led to a more humble staircase further south (Figures 30, 31).



Figure 30 View showing the vaulted passage under the Zeus Asklepios Podium, photo by the author

¹²⁴ Avp 11(3) 33-34.



Figure 31 View from the Propylon side-staircase towards the vaulted passage of Zeus Asklepios Temple, photo by the author.

The vaulted passage met the Propylon side staircase, allowing a more lingering and hidden entrance to the building. It also gave access to the basement below the building. The monumental façade with its double gabled vestibule, its wide and deep staggered gate system was not readily visible to the pilgrims entering the sanctuary. The magnificent vista with its large dome could only be viewed towards the center of the courtyard (Figure 25). The adjacency of the building to the propylon and its peculiar access points hiding the structure from general view all indicate that this building did not play a role in the pilgrims' formal initiation narratives. The adjacency of the two buildings appears to be a quite suitable coincidence as it created a natural boundary between the newly entering pilgrims. From the architectural evidence at hand, it seems that the pilgrims would have to make their way well into the courtyard, and perhaps participate in ablutions and other necessary activities before they were allowed to take in

the magnificence of the building and gain access to it through the monumental steps. Since almost all of the monumental structures of the second century were built on the eastern side of the complex, this positioning of the Zeus-Asklepios temple may not be due to a deliberate design decision nevertheless, intentional or not, it did serve a ritual purpose.

The pilgrims or the various temple staff and priests, entering the building head on would climb the monumental stairs, pass between the larger columns and enter into the vestibule. The architectural language and the scale of this vestibular area, was in its essence an architectural replica of the Propylon. The only visible difference was the less restrained and more elaborate architectural detailing, which started out at the vestibule.¹²⁵

The consistency in architectural language was traceable throughout the sanctuary as a marked code, which pilgrims could follow. The unpaved pathways in the porticoes, and other circulatory places guided the pilgrims' walks and their prescribed locotherapy, while the rich materials, the austere vocabulary and monumental features of specific structures such as the Zeus-Asklepios temple required a slower approach, a more calculated move into their ritually charged spaces.

Before walking through the main doorway accentuated with projecting smooth and significantly monumental pillars, the pilgrims experienced a rich yet austere vocabulary of cassettes above and marble plates below as they slowly made their way up the steps, a similar experience to their walk through the propylon.¹²⁶ Passing through a

¹²⁵ Ibid. 68-69; The extraordinary dome-vaulted round building with apex opening, (temporally the round temple is very close to the Pantheon, Pantheon built between 119-125, and Zeus Asklepios was built in 123) The reports argues for the possible existence of an oculus that was approximately analogous to the Pantheon, measured at 4.70 m. A therefore resulting total height of the round building, calculated from its foot down, determined to approximately 25.53 m.

seemingly unimposing threshold flanked by piers, the pilgrims were overwhelmed by the immensity of the space that unfolded before them. The space clearly carried a formal ritualistic aura. The space was studded with distinctively blue, purple and yellow veined marbles and Phrygian incrustations.

The first element to catch the eye was an altar, a marble base with an intricately carved profile located in the center, laid on the luxurious marble floor approximately in the east-west axis, 1.07 / 2,00 m long and is 27 cm high. The colossal scale of the Rotunda with its smooth brown and gray andesite revetments and its monumental dome must have exerted some form of bodily restraint onto the in-comer almost straight away. This immensity of space unfolding before the in-comer must have made his/her approach to the central altar calculated and rather ceremonious. In fact, it is not clear whether the pilgrims used this altar regularly or whether in fact, it was preserved for special ceremonies and used by the temple staff; however, being the focal point of this Pan-theic space its importance is evident. Built in this highly formal ritual context the altar inevitably had a different status, than those scattered around the courtyard. It was neither used in the same fashion nor with the same frequency. Apart from the centrally located altar, a large statue of the god Zeus-Asklepios situated on a 2m by 2m base, confronted the in-comers as it loomed over from the circular cella, or large niche in the opposite wall.

Apart from the two focal points, that encouraged pause and momentary contemplation, the rest of the curtain wall was lined with semi-circular and rectangular

¹²⁶ Avp 11(3) 31; The Euthynteria is like the drawing board of the architect where he specified the outline of the building. Both pillars with a height of about 5.92 m are designed with a smooth on three sides and unfinished on its fourth side were probably set on the wall. The column heights indicate that the height of the propylon and the height of the vorehalle of round temple were the same. See Avp (11)3, 57-8.

niches that encouraged a slow circumnavigation. There is no real evidence suggesting the contents of these niches; nevertheless, tholos structures in other Asklepieia tended to include inscriptions, and tablets (as in Epidauros). Aristides comments on the placements of his dedicatory tablets by priests in the temple. Although it is not evident that the ‘temple’ is in fact dedicated to Zeus-Asklepios, it is safe to assume that these colorful niches would include particulars of ritual activities.

3.6 Library

As one entered through the propylon, one came across the library on the right-hand side. A statue of the Emperor Hadrian stood in a niche on the eastern wall.¹²⁷ The evidence suggests that the library was not a medical one but was most probably built for the pleasure of the pilgrims. It was financed by Flavia Melitine and had various references to Hadrian’s library at Athens.

The decoration of the library was very luxurious, including a polychrome marble entablature, sculpted pilasters, arched and round architraves creating the impression of an *aedicular* structure and colorful *opus sectile* on the floor forming geometrical patterns both rectangular and circular.¹²⁸ Libraries often included porticoes in their design where visitors could read and converse while strolling. The courtyard and the immediate adjacent portico could have served a similar purpose in the library of the Pergamene Asklepieion.¹²⁹ The connection of walking and thinking in Greco-Roman tradition is a

¹²⁷ Otfried Deubner, *Das Asklepieion Von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1938), 11-12.

¹²⁸ For a detailed description of the floor decoration see Theodor Wiegand, *Bericht (zweiter [etc.] Bericht) Über Die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon 1927* (Berlin, 1928), 10-11. For the wall decorations see Deubner, *Asklepieion* (n.103), 42-3.

¹²⁹ O’ Sullivan stresses how “Plutarch mentions walkways (Peripatoi) surrounding libraries of Lucullus (Luc. 42.1-2) implying that such spaces were an essential part of the experience of an ancient library. O’

well-established reality thoroughly discussed by classical scholars. Greco-Roman medicine also makes a connection between mind and body. Through its holistic approach, the healing of the body was seen inseparable from the healing of the mind. The inclusion of this structure with all its elaborate decorations within the second century grand design and its purposeful attachment to the north portico indicates that the library was an inseparable part of the locotherapeutic procedure of healing in the Asklepieion.

3.7 Conclusion

The courtyard, a substantial space encapsulated various narratives of pilgrimage. Petsalis-Diomidis chooses to categorize actual *points* or *nodes* of action and terms them as spaces of pageantry, each existing within the courtyard as a part of a grand “spatial taxonomy.” Both Petsalis-Diomidis and Galli choose not to discuss movements in real time but instead describe with finesse the encyclopedic nature of the courtyard. Thus, the terminology they employ brings inertness to this otherwise active space.¹³⁰ With numerous passageways, exits, entrances and stairs that exist along with these architectural nodes of pageantry, the courtyard was where *movement* was expressed yet, this was not merely an all-encompassing space framed by colonnades containing static images and relics of personal healing narratives. It not only gathered and held within it the imagery and inscriptions of these healing stories but it also housed and facilitated the movements that created new narratives. The healing stories on display might have also functioned as blueprints, or training regimens that help to guide future “dreams” and locotherapeutic activities. It was a fecund *place* of activities. Every moment was ripe for

Sullivan, *Mind in Motion*, 150; For further discussion on libraries see James W. Thompson, *Ancient Libraries*, (London: Archon Books, 1962).

¹³⁰ Petsalis-diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wonders* (2010), 170.

an alternative healing journey, waiting to be inscribed, remembered and memorialized. In addition all this commotion was visible through the porticoes and the passageways into the courtyard.

The previously mentioned points of pause and movement within the courtyard were continuously visible from the vantage point of the pilgrim walking through the porticoes. The porticoes not only accommodated movement but also yielded a viewshed filled with constant motion and movement of shadows as sun changes its position. The entrance to the library, the theater, the *abaton*, the myriad staircases leading to the *cryptoportici* both of the south hall and the Lower Rotunda were all zones of circulation, which were visible to the circumnavigating pilgrims. The staircases to the cryptoporticus of the South Hall were arranged not symmetrically but for visibility purposes. For instance the central staircase was not built centrally in relation to the two outer staircases. It was centrally located according to the overall dimension of the *cella* but was slightly off-center compared to the western (53.35m) and eastern staircases (60.60m) so that it was visible from the *abaton* and the sacred well. The other two are determined by the neighboring architecture; the western staircase is positioned at the foot of the western hall staircase, while the eastern staircase is placed according to the cryptoporticus of the LRB. It is crooked and angled in relationship to the rest of the staircases. These points of circulation, with entering and exiting pilgrims and temple staff, vibrant and dormant at various periods during the day, all create a sense of constant undulation within the defined space of the sanctuary. The colonnaded halls were repositories for myriad forms of movement as well as platforms from which movement was observed.

The formal narrative of the pilgrims' route and its phenomenological aspects are often explored in recent scholarship. It is true that there are many possible ranges of action that this formal ritual approach does not seem to accommodate. Walton posits that there were numerous personnel who had nothing to do with ritual activities but were there to assist the patients to sit, to walk to carry on various tasks.¹³¹ How would these personnel move? Where would the pilgrims in fact remove their shoes? Inside? Outside? Would they disrobe and don white *chitons*? If yes where? Who would coordinate all this? Where was the temple staff positioned? The literary sources indicate that there was in fact a small amount of payment that the pilgrims had to pay upon entering the sanctuary. Where would this transaction take place? The practicalities of these actions indeed must have complicated the smooth ritualistic narrative that one can read from the architectural layout.

Even though these daily practicalities existed inevitably causing obstructions and delays, erratic uncoordinated movements in the locotherapeutic journey of pilgrims, the architecture was designed to overcome these informalities. From the overall design one can deduce that the spaces were geared to bring an order to the crowds and curate their movements. It is not clear whether this was successful nevertheless; as is clear from the analysis above the formal movement narrative was woven into the complex through both form and material. Pathways were marked via armatures and points of pause and contemplation, displacement and replacement were marked thereby the formal journey of healing became a code that was followed and interpreted according to each individual and his/her disease.

¹³¹ Arist. 477, 15; 477, 26; Walton, The cult of Asklepios, 56.

As is clear from the discussions above the architecture of the sanctuary bears witness to the changing notions of temple healing, and proves that in the second century, it began to depend more and more on secular forms of healing, with a particular emphasis on exercise and dietetics and less on oracular and miracle procedures. The way the incubation chamber (*abaton*) became engulfed by the surrounding buildings and activities, and became an isolated node of inactivity indicate the diminishing function of this oracular realm.¹³² The following chapter considers the changing function of the *abaton* and the specific aura it assumed due to these immediate changes. As a place of incubation and inertia, it became associated with mental activity, *epiphoria*.

¹³² It is important to stress here that ‘dreams’ were still the central way to communicate with Asklepios and to receive treatment, however it became only a means, a tool of receiving instruction and not necessarily the entire treatment itself.

CHAPTER 4 Curative Pauses: Mind in Motion, Body at Rest

4.1 Abaton: A Point of Rest amidst Perpetual Movement

“Thought is the soul’s walkboard.” (*Epidemics VI*, 5.5 , LTT V317)

At the beginnings of the cult, movement was not emphasized as emphasized as it was in the second century CE. Initially, the emphasis was on incubation. The pilgrim arriving would sleep over night in a closed chamber –named the *abaton*, or *adyton* (a chamber for incubation) - hopefully awake the next morning with a miracle cure.¹³³

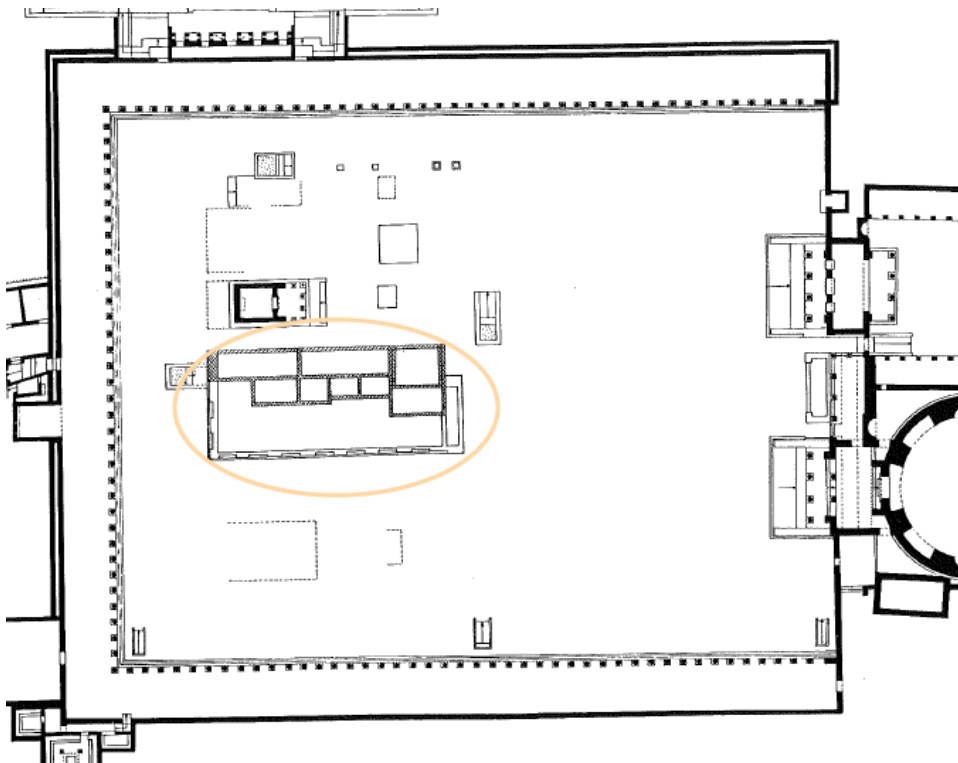


Figure 32 Plan (DAI) showing the abaton within the courtyard annotated by the author.

¹³³ Pausanias likens it to a bread oven Paus. IX. 39, 9 ff.

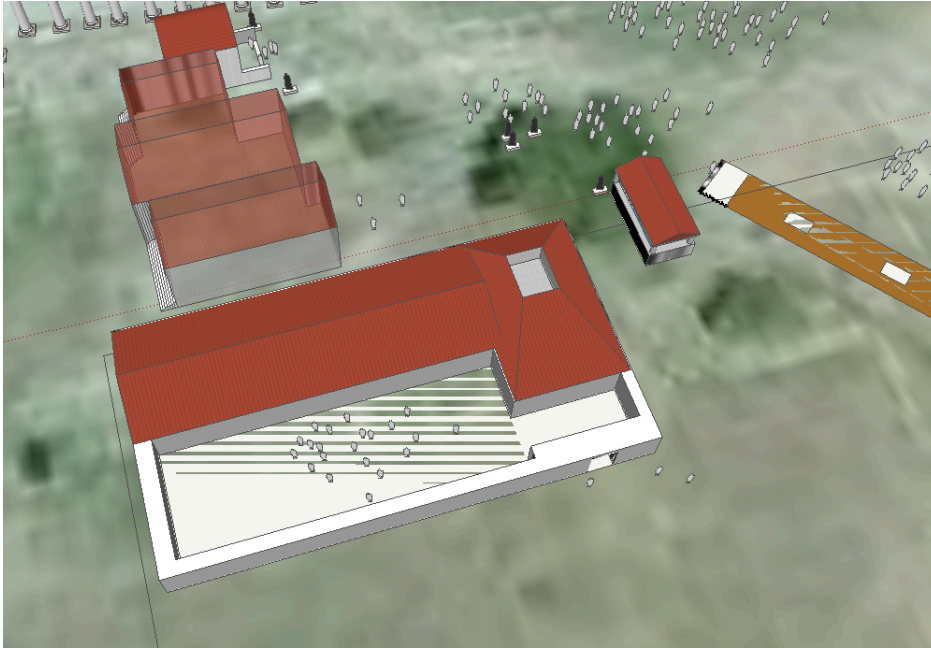


Figure 33 View of the *abaton* in relation to other structures, the reconstruction as a sketch-up model is an approximation of the architecture of *abaton*.

The *abaton*, literally meaning “the place not to be trodden”, or “the place not to be entered by the unbidden” often had limited visual access and a fairly controlled physical access.¹³⁴ This was also the case in the Pergamene Asklepieion. As the temple practices began depending more and more on locotherapy, the old structure dating back to first century BCE became an isolated entity, remaining the sole point of passivity amidst all the movement in the courtyard. Set slightly off-center of the now well-defined courtyard, it was preserved for silence and immobile pilgrims. It emphasized the sole point of stillness and inactivity within an active process of healing. The name *abaton*, stands for a narrow womb like chamber removed, a protected *place* from the mundane,

¹³⁴ C.A. Meier, *Ancient dream incubation and modern psychotherapy*, trans. Monica Curtis (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press 1967), 56. Liddell-Scott-Jones Lexicon of Classical Greek defines *abaton* as “of holy places, not to be trodden.”

from everyday activities.¹³⁵ Compared to the daily routines of the courtyard, it operated in a different time zone. The signification of time was dependent on the revelations of the god and the directions of the temple staff. The courtyard and its spaces were places of constant curated activity during the day then the *abaton* was a place of curated inactivity and sleep during the night. The suppliants were encouraged to sleep and would in turn be visited by the god in their dreams who would describe the cure. This architectural node of repose and supplication was more intense and enduring than the temporary stops, and pauses of the courtyard, which featured in the pilgrims' paths. This substantial point of pause, sleep, and supplication was also where the minds of the pilgrims were expected to enter the realm of dreams, where their bodies were static and their minds active. In fact, a kind of mental displacement was expected to transpire within the grounds of the *abaton*.

Particularly during the Imperial Period when suppliants stayed longer periods at the Asklepieion, a set of preliminary sacrifices was carried out until a decisive moment (*kairos oxys*) appeared after which the pilgrim was allowed to enter the building for incubation.¹³⁶ The mute architecture offering no readable signs already posed a barrier for approaches; however, it was the *Lex Sacra* that laid out the irrefutable boundary for the structure. By listing particular acts of supplication and strict rules of bodily curation, the inscription described the formal path within and around this closed milieu.

[At] evening he is to add three round cakes with nine buttons,
of [these first] two on the outdoors altar for burning (thymele)
to Tyche and Mnemosyne
[and then the third] to Themis in the incubation chamber.
He who

¹³⁵ Edward Tick, *The Practice of Dream Healing: Bringing Ancient Greek Mysteries into Modern Medicine*, (Wheaton, Ill: Quest Books/Theosophical Pub. House, 2001), 5.

¹³⁶ Meier quotes Apellas Stele as well as the Miracle XLVIII to define the regulations of incubation in C.A. Meier, *Healing Dream and Ritual: Ancient Incubation and Modern Psychotherapy* (Daimon, 2003), 54.

[enters] the incubation chamber is to keep himself pure
from all the things mentioned above
and from sex and from goat meat and cheese and
[c.14 letters] . . . on the third day. The incubant is then to
[lay aside] the wreath and leave it on his straw bed.
If someone wants
to inquire several times about the same thing, he is to make a

preliminary sacrifice of a pig,
[and if he also] makes an inquiry about another matter,
he is to make a preliminary sacrifice of [another] pig
[according] to the above instructions. He who [enters]
the small incubation chamber
is to observe the same rules of purity. And he is to make a
preliminary offering to Zeus Apotropaios
of a ribbed round cake with nine knobs and to Zeus
Meilichios of a [ribbed] round cake
with nine knobs, and to Artemis Prothyraia and Artemis
[. . .] and to Ge, to each a round cake with nine knobs.
[And he is also to] put three obols into the offertory box.¹³⁷

After the daily preliminary sacrifices, which had pilgrims circulating within the courtyard in between altars and fountains, the evening rites were performed prior to incubation. These preparatory rites as set out by the *Lex Sacra*, involved pilgrims moving in and out of the *abaton*. Of the three sacrificial round cakes, one of them was to be burned inside the incubation chambers while the others for Tyche and Mnemosyn were to be burned at the altars within the courtyard. The inscription specifies that these rites were to take place in the evening. It does not specify an exact time frame however there is sufficient literary evidence that suggests the priests determined the time of incubation. Regardless of these specificities, it is clear that evening signified a shift in the formal path of the pilgrims. The preordained movements within the courtyard, the prescribed healing procedures taking place in and around the temple, were replaced by sacrifices specifically

¹³⁷ See Wörrle, *Die Lex Sacra*, 1969. Also on the discussion of inscription see Petsalis, "The body in space," 199.

carried out *for* incubation. This involved entering and exiting the *abatón* repeatedly. The setting sun allowed for a momentary porousness, a temporary easement allowing access into the boundaries of the *abatón*, which remained impermeable during the day.

Having no representational clarity, and no surface geometry, the *abatón* emphasized stillness and duration.¹³⁸ The building was a hybrid structure enlarged in stages through centuries. The fragmentary remains do not give a clue about the specific components of architecture other than the foundations; in all likelihood, it was an enclosed structure, with a certain sense of interiority. The walls stressed a physical barrier, a perimeter into which only certain personnel and pilgrims -who had gone through proper rites- could be admitted. The closed high walls of the *abatón* contrasted the airy and open porticoes designed for movement, the inviting stairs of the fountains and the communicative language of the temples. Almost all the altars, the fountains and the temples, except for the *abatón*, faced east encouraging the visitor to approach from the west. The primary entrance to the building is unclear; however there was access towards the west, which opened up to a fountain with adjoining mud pit.

As the place of inactivity trapped in a large place of activity, the building announced its ambiguity through its architectural language. It is possible that the nature of such sequential movement occurring in and around the *abatón* was dependent on the positioning and location of the architectural nodes around the structure. There was particularly an uneasy tension a proximal relationship between the marble temple wall and the andesite *abatón* wall. This narrow corridor, uninviting and mute, must have

¹³⁸ The penalty for trying to 'look into' the *abatón*: Hamilton includes, the translation of the text on *Stele I. God and Good Fortune. i Cures of Apollo and Asklepios*, 11: "...while the patients were sleeping, climbed up a tree and tried to see over into the Abatón. But he fell from the tree on to some fencing, and his eyes were injured. In a pitiable state of blindness, he came as a suppliant to the god, and in his sleep was healed" in Edelstein and Edelstein, *Testimonies*, 229.

redirected the pilgrims, who performed their rituals around the altars and temples. The temple cluster and the fountains were all aligned and stood next to each other in a parallel fashion. This proximity hindered certain movements while encouraging other paths that pilgrims had to follow.

After all the access to the structure came with a prerequisite of purification. The state of purification from all sacrificial activities -including dietetic abstinence- needed to be eligible for incubation indicated that there was a precise sequence to these activities. The carrying of the sacrificial cakes, stopping at altars, walking in and out of the *abaton*, washing and carrying out libations in the nearby fountains, then re-entering the space once more for the actual act of incubation; the morning after, by leaving a wreath on the *klinea* and perhaps following a similar procedure with an additional sacrificing of a pig for additional appeals. There were other equally preordained movements still within the bounds of the *Lex Sacra*, but perhaps more tailored to personal healing journeys. One of the inscriptions mentions Hermodikos of Lampsakos who after being healed from paralysis by the god, is asked to carry a large stone to the *abaton* as a thank offering.¹³⁹ One wonders whether these votive stones were left in random areas within the *abaton* or whether they were placed in front of the statue of Asklepios, often placed amongst the *klinea*. In this case, the place and type of sacrificial offering was altered by the god, and was still accepted to be within the bounds of the temple rules.

One of the rituals that were listed in the *Lex Sacra*, was the performance of sacrifices while ambulating in a circle. A question arises whether the pilgrims were required to circumnavigate the entire group of structures as a part of their preordained formal paths? The *abaton* was in close proximity to most of the cult structures within the

¹³⁹ Stele I. *God and Good Fortune. i Cures of Apollo and Asklepios*, 15.

courtyard. This would explain their close proximal relationship and why even after the renovations the cluster was kept in tact. Also the act of circumnavigation would allow the pilgrims to view the two monumental structures towering on the east, the propylon and the Zeus Asklepios building, built almost with identical facades, unquestionably for imperial purposes: the towering Rotunda of the Zeus Asklepios temple making implicit references to Hadrianic Pantheon.

The movement in and around the courtyard and *abaton*, gave rise to the creation of three different volumes which were occupied at different periods. The larger volume of the courtyard was where the pilgrims, temple staff and other persons were moving around during the day. In the hours before evening the smaller area surrounded by altars, temples and fountains were home for cultic facilities and pilgrims movements, at night the *abaton* and its courtyard were occupied by pilgrims primarily at rest. Thus the three spaces or rather 'places' nesting within each other were programed temporally by moving pilgrims who were themselves manipulated by architectural cues.

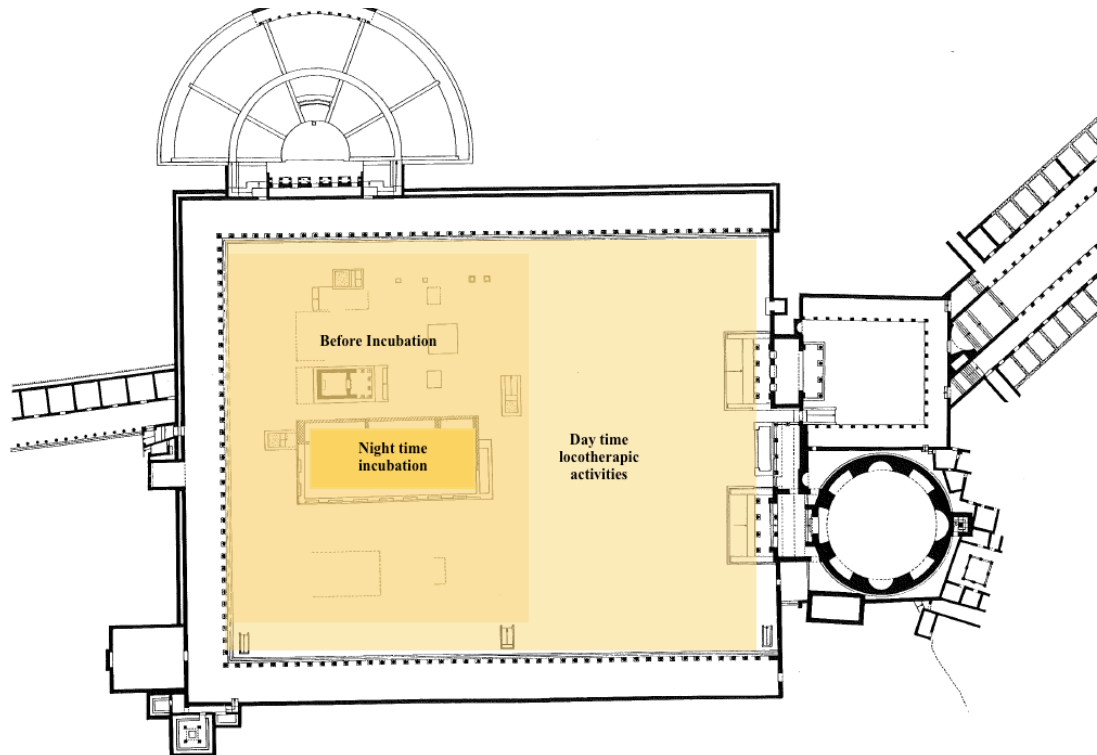


Figure 34 Plan (DAI) indicating possible activity zones throughout the day annotated by the author.

The act of incubation, establishing personal contact with the god through personal dreams, was in itself an initiation, perhaps the ultimate point of mental displacement and replacement within the sanctuary. Aristides claims, “at night the suppliant put on a white gown and slept on his pallet in the *abaton*, and during the night the god appeared to him.”¹⁴⁰ Terming it initiation himself, he gives an overly labored description, of his incubation where he details his sensory experience. In an ambiguous boundary between ‘dream and a waking state’ Aristides ignores his physical surroundings and focuses entirely on the vision of Asklepios, and only perceives what is offered by the god.

“But it was made as clear as possible, just as countless other things also clearly contained the presence of the god. For there was a seeming, as it were, to touch him and to perceive that he himself had come, and to be between sleep and waking, and to wish to look up and to be in anguish that he might depart too soon

¹⁴⁰ Walton, 9. Alice M. Robinson, “The Cult of Asklepios and the Theater,” in *Educational Theater Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 536-7.

and to strain the ears and to hear some things as in a dream, some as in a waking state. Hair stood straight, and there were tears with joy, and the pride of one's heart was inoffensive. And what man could describe these things in words? If any man has been initiated, he knows and understands."¹⁴¹

The intensity of emotion and corporeal experience during incubation was an anticipated, almost an expected occurrence in the pilgrims' journeys. Aristides, apparently favored by the god, frequently experienced such revelations and sensual journeys after which he often claimed, in his *Logoi*, to be 'changed' in a particular way. *Logoi* is in itself a list of Aristides' claims on his own bodily changes, his mental and physical displacements and replacements after each encounter.

Aristides' proclivity for self-obsession and his tendency to formalize the setting in which his experiences transpire, as well as the *Lex Sacra*'s formal imperative tone, both disregard informal movements which took place in and around the abaton. What were some of the movements that did not fit into this formal scheme?

Considering earlier sources, the *abaton* in Hellenistic and early Roman Asklepieia were indeed configured for various healing procedures. Aristophanes includes Cario's description of the treatment of Plutus, and how the god walks with calm quiet tread around the patients in the incubation chamber as he performs cures on each of them.

“Cario and Plutus have made their pallets and lain down along with many other patients, but Cario cannot sleep so he watches when the god comes: So then, alarmed, I muffled up my head, While he went round, with calm and quiet tread, To every patient, scanning each disease. Then by his side a servant placed a stone Pestle and mortar; and a medicine chest . . . Then, after this, he sat him down by Plutus, And first he felt the patient's head, and next Taking a linen napkin, clean and white, Wiped both his lips, and all around them, dry. Then Panacea with a scarlet cloth Covered his face and head; then the god clucked, And out there issued from the holy shrine Two great enormous serpents.... And underneath the

¹⁴¹ *Logoi*, 2.31–3; Behr 297-298.

scarlet cloth they crept And licked his eyelids, as it seemed to me; And, mistress dear, before you could have drunk Of wine ten goblets, Plutus arose and saw.”¹⁴²

The slow and composed movements of the alleged god in Aristophanes’ account can be attributed to movements of the temple staff or other personnel who were in fact performing cures in the first century BCE. As mentioned previously, while in earlier periods of the cult’s lifetime, the patient was miraculously cured from whatever ailment he/she had over night with the visitation of Asklepios, in later years the cure was explained by the god, interpreted by the priests and completed actively by the patient.¹⁴³

Consequently, the purpose of the *abaton*, in these earlier periods could well have been to house the incubating pilgrim and to accommodate informal activities performed by the staff or the alleged performances of the deity. It is most likely that the temple staff and servants were indeed moving in and out of the space, perhaps utilizing the mudpit/fountain adjacent to the *abaton* for treatment purposes during the first century BCE. Singular, informal experiences were still figuring into the controlled healing narrative where incubation would happen in indeterminate locations.

¹⁴² Moses Hadas trans., *The Complete Plays of Aristophanes* (New York, 1962), 487-488.

¹⁴³ It is important to underscore here that upper class citizens such as Aristides may have often chosen to interpret their own dreams without the help of the staff.



Figure 35 Votive bas-relief (c 370-270 BCE) from the Asklepieion of Piraeus, Asklepios and Hygieia healing a patient

After the changes to temple procedures, around second century, however, the space was used solely for personal dream healing. The seemingly inactive procedure of receiving the treatment over one night, through the physical intervention of a deity, or a temple priest became extinct in later years. The pilgrims implemented the cure needed accordingly whether it was an ointment or an activity they had to execute. As healing became a more prescriptive, a more involved process during the second century, the *abaton*, by contrast, assumed a more inactive role. It was with all intents and purposes a built and maintained for repose.

4.2 Other Areas of Incubation and Points of Rest

Despite the well-preserved architectural remains of the old *abaton*, other evidence suggests that incubation also occurred elsewhere in the complex. Despite his readiness to describe a sense of change and displacement during his incubations, Aristides does little to specify where these visions and displacements take place. Although he states that his

entire active regimen took place around the Temple, he clarifies, in fact, that the act of incubation often took place in quite random locations.

“Akin to these things was my continually going unshod in winter and my incubations throughout the whole temple in the open air and wherever it might be and not least frequently on the road, under the sacred lamp of the goddess.”¹⁴⁴

Above he seems to be describing the porticoed street while in another account he describes his incubation under open air, in between the doors and the gates.¹⁴⁵ The *Lex Sacra* suggests that a larger *abaton* was available for the richer pilgrims who had to follow a different sacrificial path.¹⁴⁶ Comparing *abata* of other Asklepieia, such as those of Athens and Epidauros, Ziegenaus argues that the cryptoporticus under the south portico was utilized for this purpose as it was conveniently located and would provide for the increasing demand during the peak of temple activity. The space was larger and more accommodating than the smaller *abaton* in the courtyard.

The south-hall basement (*Südhallenkeller*), if in fact, it was utilized as a sleeping chamber, was another permutation of the muted architecture of the old *abaton*.¹⁴⁷ It had the same sense of inaccessibility, without visual cues or openings and was an indefinable architecture built with intense feeling of interiority. The access was from the courtyard along three staircases, one at each end of the portico and one in the center. The remains

¹⁴⁴ *Logoi*, II. 80

¹⁴⁵ Hamilton states that “according to a dream he took up his position between the doors and the gates of the Temple at Pergamos (§307)” Hamilton, *Incubation*, 58.

¹⁴⁶ The *Lex Sacra* refers to the small incubation chamber as well as a larger incubation chamber within the grounds. To access the larger chambers, suppliants had to sacrifice a pig while smaller offerings were expected of those using the smaller chambers.

¹⁴⁷ Apart from these formalized spaces, heavily curated by the temple staff and by the present architectural elements, the act of incubation could take place anywhere, anytime. The literary evidence attests to a more informal practice of incubation, one, which was not determined and controlled by architecture. Inscriptions indicate that the dream visions could in fact come to a pilgrim, during or after the journey, in or outside of the temple grounds.

suggest that the 55 cm bench along the wall seems too narrow for incubation purposes and thus may have held pilgrims' clothes and accessories or pre-incubation offerings as outlined in the *Lex Sacra*.¹⁴⁸ This vaulted cave like structure without any openings would have shielded the suppliants from the general crowd of the temple and possibly enhanced their cathartic experience. The position of the large incubation hall was also strategic with the neighboring latrines, the waiting/changing room and the wells in close proximity.

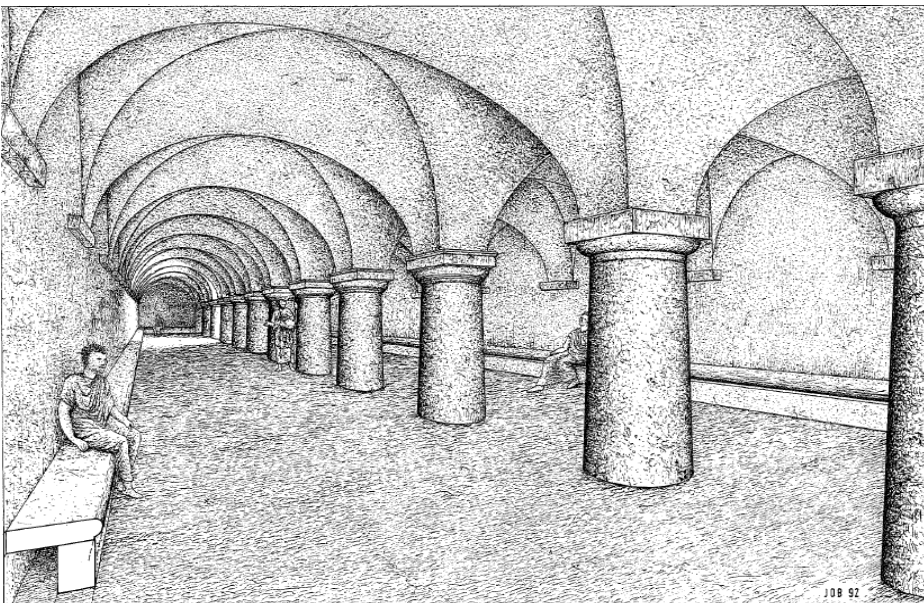


Figure 36 The South hall basement, Incubation chambers, a reconstruction drawing by the DAI.

The language of both *abaton* clearly communicated the purpose and the meaning of incubation. Being a part of the formal healing narrative, the inactive body was housed and contained suitably for a predetermined time frame. The pilgrims' inactive state at night were as controlled as their active mobile conditions during the day.

¹⁴⁸ AvP 11(5) 108-09.

4.3 Lower Rotunda: Resting Bodies away from the Gaze

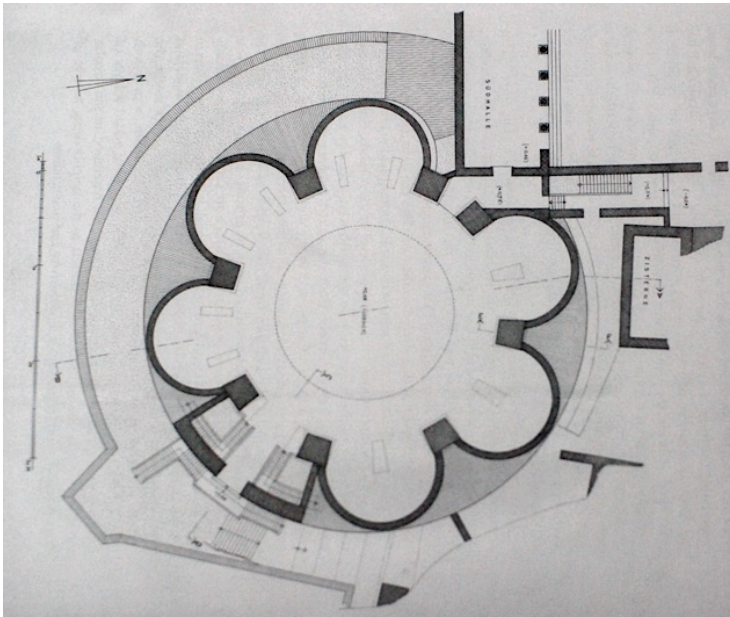


Figure 37 Plan (DAI) of the Lower Rotunda Building

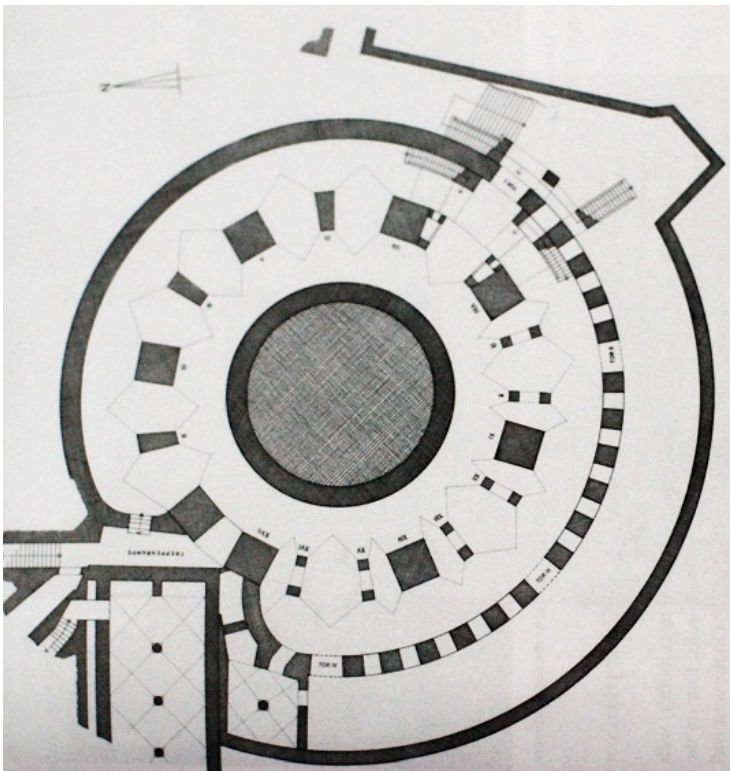


Figure 38 Plan (DAI) of the Ground Level of Lower Rotunda Building and its connection to underground passages

The most peculiar geometry within the complex belonged to the so-called Lower Rotunda Building (LRB) that mirrored the shape of the Temple of Zeus-Asklepios.¹⁴⁹ Radt argues that this was a particular move to show a harmony between the architectural features of the temple and the space above,¹⁵⁰ yet within the courtyard there was no viewpoint available that would show this repetitious harmony. It is possible however, that the similarity of the two spaces in plan would have been readily perceived by any visitor. Were the visitors experiencing an aesthetic harmony or were they simply expecting a similar ritual experience due to this resemblance we may never know. Carefully planned and built on a NW/SE axis this large rotunda and symmetrical in its design, was squeezed between the south hall and a residential complex abutting the sanctuary. While the southeast section was well lit with many windows, receiving sunlight in the morning, the northwest section with fewer openings remained dark. The perforated southeast façade did not give any clues about the overall configuration of the treatment center since the circular wall and its six hemispherical apses were embedded in the rear wall of the stoa and were completely out of the view. As a consequence, the structure remained obscure from the outside, and displayed the same architectural reserve and taciturnity as did the *abaton*.

The building consisted of a substructure and a superstructure, the latter about which there is limited archaeological evidence. What was particularly of note, however, was the convoluted access to the structure. A small indirect entrance with a flight of stairs led to the courtyard while a slightly larger staircase reached the south stoa. Through its

¹⁴⁹ For details about the core of the building see AvP 11(3) 77-79.

¹⁵⁰ Radt, *Pergamon*, 267.

ground floor there was also a link to the south stoa basement, i.e. the larger incubation area.

In addition to these obscure entrances, there was a seventy-meter long barrel vaulted cryptoporticus situated between this treatment building and the so-called sacred well. A flight of stairs located next to the sacred well in the courtyard led down to the cryptoporticus, which was lit by skylights at certain intervals. This slightly declining ramp of the cryptoporticus was attached to the northwestern corner of the structure (Figures 39, 40)

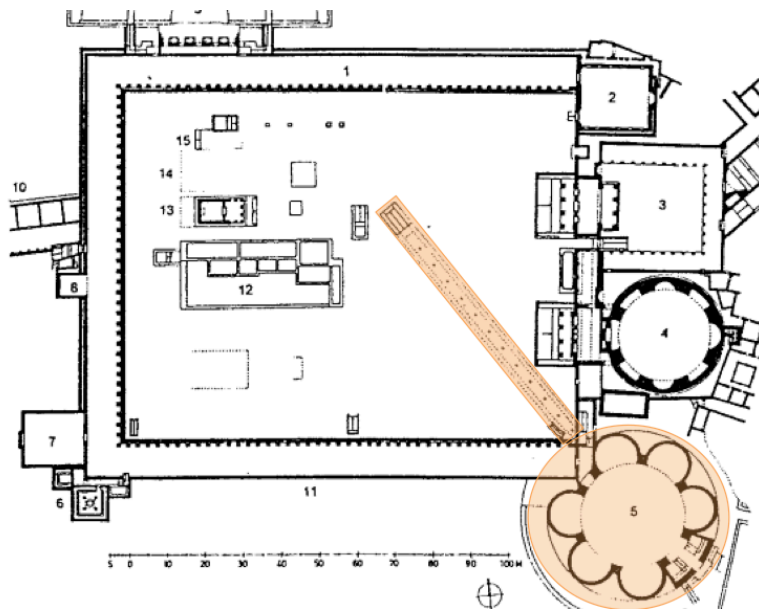


Figure 39 Overall plan of the sanctuary (DAI), showing the Lower Rotunda Building and the cryptoporticus annotated by the author.



Figure 40 View from inside the cryptoporticus, photo by author

There was a clear contrast between the indirect and gradual access to the courtyard through the cryptoporticus into the hub of formal activity with the more direct and quick entrance to the large incubation chamber. This suggests that the space might have had a function similar to incubation. The various niches located in the building and the wells located in between each pillar indicate the presence of singular resting and bathing chambers for resting, passive pilgrims. This space legibly more accommodating and opulent may also have been targeting the richer pilgrims. The sound of water running in each semi-circular basin designated possible points of pause for healing. In addition to the likely bathing facilities the building also provided pleasant rural vistas, from the carefully constructed sun deck located on the southwest corner. Having been built on a slope, the basement on the north corresponded to the ground floor in the south allowing

this façade to receive sufficient light as well as magnificent natural views. Most of the views from structures in the sanctuary were internalized and looked onto the courtyard while the LRB was specifically oriented to have external views. Greco-Roman healing accepted the exposing of eyes to natural vistas as a part of regimental curing and often the views that Asklepieia granted were expected to be a part of their treatment process.¹⁵¹ The windows framing views of the landscape must have had metaphorical connotations such as *theoria*, a travelling of the mind through the landscape, a philosophical inquiry often attributed to the upper-classes.¹⁵²

The courtyard, the theater and the temples with their propylon became spaces of locotherapy, active healing. The spaces for meditation, incubation, passive bathing and resting were spaces hidden away from the gaze. The entrance to treatment building through the cryptoporticus, which was located close to the sacred well, hinted a coming of discreteness but simultaneously prepared the visitor for the imminent choreographed processing that was to follow. It represented a passage of transformation from control to surrender as the unhealthy bodies keeping composure within the ritual boundary moved down the passage to relinquish control by moving to a space of passivity. This lengthy journey "away" from the visible elements of the ritual, carried in motion and perhaps collectively, enforce a disconnection from the courtyard and the active temple atmosphere and a connection to the invisible, milieu of passivity.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Pliny stresses the necessity of warmth, sunlight and peace for a salubrious body in Pliny, *Letters* 5, 6.

¹⁵² Often similar techniques of reference were used in Roman villas. For further discussions on *ambulatio* and *theoria* see O'Sullivan, *Walking in Roman Culture*, 10.

¹⁵³ Radt states that there was an epiphanic purpose in the creation of the cryptoporticus. In Pergamon, 267.

Nevertheless, a trace of the formal pathways of movement so well defined in the courtyard and its auxiliary spaces continued within this realm of inactive curing. There were specific areas left unpaved and others marble clad most abundantly to define and redefine pathways and rest stops. Evidence suggests that the entire rest of the floor of the hall ring in the basement floor was left bare while the northeast section of the structure was paved extensively (Figure 41). On the ground floor, however, the outer terrace and the immediate surrounding of the pillars and fountains were paved (Figure 42, 43, 44, 45). One can conclude that areas where pilgrims would trespass and perhaps crowd around were unpaved for cultic purposes. There was a continuing theme of instant physical contact with Asklepios throughout the temple.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the unpaved areas of the ground floor were most probably guiding the pilgrims towards the southern façade. Coming in from the dark cryptoporticus, this pathway would lead them straight into the light where they would supplicate and take various treatments. Since the unpaved areas within the rest of the sanctuary were places of movement and circulation, one wonders whether this theme was continued within the Lower Rotunda Building. If this was the case then the pilgrims were to ambulate within the core structure and possibly rest out on the terraced areas. The fountains and pillars were possibly paved due to practical reasons for leakages or for the placement of votive offerings.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ AvP 11(3) 92.

¹⁵⁵ According to the excavation reports, votive offerings seem to appear anywhere within the sanctuary. *Lex Sacra* specifies areas on altars and temple steps where pilgrims had to leave their votive offerings and dedications, nevertheless, as there was no rule against leaving them in different structures, they manifest themselves in varying contexts.

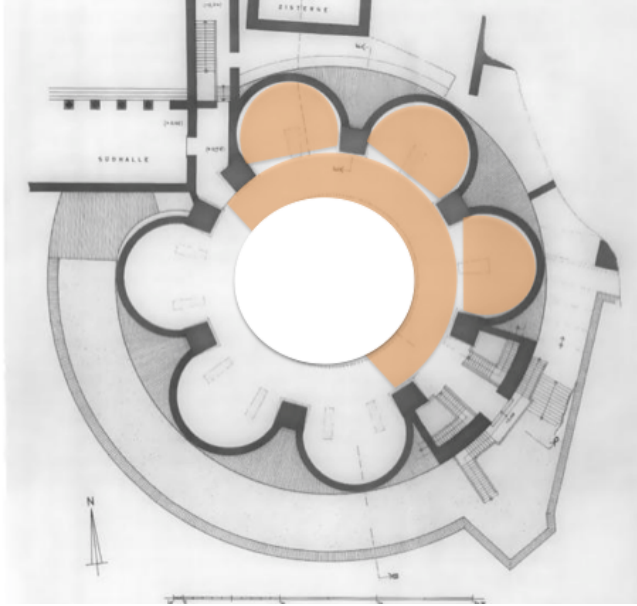


Figure 41 Plan (DAI) of LRB basement floor indicating paved areas annotated by the author.

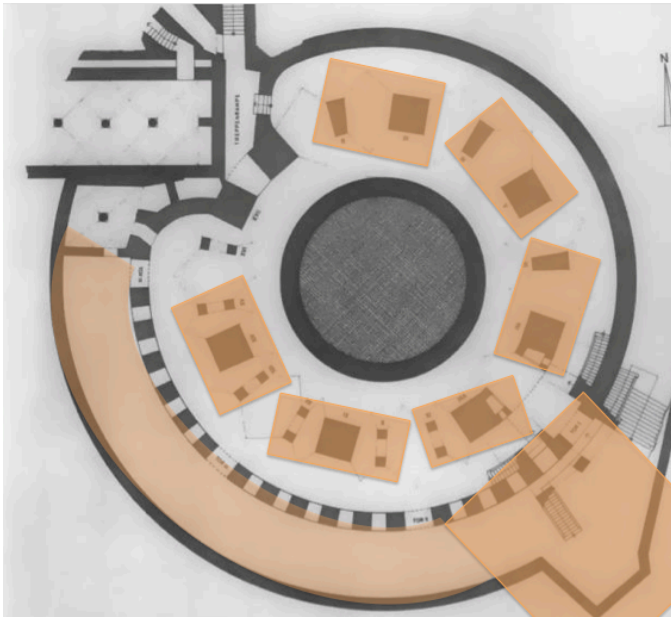


Figure 42 Plan (DAI) of LRB ground floor indicating paved areas annotated by the author.



Figure 43 View towards the inner ring of LRB, indicating paved and unpaved areas, photo by the author



Figure 44 View from ground floor of LRB showing openings towards SW, photo by the author



Figure 45 View from LRB showing the inner staircase to the upper floor, photo by the author

4.4 Theater

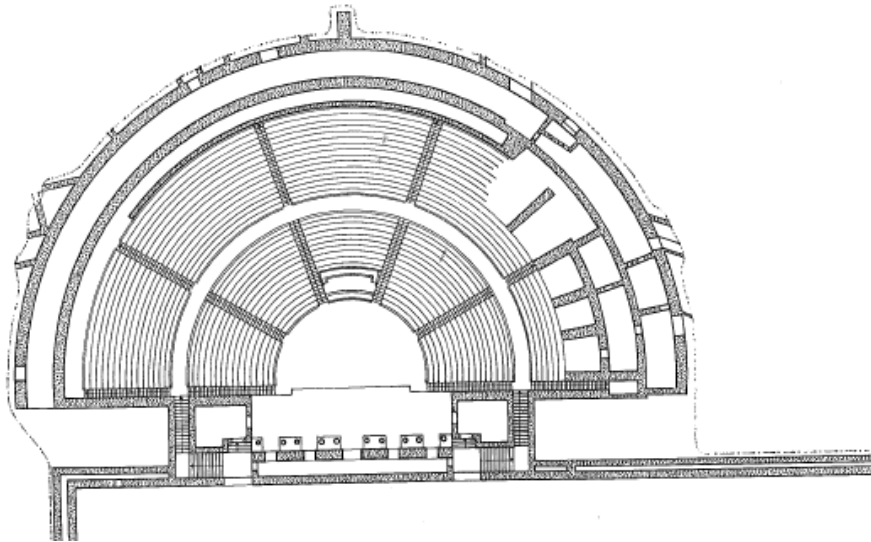


Figure 46 Plan (DAI) of the Pergamene Asklepieion Theatre

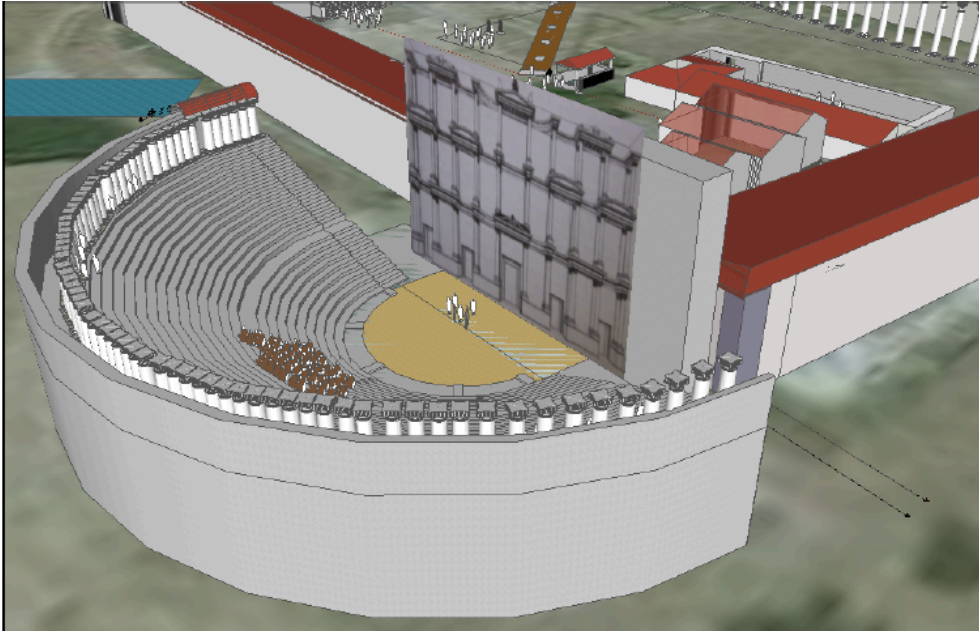


Figure 47 Sketch-up model showing the overall design of the theatre from NW

Theaters and Asklepieia seem to have a special connection in the Greco-Roman world. Many playwrights have written about Asklepios and his temples among them are Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander; Aristophanes uses the cure of Plutus in the Asklepieion as a major part of the plot in his play, *Wealth*, and mentions Asklepios in both *Clouds* and *Wasps*. Herodas wrote a mime, which takes place in the temple of Asklepios, and Plautus adapted a play, *Curculio*, which is set in front of the temple to the god.¹⁵⁶ Apart from the way Asklepios and his temples featured in plays, theatres themselves were often included in the building program of Asklepieia over the Greco-Roman world.

The Pergamon Asklepios theater, dedicated by a donor -whose name is missing from the inscription- to Asklepios and Athena Hygieia, was a Roman style theater, with a

¹⁵⁶ Robinson, "The Cult of Asklepios and the Theater," 531.

stage area consisting of *pulpitum*, the *scaenae frons* and *Postscaenium*.¹⁵⁷ This rather small-scale theater had several peculiarities. Firstly, there were no *paradoi* (vaulted entrances) and thus there was a direct linear link from the stage house to the *Cavea*. It seems the movements of spectators, or perhaps other personnel were as visible as those of the actors. The lack of *paradoi* allowed for this kind of unobstructed view which could have led to a more interactive experience where the spectators- pilgrims etc.- were on display and were involved actively in the process. In contrast to this sense of openness inside the structure, the theater itself emphasized interiority as it was buried in the cliff rock and set behind the north hall wall. As a result it was not visible from the courtyard or anywhere around the sanctuary. Only after entering through the doorways opening from the north wall did pilgrims experience the architecture and the contained participatory activities within the structure. The comparatively small scale of the theater, particularly compared to other Asklepieia theaters, further enhanced an intimate experience of interiority.

The theater may have housed not only plays and other civic or religious performances, but also anatomical demonstrations. Galen was known to have carried out anatomical spectacles in public places, including theaters where he would have heated discussions with his rivals as he performed anatomical procedures such as dissections or even vivisections. In the highly competitive scene of second century medicine, members of the audience often joined in the debate during these demonstrations, and as Galen notes at times became quite aggressive. One opponent, seizing on an opening in Galen's argument, "began to laugh loudly and, aiming a glance at the bystanders, sprang into the

¹⁵⁷ Pulpitum has a height of about 1m which is very low compared to the height of those that are seen in Asia Minor at the time. Deubner, *Das Asklepieion*, 11-2.

middle” to challenge him.¹⁵⁸ These debates on medical notions were a common occurrence in temples, baths and theatres due to the prevailing competing schools of medical thought. There is evidence that Galen presented his Epicurean and Asklepiadean rivals with specific questions in advance. Such debates and demonstrations could have easily taken place in the temple theater.¹⁵⁹

The theater building could also readily accommodate the singing of hymns and encomia glorifying the god's powers. Some mystical rites and possibly mystery plays were performed in the theaters.¹⁶⁰ Ancient sources affirm that the theater was used to stage festivities, plays, musical and literary contests to revere the healing god.¹⁶¹

The connection between catharsis -the emotional, psychological, physical process of intensifying and purging emotions- and healing of Asklepios is hardly a new point of inquiry.¹⁶² In Galen's works, a common ailment that appears is fever –in Greco-Roman medicine fever was seen as a disease in itself and not a symptom- which was often seen to be the result of unmet passion, anger or other emotional unbalance within the person's temperament. Galen tries various methods to deal with fevers from bloodletting to

¹⁵⁸ Galen, *Nat. fac.* 1.13 (234K).

¹⁵⁹ On the agonistic nature of Galen's anatomical demonstrations, see Heinrich von Staden, “Anatomy as Rhetoric: Galen on Dissection and Persuasion,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50 (1995), 47-66. Also Maud Gleason, “Shock and Awe: The Performance Dimension of Galen's Anatomy Demonstrations,” version 5 (January), *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics* (2007), 1-14. For the discussion on places of anatomical representations of Galen see Mattern. *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, 258.

¹⁶⁰ This play is referred to by H. Usener, *Archiv für Religions-wissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1904), VII, 281 ff., and by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1931, 1932), I, 301. The play is summarized from the testimonies by Edelstein, II, 213, note.; This was one of many such hymns in the name of the deity. As individual people sang hymns and praised the god, would the mystical rites and processions be held at the theater?

¹⁶¹ There were musical competitions at the Asklepieion theater/odeon in Epidauros in Cavvadias, I, 65, 77, 78, inscriptions 189, 191, 238, 239, 240;

¹⁶² Tick, *The Practice of Dream Healing*, 7.

bathing to ointment but he also mentions the commonly followed Asklepieion remedy of writing mimes and songs. In his *De Sanitate Tuenda* he writes:

“And not a few men, however many years they were ill through the disposition of their souls, we have made healthy by correcting the dis-proportion of their emotions. No slight witness of the statement is also our ancestral god Asklepius who ordered not a few to have odes written as well as to compose comical mimes and certain songs (for the motions of their passions, having become more vehement, have made the temperature of the body warmer than it should be).”¹⁶³

The writing and the composing of plays and speeches –which Aristides most often does- exercise the mind. The passive body and active mental journeys were discussed in the context of the *abatōn*. In this light, the theater provided a similar experience to incubation. The theater also provided an outlet, a place to control emotions and eradicate passions through performance and participation. Aristides stresses the inspirations that the god provides him; Asklepios not only provides for the body but also for the soul. The god commanded Aristides "to spend time on songs and lyric verse, and to relax and maintain a chorus of boys." Aristides' lyrics were given public presentations, for in his Sacred Tales he relates: "And then I also gave public choral performances, ten in all, some of boys and some of men.... And this took place at my first staging of the chorus."¹⁶⁴

The most important aspect of theater healing however was its said ability to cure illnesses through vocal exercises. Aristides often refers to this form of vocal locotherapy as he is subjected to it due to his chronic respiratory problems.

¹⁶³ Galen, *De Sanitate Tuenda*, 1. 8, 19-21 in Edelstein and Edelstein, *Testimonies*, I, 303.

¹⁶⁴ *Logoi* IV 38, Behr, 261-3.

Philadelphus, had dreamed that in the holy theater there was a crowd of people clad in white, gathering in honor of the god; and standing among them I [Aristides] made a speech and sang the praises of the god...¹⁶⁵

The famous hypochondriac had respiratory trouble along with many other ailments, nevertheless was ordered by the god "that I should speak and write when I could hardly breathe."¹⁶⁶ Aristides' performance can be categorized as another form of locotherapy, one that required an active voice accompanied by bodily gestures. In "The Address to Asklepius," given about 177 A.D. (possibly for the festival of the Night Vigil at Pergamon), he goes on to thank the god for his vocal therapy.¹⁶⁷

4.5 Conclusion: Curative Pauses

As Arnheim argues, "it is only the displacement in the things around us that confirms for the eyes the kinesthetic information of locomotion."¹⁶⁸ When in motion through a ritual sensitive environment, the pauses and transitions all carry meaning. Aristotle defined metaphor in terms of motion: as an *epiphora* --a displacement from something to something else--. Aristotle's usage of *epiphora* denotes to a displacement in space and not meaning. I would like to extend this notion and argue that when pilgrims paused at various points, they were physically as well as figuratively displaced.¹⁶⁹ A new temporality governed the grounds of the Asklepieia that framed and controlled the actions

¹⁶⁵ Aristides *Oratio* 48, in Edelstein and Edelstein, *Testimonies* I, 416.

¹⁶⁶ Aristides *Oratio* 42,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Rudolf Arnheim, *The Dynamics of Architectural Form: Based on the 1975 Mary Duke Biddle Lectures at the Cooper Union* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 155.

¹⁶⁹ Michel Conan, *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003), 299.

of the visitors. The movement towards and within the realm of Asklepieia is not only a form of *motio* –an action or mobilitas- but a form of *epiphora*. The subject moving through the space is displaced and replaced mentally and physically.

What did rest, incubation or inactivity mean in a cult, which ostensibly demanded constant movement from its suppliants? The architecture of the *abaton*, the theater and the Lower Rotunda all engaged this problem of inactivity. The way to accommodate these three areas of pause and contemplation was through isolation, self-containment and a substantial emphasis on interiority. The formal, both ritualistic and secular prescribed movements were almost always mapped and visible, while the bodies that were passive and in rest were kept hidden in these three indistinct and mute forms of architecture. Aristides usually was in a walking, wandering state in his dreams when Asklepios appeared to him.¹⁷⁰ All throughout his *Hieroi Logoi* he stresses his status in the courtyard exposed to gaze as he carried out his rituals. He did not however indicate that his incubations were witnessed by any of his companions. The secularization of the temple practices, the birth of the gymnastic patient and the *paideiac* values it promoted all were in favor of the active pilgrim, who was encouraged to be seen out in the courtyard, along the porticoes. There was a contextual reason for creating a muted box, and that was to keep passivity contained and hidden.

¹⁷⁰ “when I entered the Temple and was walking about in the direction of the statue of Telesphorus the temple warden Asclepiacus came up to me.... And I anointed myself where I stand” Aristides, *Logoi*, XLIX. 22.

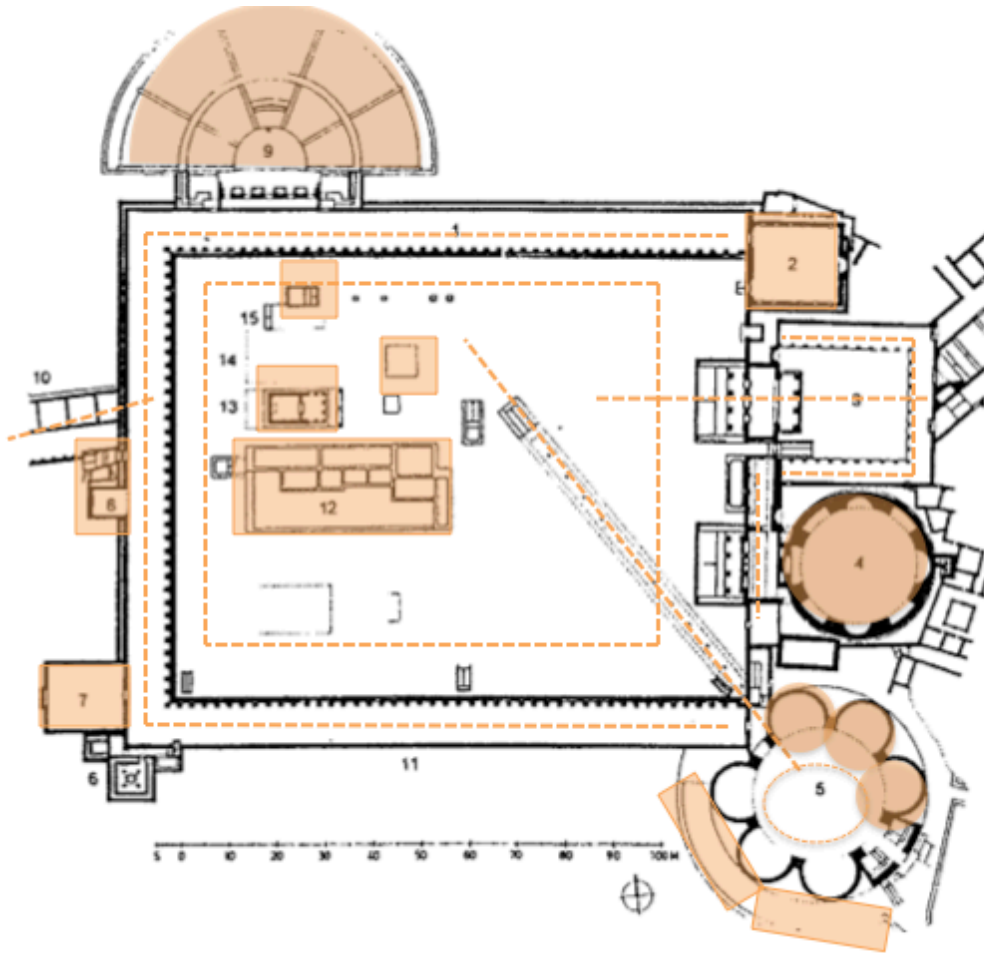


Figure 48 Plan (DAI) showing areas of repose and movement annotated by the author.

Chapter 5: Informal, Un-Prescribed Movements

...again in the winter time with ice and the coldest wind, he ordered me to take some mud and pour it on myself and sit in the courtyard of the Sacred Gymnasium, calling on Zeus, the highest and best of gods. This also happened before my spectators. (Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi*. XLVIII. 77)

The Hieroi Logoi along with other treatises of the Antonine period, (from Galen to Ruphus of Ephesus) provide a significant amount of information regarding the importance of the collective gaze and medicine. In second century literature illness was portrayed as a public affair, almost a social event, where the high-class males and their friends formed an audience “that not only observed and was impressed or unimpressed by the deeds that took place but also engaged and challenged the healers.”¹⁷¹ Sickness was not a private affair in the Greco-Roman world. The bedside of the patient was crowded. If the patient was well enough to walk and visit a shrine he did so with his companions. The “healing narratives”, -at least the literature and treatises- indicate that “themes of rivalry, derision, skepticism, and the impression made on witnesses, as well as other themes such as envy or praise-are not specific to the subject of healing but common to other kinds of ancient literature that describe contests, including contests in athletics, politics, and rhetoric. Like these other activities, illness was not a private, domestic calamity, but an event that involved the patient's most public relationships-those with his “friends.”¹⁷² Aristides is accompanied everywhere, and visited at his sickbed, not only by his servants, but by "friends" and "companions," including doctors.¹⁷³ According to his accounts, his followers were very active, giving opinions and displaying preferences, at times clashing

¹⁷¹ Mattern. *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, 96.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ See Orations 47.64; 48.20, 52, 76; 49.49; 50.36; 51.9.

with the healing god's prescriptions.

Aristides was careful not to mention informal movements, and other distracting activities that possibly took place here. Not only since description of such sights might have tainted his otherwise flawless description of locotherapy but also as a high-class Roman citizen his gaze was conditioned to not fall upon those who were inferior to his class.¹⁷⁴ He also did not mention any architectural restorations, which according to physical remains must have been continuous; thus affecting the traffic and movement within the spaces, particularly the forecourt. So why do these informal gesticulations remain sidelined and unmentioned? Is it because these informal movements took away from the ritual image that the sanctuary was supposed to convey?

These architectural features do give various clues to the functioning of this space and how two different narratives were playing out simultaneously: one through the eyes of the pilgrims who followed a predesignated path and the other through the eyes of other individuals who followed less formal trails that deviated from the formal path.

5.1 The Informal Pathways Entering the Temple

The architecture of the forecourt, as already discussed in Chapter 4, was designed both to carefully maneuver the bodies of pilgrims, and to accommodate less formal movements.

The two side entrances from the halls of the *Hallenstrasse* gave fast and easy access to the colonnaded forecourt. In addition to these, there was a 1.08m wide doorway located on the southern portico, with andesite steps leading up to the Zeus-Asklepios

¹⁷⁴ He particularly uses evocative language to describe his encounters with the god; it is full of feeling, and sensual experience; however it is always his own personal experience and ritualistic activities. For the agonistic environment of second century and Aristides' competitive attitude see Petsalis, *Body in motion*, 210.

building. This side exit led to the back rooms of the upper round building and its staircase tower.¹⁷⁵ Another door threshold was located on the wall of the northern portico leading to the library; this door recessed into the back wall of the north hall dates to a period shortly after the construction of the forecourt. These multiple doorways were all built gradually as the need rose, to allow informal, uncontained and possibly quick movements of temple staff and other personnel. One can deduce from their reduced scale and awkward positioning that these points allowing easy access to adjoining spaces were not designated for pilgrims following their formal paths.

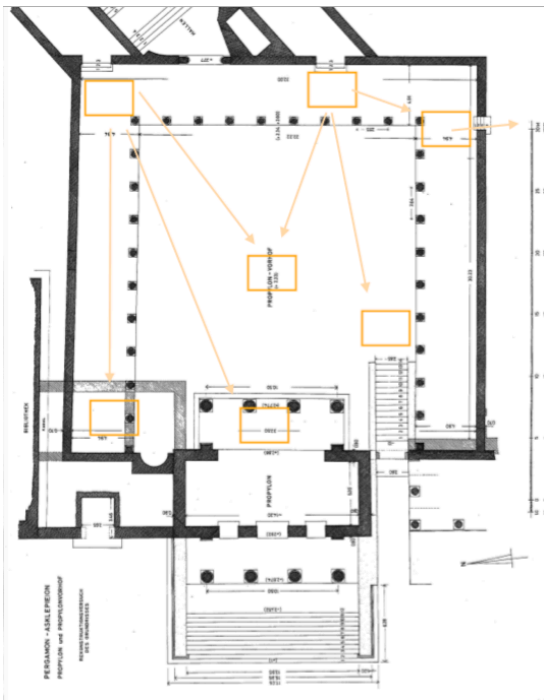


Figure 49 Plan (DAI) showing possible areas of informal movement and pause in the forecourt annotated by the author.

¹⁷⁵ Avp 11(3) 9.

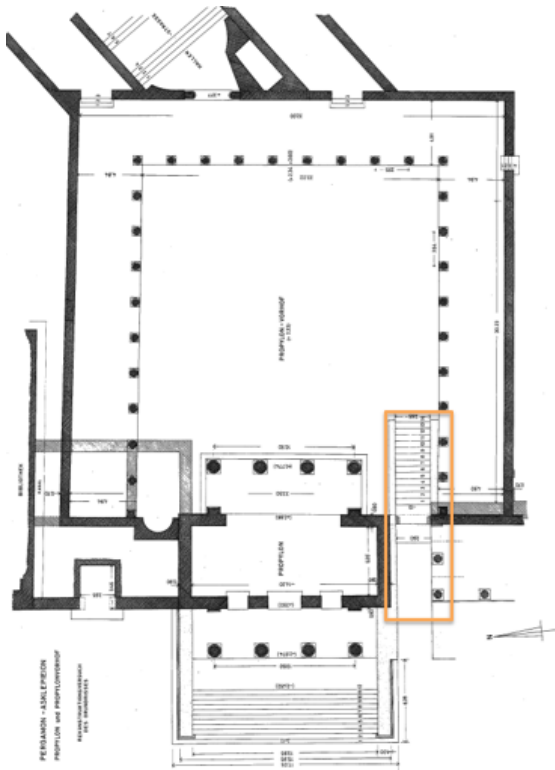


Figure 50 Plan (DAI) showing the side staircase annotated by the author.

The side staircase that connects the forecourt propylon to the courtyard is a peculiar addition to the architectural system of the forecourt (Fig 50). It entails shallow treads and is quite substantial however not quite large enough to carry any monumental meaning. It is not clear whether the pilgrims indeed used this ext. Its narrow structure, odd positioning suggests that this was again an informal passage reserved for the temple staff. The excavation reports suggest that this might have been done deliberately to allow pack and/or sacrificial animals to reach the courtyard.¹⁷⁶ As it is, this passageway that also connects to the vaulted underground passage of the Zeus-Asklepios building does not seem to be a part of the formal path and the bodily curation that the pilgrims would go through. These steps and the immediate passage abutting it at a 90° angle, suggest that

¹⁷⁶ Avp 11(3)14.

this was a side exit/entrance, an auxiliary route, a peripheral passageway for unceremonious purposes.



Figure 51 View from the top of the side staircase, photo by author

5.2 Courtyard: Informal Movements and Pathways

This pleasant and serene image of the courtyard, its pilgrims solemnly moving between points of pause, and zones of activity was in fact not quite accurate.¹⁷⁷ Aristides was as diligent about ignoring architectural features and activities of temple staff in his accounts, as he was about leaving out movements and acts of other pilgrims. There surely were unsightly suffering pilgrims who produced displeasing sounds and smells as they occupied spaces and moved through their preordained paths. In addition, there were temple staff members hurrying in and around the courtyard. The courtyard spanning

¹⁷⁷ Petsalis and Jones agree that Aristides' account is a rather idealistic experience of pilgrimage in Asklepieion. In C. P. Jones 'Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion', in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*, ed. Helmut Koester (Harrisburg, Pa: Trinity Press International, 1998) 63–76. For Aristides' references to his 'kathedra' see *Logoi* 2.70 and 3.44.

100m by 70 m could accommodate about 3500-3000 people at a time.¹⁷⁸ Aristides' second century agonistic rhetoric conceals the visually and aurally cacophonous image of the courtyard as the din of pilgrims, the temple staff and even sacrificial animals all mixed in and reverberated from the hard stone surfaces of the surrounding structures.¹⁷⁹ It may not be possible to accurately reconstruct the sensory experience of the courtyard created by hundreds of ailing pilgrims however it is possible to visualize the un-curated, informal movements of non-pilgrims; namely temple staff, personal servants, pack animals and pilgrims' companions.

Aristides, like many other high-class citizens who were journeying, was accompanied by a significant number of staff, servants, pack animals and what he terms his 'companions.'¹⁸⁰ During his libations, his exercises and his supplications to Asklepios, his companions were regularly present, watching, talking and wandering around the courtyard. His household staff, particularly his close servant was always at his side, often handling sacrifices, fetching materials, and dealing with other practicalities, which required quick efficient movement through the courtyard. Not only gestures and ways of moving but also pace of movement were culturally mediated in the Roman world. An upper class citizen, such as Aristides, would convey his status through his posture but also through his slow and composed walk. By contrast, lower class individuals were assumed to have faster gait or in the case of slaves, they were expected

¹⁷⁸ This figure is an approximation and its calculation is based on a crowd density model that accommodates 2 people occupying an area of 1m.²

¹⁷⁹ Aristides often comments on how his companions and often enough himself, cry "Great is Asklepios!" See *Logoi*, II.55 – II.52

¹⁸⁰ *Orations*, II 61, 64, IV 36.

to run.¹⁸¹ Both Aristides' companions and his servants must have occupied a significant portion of space around the nodal points. The fountains, sacrificial altars and temple steps were not only points of pause and contemplation, but as they were inhabited by this uncurated crowd, were places of discussion, slow and controlled gestures as well as continuous displays of disorder with staff and servants running in and out.

The temple staff members, more purposeful in their actions belonged to this same category of unmediated movement. Unlike the temple priests ordained to carry out specific ritualistic movements at given periods, the rest of the staff was equipped with daily practicalities, which made their bodily gesticulations unmethodical and perhaps only slightly guided by visual cues and architectural elements.

Pack and sacrificial animals would also occupy the courtyard and were maneuvered for collective ceremonies and individual rituals. There is not enough evidence to suggest a specific path for the animals or a specific area into which they were allowed. The low side steps of the propylon provide the first clue to how they were brought into the courtyard; however, the rest of their trajectory is unknown. They could have been ushered into the vaulted tunnel under the Zeus Asklepios temple or led directly into the courtyard where they were immediately sacrificed.

5.3 The Zeus Asklepios Temple and its Connections with the LRB

Tholos and rotunda buildings were common in Asklepieia. At Epidauros the Asklepieion also entailed a tholos, gymnasium and a colonnaded hall that enveloped these structures. Modeled after Pantheon, and clearly built for purposes of Imperial display, the Zeus

¹⁸¹ Both Corbeille and O'Sullivan exemplify the archetypal running slave particularly appearing Roman plays; O'Sullivan, 17-18; Anthony Corbeill, *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 117.

Asklepios temple, was an elaborate contraption for manipulating movement. Its simple but opulent circular core pulled the pedestrian inside, as a straight path from the monumental steps, while the complex labyrinth of passages surrounding this core curated and dispersed personnel into various destinations. The informal ramblings confined to these passages were hidden from the view and the tightly controlled formal entryway hid these informal ramblings, which were pushed to the edges and corners of the architecture.

Even though, the core of the temple of Zeus Asklepios had formal and expressive obligations, the surrounding membrane had no such responsibilities to attain a formal quality. The exterior shell accommodated informal ramblings and other activities, which did not belong to the pilgrimage narrative.

The direct formal path led straight into the large circular chamber equipped with niches, yet this was not the only pathway. This seemingly linear trajectory and outwardly plain temple entryway in fact hid a more intricate circulation system. Both the temple and the vestibule walls were interrupted with myriad openings and perforations, which led to a multitude of small-scale diverging pathways. There were various informal trajectories, which unfolded simultaneously along with the pilgrims' journeys.

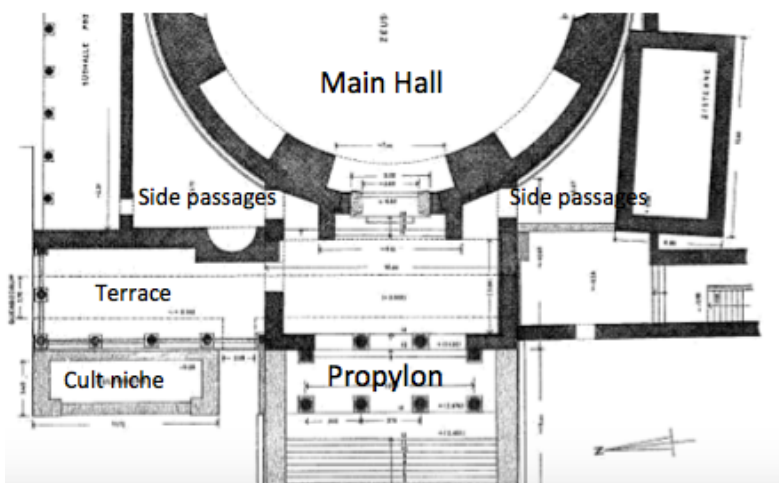


Figure 52 Plan (DAI) showing monumental staircase and entrance into Zeus Asklepios Temple

The first perforation was to the right, as one entered the vestibule. The northern wall of the vestibule had a doorway opening up unto a terrace above an underground passage (*quaderbodrum*). This terrace lined with columns, which had quite a totalizing view over the courtyard, most probably functioned as a viewing platform. It also overlooked the large cult niche, which was directly below. The space between the propylon gate and the round temple was utilized with the construction of a cult niche. It is exactly set at the northwest corner of the open terrace and with its length of 11.72 m and its total depth of approximately 4.0 m. There is a 2.61 m opening as an entrance between the cult niche and the staircase of the round building system. The andasite work of the niche is quite exquisite. It was covered with limestone panels.¹⁸²

Was this an area for surveillance? Or was it only used for watching festivals? The relatively small size of its doorway indicates that this area was preserved for few select people. Diane Favro, along with several scholars have pointed out the existence of viewing platforms on commemorative columns, arches, belvederes, and temple terraces. Favro also indicates the limited accessibility of these spaces, reachable only via narrow stairs.¹⁸³ According to the remains and the meticulous research by the DAI team, the temple included two terraces flanking the entrance, below the right terrace was a cistern and a number of gutter systems that directed the water. The access to the south terrace, however, was limited and more meandering compared to the northern terrace, which was accessible readily through the vestibule. It was only after entering through one of the side

¹⁸² Avp 11,3, 72.

¹⁸³ Diane Favro, "The Festive Experience: Roman processions in the urban context" in *Festival architecture*, ed. Sarah Bonnemaïson, et al. (London: Routledge, 2008), 10-42; Favro emphasizes the importance of viewing platforms by recounting how Maenius (1st century BCE) reserved a pillar for himself and his heirs in order to view the gladiatorial contests in Diane Favro, "Ancient Rome through a Veil of Site," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision* ed. Dianne S Harris, and D F. Ruggles (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007) 125-6.

doors to the temple and circling around the side wall of the vestibule that one could access the terrace. It is therefore, possible that these terraces overlooking the courtyard were in fact used sparsely for viewing festivals or ritual events and may have been restricted to the elite.

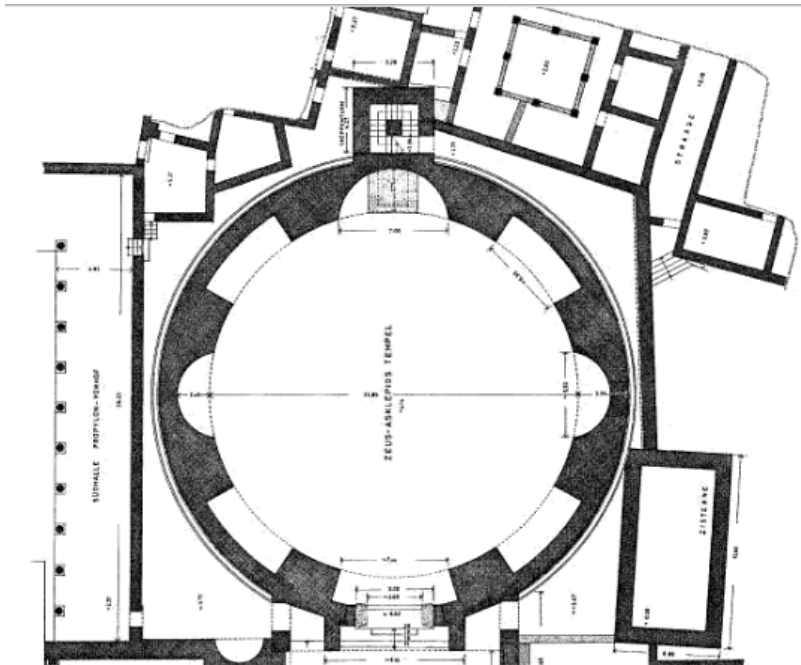


Figure 53 Plan (DAI) of Zeus Asklepios Temple main hall

Continuing towards the doorway of the temple, one met with two restrictive entrances flanking the main doorway. These two entrances led to two narrow corridor-like passages 1.05m wide, which circled the rear of the structure. Here in the northwest aisle, there was a semi-circular niche, the purpose of which is not clear – however given its awkward position it might have been used as a storage or possibly for temple guards. This left entrance running around the northern stem of the building allowed access to the propylon forecourt south-hall through two humble, previously mentioned, openings. The pathway continuing further north and becoming even more restrictive at times, led to a

series of small rectangular rooms before it stopped abruptly by the parapet wall of the circular staircase at the rear of the temple. The southern passage was equally cramped and led to the circular service stairs that was located at the rear of the temple. The SW gusset where the cistern was located had a small opening to a terrace with a low parapet wall. This area had a view of the courtyard. Even though, the functions of the northern and southern passages and the unstructured spaces are not clear; it is possible that these areas were used for circulation. The temple staff reaching these pathways, through the abrupt angled entrances would have to turn and adjust their bodies hastily to reach the propylon, the circular staircase –most probably for repairs- or their lodgings tucked away in the rear of the temple.



Figure 54 View towards the entrance of the underground passage, photo by the author.



Figure 55 View through the tunnel of *Quaderbodrum* underground passage, photo by the author

Yet another informal pathway into the temple area was through a vaulted tunnel which met the propylon side stairs at a 90 degree angle. Instead of serving merely as foundation, the platform of the Asklepios-Zeus Temple and its stairs were carved out to create a *quaderbodrum* with a vaulted tunnel. The traversing basement passed in a slightly skewed manner all the length of the structure.¹⁸⁴ The tunnel reached a stairway behind the parapet wall of the temple and was well hidden from view. This traversing passage was connected to the northern passage, a gusset area of the northwestern cistern. Thus one could in fact completely circumnavigate the structure from the outside through these hidden passages without ever stepping foot on the monumental staircase or the temple itself.

The tapering size and the amorphous nature of these spaces as well as the winding paths that led to them, clearly did not accommodate formal ritual practices or were in any

¹⁸⁴ For the discussions on the relationship of the cult niche and the terrace see Avp 11 (3) 41.

way a part of the pilgrimage narrative. They were built to hold informal ramblings, comings and goings of temple staff, servants and other personnel who were working behind the scenes. In general, the sites of these informal movements display a distinct lack of architectural clarity. They were spaces carefully hidden from the view, side-lined and pushed to the corners of the monumental structures and even below structures throughout the sanctuary. The irregularities in architecture were veiled over with a vestibular façade and an expressive Hadrianic rotunda.¹⁸⁵

At first glance the passages surrounding the structure seem to be treated in inconsistent ways. These incongruous pathways are common in buildings erected on slopes. The rising rock on which the temple was planned had to be flattened to form a terrace on which the temple was built. The left-over areas, the overhanging sections of space constituted these nebulous passages that encircled the structure. The southern sector of the eastern *temenos* wall was built, only after the establishment of the temple and its various informal spaces. The eastern end of this open space was the retaining wall of the south terrace inserted between the temple porch and the northwest corner of the cistern. This space was originally a passageway, which was connected to a door directly to the fairground. Through it one could reach Propylon forecourt, by going around the temple as well as accessing residential street in the SE corner.¹⁸⁶ After the building of the lower Round building, a smaller wall was built to close the gap between the two buildings, disconnecting the Zeus Asklepios temple from both the Lower Round Building

¹⁸⁵ For a detailed explanation of the architectural decoration see Avp 11 (3) 61-62.

¹⁸⁶ Avp 11(3) 70-71.

(Treatment building) and the residential street.¹⁸⁷ After this addition the only access to the Zeus Asklepios from the LRB was through the passage that leads down under the podium and met the underground *Quaderbodrum*.

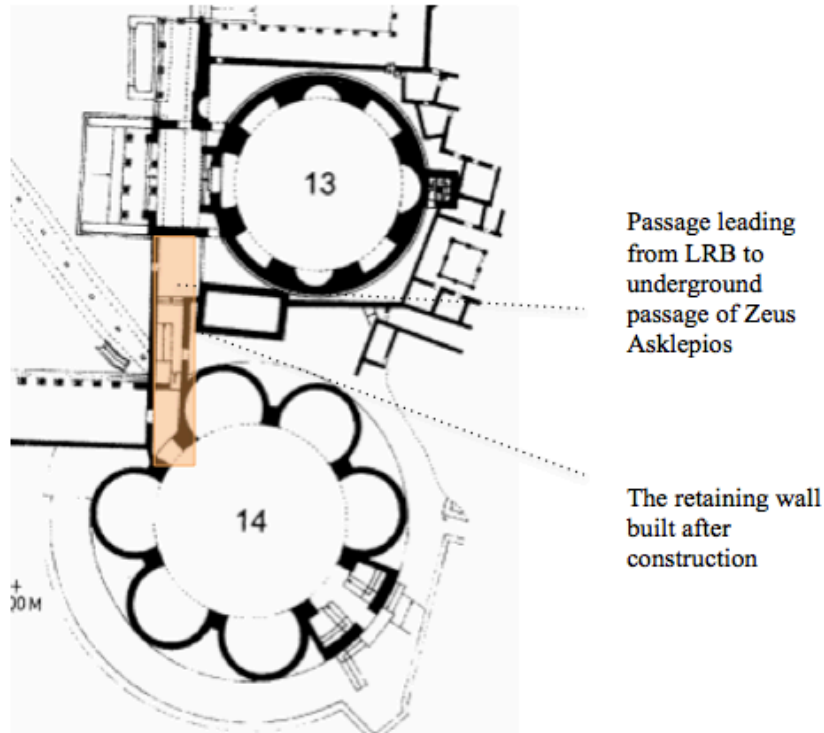


Figure 56 Plan (DAI) showing the connection between Zeus Asklepios Temple and Lower Rotunda Building, annotated by the author.

The northeast side of the temple was adjacent to the residential buildings that were abutted the round temple. This particularly confined area had to be filled with earth to create enough space for the secular buildings. There are small openings, one from the back of the propylon forecourt, one from the side of the staircase of the round temple. The entrances were very small and dainty. The DAI reports suggest that these were

¹⁸⁷ The possible explanations of which will be discussed in Chapter in the context of the particularities of the Treatment Building.

mostly likely the residential spaces of the temple staff. It is not likely that these spaces were home to shops, dealers and other necessary materials of healing since these types of personnel would hardly have been allowed to enter directly into the temple grounds, through the retaining walls of the round temple.¹⁸⁸ Built most likely for the temple staff, these uneven dwellings were a part of this informal backstage narrative, which involved temple personnel to move around and reach the grounds and attend to their daily tasks with ease.

One house displayed very different characteristics. Located southeast of the complex, it had a large peristyle courtyard with a central pool. This space might be a priest's house or a guest-house and the pool might have been used for purposes of bathing.¹⁸⁹ Aristides more than once declared that he stayed in the gate-house of a priest, washed in the sacred well, and anointed in the open-air, all according to the command of the god. Aristides' account calls into question the notion of accessibility into the temple grounds. Were the pilgrims from the upper echelons of the society allowed to walk casually through discreet, back passages or were they still required to use the main Propylon? Evidently, though the sanctuary was accessible to all, it did operate in a class-conscious manner and controlling movement doubtless had its intricacies. Certain pathways might have been accessible to some and not others. Often times, Aristides comments on his aimless wanderings through the sanctuary at closing or before opening times, into temples, in between fountains etc. Although, it is hardly likely that every pilgrim would have been allowed to stroll thus indifferently within the grounds, not all actions were programmed as locotherapy.

¹⁸⁸ Avp 11.3, 73.

¹⁸⁹ Avp 11.3, 74-75.

5.4 Theater: Hidden Passages and Hidden Movements

Perhaps the most peculiar aspect of the theater was the various underground passages laid out in concentric circles underneath the cavea. Different in scale and function, the outer most ring could be considered an underground passage; with a wide spanning barrel vault. The thickness of the exterior wall increased from west to east (from 0.77 to 1.05 m) and accommodated unusual spaces beneath the cavea. The eastern section of this area had rooms, which were built right against the cavea. Evidence suggests that there were also major pipelines that carried water; there was a hypocaust room with modest paving and wall plaster indicating that it might have been used as a latrine or a thermal bath.¹⁹⁰ These spaces small, cramped with no natural light had no access to the cavea, or the main circulatory spaces of the theater. They could have been temporary waiting areas for actors, servants or staff or could have been simply built for storage of theatre equipment. Whatever their functions might be these hidden passages, built for quick movements or for repose, were for sustaining the theatre and its performances, which was a part of the pilgrims' locotherapeutic journey.

5.5 Conclusion: The Informal Movements

These examples recount a much disordered and uncurated image of the sanctuary, which is not necessarily legible through the architecture. The architectural language offers no hints for this chaos, it is configured for a clean and efficient curation of movement. I would like to point out here that I am not interested in whether this manipulation was successful but that it was an ever-present force acting on the pilgrim. Aristides' attitude almost mimics the architecture, indicating a way of manipulating the

¹⁹⁰ AvP 11 5, 214-215.

reality, a way of representing the ritual in a certain way through experience of locotherapy while submerging other movements, informal paths. The architecture accommodated and maintained these informal movements but did so rather discretely. It did not proclaim them. The informal movements were there to sustain the locotherapeutic movements of the pilgrims and had to be accommodated by the architecture. The space of the courtyard was an overlay of latent chaos with latent order; formal locotherapy superimposed upon informal movement.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

From the pilgrimage in and out of the sanctuary to the sacrificial rituals, to the prescribed athletic movements, there were many different ways of moving within the Asklepieia. Throughout the different chapters, under the umbrella term ‘locotherapy,’ I explained how, as in any architecture that is inhabited, the sanctuary of Asklepieion in Pergamon was a system containing all movement from the minutest gesticulation to the most grand-scale procession. From festivals, myriad processions and public shows to activities of sick pilgrims from all echelons, their accompaniers, temple staff ranging in hierarchy from the *neokoros* to the choirs boys, individually or in groups, there was always the progression of moving bodies in the name of health. These movements simultaneously contained and leaky were controlled by pathways and at times spilling out of the boundaries into the street.

In the second century, with the advent of the upper class pilgrimage culture, visiting a sanctuary did not hold the same disagreeable stigma. Illness appears to have been considered less of a misfortune and more of a journey within the controlled process of applied locotherapy. Along with the redefinition of its ritual boundary, the Pergamene Asklepieion in the second century CE transformed into a place where various forms of locotherapy manifested themselves: a place for ritual activities, athletic exercises, oratory performances and curated pauses in between.

The myriad forms of locotherapy and specific Pergamene practices generated a particular use of pathways, the structures most efficient at directional maneuvering. As the healing practices changed and locotherapy became prevalent, architectural elements and pathways became instantiations of the change. The colonnades that were introduced

to mark the processional pathway to the temple, the various markers such as fountains, a Heroon and sculptural elements that delineated a boundary along this pathway, all attest to the sensitivity given to bodily movement and reception when designing the temple. These armatures as framing devices not only tied this heterogeneously built landscape in and around the sanctuary but also redefined a ritual boundary and enhanced its mnemonic character tying its narrative to that of the temple. The armatures of the Pergamene Asklepieion, considerably less dense, less monumental than its urban Imperial counterparts, were positioned carefully so as to communicate the pathway to healing and not to convey an Imperial message.

Similarly, within the temple grounds, the addition of porticoes, a propylon and a forecourt, and other framing devices directed and curated the crowds. The open system of the earlier sanctuary gave way to a closed system, designed to accommodate the new dietetic activities that began taking place within its walls. The older structures such as the wells, the smaller temples, the incubation chambers surrounded by colonnades became islands of activity, nodes of gesticulation within this new layout. Consequently, there was an emphasis on interiority, on pathways defined within this interior, as well as the well-thought-out application of surface materials all coordinating to create a complex vocabulary that allowed myriad forms of formal and informal, individual and collective movement within the sanctuary.

To understand this phenomenon of movement through armatures in the Pergamene Asklepieion, my research adopted a phenomenological perspective and read the architecture of the healing sanctuary through its embodiment. Through gauging

philosophy of space, urban theory and phenomenology, the project aims to understand the kinds of perception, occupation and movement in the spaces of Asklepieion.¹⁹¹

For this study, there was a particular fecundity that came with categorizing spaces under pause and motion, a way of tying spaces and understanding focal points and possible scenarios of movement within and in between structures. However, while accepting such categories, it is necessary not to forget the general fluidity of use in architecture. Areas demarcated within the temple should not be seen as separate from the narrative of the rest of the sanctuary. Attributing specific rituals to these spaces give the sanctuary an encyclopedic air, an articulated categorization of spaces. Yet one should stress that multiple activities took place in the cult center all through the day and night. Thus, instead of designating specific functions to spaces within the sanctuary, I follow pathways and systems of flow to understand the healing narrative each structure accommodates.

The post-excavation drawings –most of them conjectural- in their efforts to reconstruct the architectural language of the complex belie the complexity of movement inhabited. Considering the scant evidence of the early periods and the complexity with which architecture functions in general, it was nearly impossible to map all forms of movement in the complex during the second century. However, the architectural evidence at hand, did allow for a broader analysis of locomotion, which essentially involved the categorization and classification of the assortment of movements. Consequently, by

¹⁹¹Edward S Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Casey, Edward S. “How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: phenomenological prolegomena” in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso. (Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press, 1996)13-52; Arnheim, Rudolf. *The Dynamics of Architectural Form: Based on the 1975 Mary Duke Biddle Lectures at the Cooper Union* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977) and Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson. *The Social Logic of Space* (1984).

classifying types of movement (formal & informal), the frequency (pause and action) of movement and the implications (displacement & replacement) of movement, the project instigated a new and a more fruitful method in which to read Asklepieion architecture.

Throughout, the analysis relied heavily on the personal experiences of Aelius Aristides to map and understand locotherapy at a sensory level. Aristides' *Logoi*, represents the first-hand experience of a high-class male citizen and provides inevitably a warped sense of reality. Aristides was accommodated in a priest's residence near the temple grounds for up to months at a time and seemed to have had a particularly leisurely experience of locotherapy. He was privileged enough to take informal walks, often interpret his own dreams and perform for his companions. The inscriptions and the range of votive offerings do suggest the existence of a varied social group frequenting the Pergamene Asklepieion. The snippets of information from fragments of dedicatory tablets suggest that the participants included women, locals, Romans and non-Romans, as well as suppliants from various echelons of the society.

These extant remains, nevertheless are not detailed enough to construct the full range of experiences of locotherapy within the grounds of the temple. Even though Chapter 5 aimed at remedying this gap partially and discussed informal movements, it could not sufficiently cover the movements of the non-elite. There was clearly a distinction between the incubation chambers and votive offerings when it came to class, the topic which was discussed in Chapter 4. Yet there are still many questions remaining. The *Lex Sacra*, examined extensively in Chapter 3, does suggest that masses were more restricted in their ritual movements; yet we do not know, for instance whether the accommodations or any other spaces within or near the grounds were gender specific.

Many questions and various degrees of conjecture still need to be addressed regarding Asklepieia; nevertheless, the examination of the Pergamene Asklepeion has proven the necessity for a temporal as well as geographical context when dealing with movement. The architecture of the sanctuary evolved through various complex situations, and its second century design was a specific response to a particular forms of healing, namely locomotion therapy which was symptomatic to its time.

The analysis in its general terms illustrated Greco-Roman approaches to healing and their undisputable dependence on spatial design. This was only possible through the contextualization of movement. The phenomenon of locotherapy in Asklepieia or any other health establishment is only apparent and relevant within the second century time frame. In the Middle Ages, particularly in the Byzantine Empire, the healthcare system changed drastically in the geographical area with which this study is concerned.

At the end of 3rd century CE, with the rise of asceticism and monasticism, healing came under the care of Christian charities. Healing and care became synonymous whereby patients were seen as a part of a group that included the poor, the elderly, the orphans and even foreigners. All were seen as the responsibility of the Arian Churches established in Asia Minor. The healing system included drugs, dietary therapy, baths and surgery but also accommodations.¹⁹² The studies on St Basil, the first hospital built in the 4th century CE, interestingly almost always indicate the number of beds that existed within the establishment.¹⁹³ What is interesting however is the fact that there *were* beds

¹⁹² Derek Krueger, "Healing and Scope of Religion in Byzantium: A Response to Miller and Crislip" in *Holistic Healing Byzantium* ed. John T. Chirban (Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline: Massachusetts, 2010), 119-131.

¹⁹³ Susan R. Holman, *The Hungry are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (Oxford:New York 2001), 74–75; Andrew T. Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism & the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005);

on which patients were laid and from which they received therapies. Apart from the incubation facilities, which were only accessible at night after a particular ceremony, Asklepieia did not include beds for the patients to lie on. As demonstrated in the chapters, the patients Asklepieia were designed to welcome were principally active agents, who could carry out physical activities, participate in rituals as well as prescribed regimen.

Timothy S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985)

APPENDIX: A Walk Through the Second Century Pergamene Asklepieion

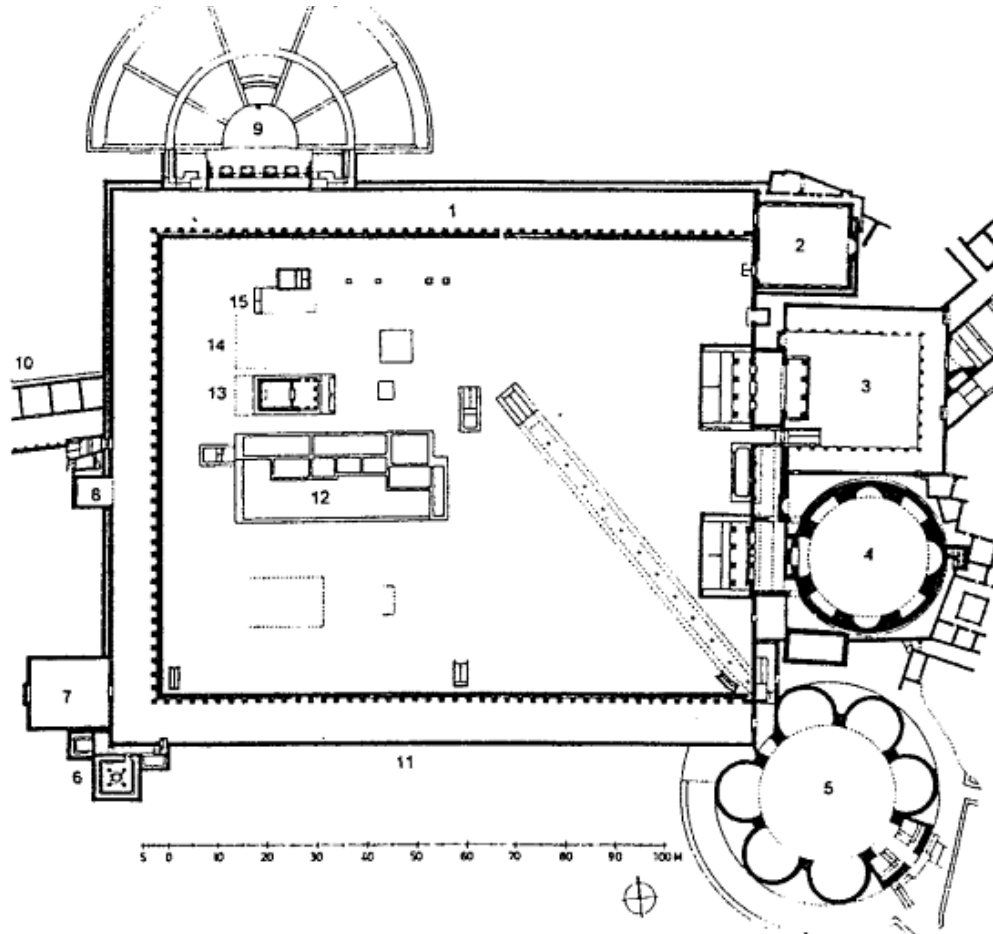


Figure 57 Plan of the sanctuary of the Pergamene Asklepieion in the 2nd century

The main remodeling of the sanctuary during the Roman period was towards the eastern section; the rest of the complex, according to excavation findings of DAI and Wiegand came about more gradually. Between the earliest phase, dating the 5th century BCE (BP1), to the latest late 2nd century there are over 18 building phases. These building phases are not clearly determined due to the fragmentary and overlapping remains, however, the reports indicate that the Building Phase 9 (BP9) dating from 200 to

191 CE marks the first important shift in the architectural development of the sanctuary. During this period, the cult area became wider and the building activity became more consistent; spreading southwards requiring a great deal of landfill and structural support.

After this significant layer, the remains suggest that there was a second cultural upswing, during which a Roman temple was built on the SW corner of the Hellenistic temenos.¹⁹⁴ However, main design, which is visible today, began taking shape with the second century Flavianic interventions. The structural expansion of the sanctuary is most visible through the restoration of the Hellenistic east porticoes and installation of early imperial courtyard extension. Even though, there appears to be a general will for uniformity in the designing of the sanctuary, the design process during the Hadrianic renovations was most likely piecemeal and was not a manifestation of an entire grand design program. For instance a new eastern boundary was built during the early renovations that connected the propylon to the Zeus Asklepios Temple and met the south hall. This wall however did not meet the northern boundary wall and was left unfinished to allow for further developments and structural additions. In fact, the remains of an odeon like structure, below the later propylon, reveal a less uniform expansion of the sanctuary during Trajan. The final and most extensive additions to the entire design, which through imposing characteristic axial arrangements achieved a certain of unity, came about with Hadrian.¹⁹⁵

Yet even this final axial arrangement was not imagined as a complete finished project and thus the constructions continued throughout Hadrian's reign. According to Radt, the construction was most probably halt during Hadrian's visit or perhaps during

¹⁹⁴ AvP I XI Plate 69

¹⁹⁵ AvP 1, 4.

festivals. For instance, the library may be subsequently added with the suggestion of the Emperor, and the subsequent cryptoporticus <a connection to the Holy source could have been added later as well. The final location and organization of the latrine and the West hall were determined only in the course of construction. The piecemeal construction began in the early Antonine period (123 CE) and continued until 130s, well after the sanctuary was reopened.

By the time the renovations were completed during the reign of Hadrian, the temple complex had become more introverted and its the orientation changed with its entrance and many of its monumental buildings positioned in the east. Some of the Hellenistic buildings situated within the sanctuary were demolished during the Roman Imperial Period to create a large open courtyard plan and a relative axial arrangement similar to the Imperial Forums.¹⁹⁶ The Hellenistic core remained and was supplemented by early Roman temples and structures built in the earlier phases.¹⁹⁷ Western Boundary wall was built during this period, determining the limits of the sanctuary. The *odeon*-like structure was demolished to create a new entrance, which was established by a monumental Propylon.

¹⁹⁶ AvP 11 2 Taf. 84; Wiegand a. O. 4

¹⁹⁷ AvP 11 1 , 71

The Street



Figure 58 Annotated map of 2nd century Lower city in the 2nd century

According to the carried out by Wolfgang Radt's team, the early Hellenistic street system of the town was quite regular with long heavy ashlar paving on main roads and large rock cut steps on small steep slopes (Figure 58). The archaeological data indicates, however that during the Roman expansion period, under Trajan and Hadrian -first half of the second AD- the street system was further revised to reinforce a grid scheme where streets crossed one another at regular intervals extending towards the lower plain. During this period there was also a great series of constructions taken up by Romans, from the impressive Temple of Trajan to the magnificent Red Hall, a sanctuary built for Egyptian Gods.¹⁹⁸ All these endeavors burdening the infrastructure abutting them not only proved the durability and functionality of this great system of Roman roads but also gave the city a Roman identity. The main road which that started from the city gates and made its way

¹⁹⁸Hoffmann, "Wege der Kommunikation in kleinasiatischen Städten," 35.

down to the valley not only offered excellent transportation opportunities but also enhanced this Roman identity by servicing the major civic buildings located on the plain such as the Stadium, the Gymnasia, the two Theaters and the Baths.¹⁹⁹ This main stretch, which was over 30 km in length, was a focal point of urban life with a reasonably high pedestrian traffic.

The Propylon

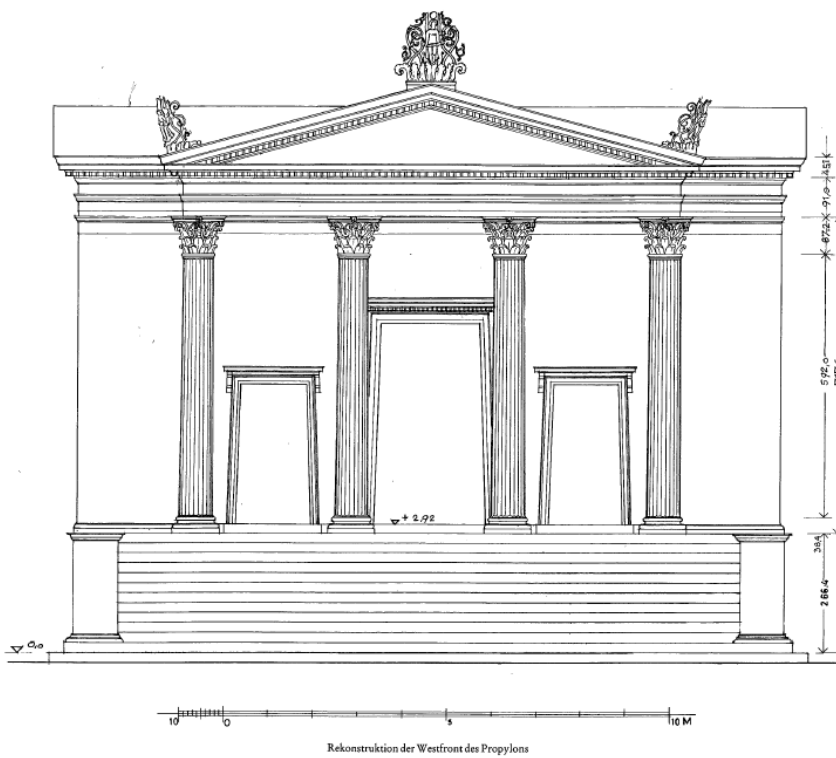


Figure 59 Reconstruction drawing of the Propylon

According to careful reconstruction drawings executed by O. Ziegenaus and the DAI team (1981) the propylon was a structure with high Corinthian capitals, 2 halls, 3 doorways and occupied an area of about 17 X 26 m. It had a significantly monumental

¹⁹⁹ Radt, "The Urban development of Pergamon," 52.

presence compared to the forecourt, which was adorned with a small-scale tapered columnar arrangements whose heights did not exceed 5 meters (Figure 59).²⁰⁰ The stockpile of remains at the base of the structure indicates that the Propylon, despite its large scale, was quite austere and included very few decorative elements. The adorned Corinthian style columns with gently oscillating acanthus leaves and the *lesbischen Kyma*, egg and *dart* detailing were the most striking feature. On the *tympanum*, the large *Mittelblock* had the dedicatory convex shield - diameter of 77.8 cm to 78.3 cm- of the donor Claudius Charax. It was placed carefully 8.0 cm above the *Tympanum* so that it remained visible as the visitors entered from the propylon into the gate.²⁰¹ The proportions and the architectural language of this structure as well as its severity was parallel to those of the entrance hall of the Zeus Asklepios building. The architectural language, which continued throughout the sanctuary, was a hybrid form of Asiatic and Roman Imperial architecture. This architectural vocabulary entailed Roman architectural forms and a certain interiority to the spaces and sparse and repetitious decorative elements that were a local feature. The repetitiveness of this formal language in the sanctuary, particularly within the courtyard, allowed for visual cohesiveness to prevail throughout the sanctuary.

The Courtyard and Its Structures

As a design typology, colonnaded porticoes began appearing in Asklepieion architecture effectively during first half of 3rd century BCE first in the Koan Asklepieion and then in

²⁰⁰ These reconstruction drawings of Propylon were based on the stockpile of remaining pieces (anathyrosis) on the courtyard, lying at the base of the structure Avp 11 (3) 19-20.

²⁰¹ Avp 11(3) 27- 29.

the Pergamene Asklepieion.²⁰² In Pergamon during the first half of the second century CE, three structures that were newly built all followed the same concept in their design. Trajaneum, the Red Basilica and the Asklepieion all consisted of a central main building, and a courtyard that was surrounded by halls, same organizational schema.²⁰³ Given the wide use of this typology around the classical world at the time, colonnaded porticoes could be employed for a number of purposes in sanctuaries and often appeared either as closed or open *quadriportico porticus*. Koan porticoes were designed to emphasize and accentuate the structures they were surrounding. These framing devices drawing attention to what they were encapsulating, also acted as ‘topographical leveling’ devices. In contrast, the Pergamene Asklepieion porticoes did not necessarily add value to the structures they were framing. If the Koan Asklepieion porticoes framed for purposes of creating monumental vistas, as seen by the approaching pilgrims, Pergamene porticoes were built more to contain, facilitate and direct the pilgrims who were already contained within the space. They did not necessarily add on a monumental quality to the structures they surrounded and worked more for corporal manipulation than for architectural aesthetics.

The following section lists and describes these structures that the porticoes were encircling and their diversities in design and function.

Fountains

The ceremonies associated with the cult of Asklepios clearly indicate the importance of water in cult practices. Thus, its no surprise that the courtyard of the Pergamene Asklepieion was absolutely covered with fountains dating different periods. The

²⁰² AvP 11 (5) 224.

²⁰³ Ibid. 225

excavations have revealed the existence of a large pipe traversing the courtyard serving these fountains. A fountain, dating to the early Roman period, had a complex design. A 4- or 5-step staircase led from the east to an intermediate landing down that was by a marble barrier against the actual pool of water; there was a retaining wall that retained the water; carved out a single block of marble of 3.50 m long whose pedestal side 2.1 cm deep faceted and its top is shaped like cushions. The cushion profile was equally decorative and purposeful acting as a barrier for the water.²⁰⁴ In the center of the barrier, just above the podium floor, there was a small hole through which the water leaked. At the base of the western basin wall, 16 cm from the northwest corner, a semicircular opening of 6 cm diameter served as a waterspout. So this complex design included a low basin and a deeper pool. It was a well-defined structure that housed and embraced the visitors who would spend quite a bit of time completing different kinds of ablutions or ritual supplications.²⁰⁵

A smaller fountain with unknown origins was also found next to the *abaton*. This could have been built purposefully to serve the *abaton* and the purification ceremonies prior to incubation.

Smaller Temples

Apart from the fountains and altars the number of which are not known, the colonnaded porticoes framed more substantial structures within the courtyard; the *abaton* and three Hellenistic marble temples. The best-preserved temple, renovated again during the second century, was a marble building with Ionic ordered in antis columns. The fragmented findings do not allow for a complete reconstruction but from the surviving

²⁰⁴ AvP 11.(2) 54.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

corner blocks, parts of the pediment and entablature, the delicate tendrils of its Sima were stylistically similar to those belonging to the Great Altar of Pergamon. This small but bejeweled building stood out in the courtyard adjacent to three other smaller temples remains of which are not clear today. This cluster of temples incorporated into the sanctuary during the second century renovations, belonged to a much earlier phase of the Asklepieion. Petsalis argues that this act of conserving Hellenistic structures was symptomatic to second century Greco-Roman complexes; these were tangible signs of continuity within the newly vamped Roman space.²⁰⁶

Abaton

The core of the building, its cluster of spaces measured 5.25m x 10.35m rectangular building/ internal dimensions of about 7.36m x 9.33m was built around second quarter of 3rd century BCE. This earliest phase included an open courtyard and this feature was kept over several renovations. The extension of this building took place BP6, as square rooms were added to the south of the cluster. In later stages of construction a new room was added with a new ground filling into the incubation cluster as well as an extension towards the west.²⁰⁷ Around the 200 BCE a long chamber was added to the system parallel to an already long chamber and it reached to the great west wall.²⁰⁸ The building had its third expansion in 157 BCE, it was further enlarged to the south; the third expansion of the incubation chambers dates to the roman expansion period. The southern rooms were added during this time but they were not extended against the south hall wall since there was a mud pit which was positioned directly against the western wall of the

²⁰⁶ Petsalis-diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wonders* (2010), 169.

²⁰⁷ AvP 11(1) 29-32.

²⁰⁸ Avp 11(1) 46.

southern rooms that proved invaluable in treating patients; this period saw the growing prestige of this incubation complex once again.²⁰⁹

The Architecture of the Porticoes

The North Portico

Built during the second century renovations was 128.90 m long and 7.63 to 7.75 m wide. Accommodating the theater, the library and establishing a firm northern boundary to the temple, the northern portico was built with acute clarity and brought about strict regulations to the neighboring houses.²¹⁰ It met the western stoa in the south and the wall of the library in its eastern end. The entire portico entailed 45 columns, 34 ionic and 10 composite columns with stylobates measuring 0.85 to 2.55 m wide and 0.38 to 0.44 m deep blocks of white gray marble. Peculiarly, the order of the structure was a mix of two different sets of Attic-Ionic columns and an additional set of Composite capitals towards its eastern end. A three-part entablature, consisting of two fascia architrave, frieze and the final Kónsolgesims, carried by Attic based fluted Ionic columns ran consistently through the structure until it met the west portico. This hybrid Ionic order continued through to the south and west porticoes.²¹¹

The amalgamation of two different sets of Attic-Ionic column orders, a detail also present in the Trajaneum, and the inclusion of Composite order –inspired by the Ephesian models- all demonstrate the oscillation between Greek and Roman characteristics. There is sufficient scholarship on this issue as the architectural style of the whole complex

²⁰⁹ Avp 11(1) 62.

²¹⁰ Outlined by the famous Astymonic inscriptions.

²¹¹ AvP 11 (5) 24-25.

entails both traces of local Pergamene vocabulary as well as Hadrianic compositions.²¹² The decorations of the north hall columns had very little depth and the whole structure seemed to be covered with a dense surface application; The architrave and the frieze as one unit characteristic of the Pergamene style as well as the soffits were left plain, without any decorative elements.²¹³

The walls of the North Hall were incrustated with marble slabs in a multi-zone setup”; a marble profile base, a row of black orthostats crowned by bright yellow marble; followed by blue stripes of 28 cm and big slabs of purple veined marble these were framed by beautiful ornamental panels of opus sectile profiles.²¹⁴ The floor purposefully left bare was a continuation of a leitmotif, the required physical contact of the chthonic deity, which had already started at the propylon forecourt. The bare pathway was an architectural gesture, throughout the temple, which ushered the pilgrim along on paths he should be moving.

The Western Portico

The 110.07m length western portico also followed the same architectural language with Ionic typology, opus sectile revetments and unpaved flooring. The intriguing aspect of this western stoa was its adjacent spaces branching out towards the west. Towards the center of the portico, was a Hellenistic two aisled stoa (Langhalle) with andesit walls and doric columns. Here, the topography clearly posed challenges, as it was extremely steep and the structure was reached after a flight of stairs. Despite the complete preservation of

²¹² An essential characteristic of the distinction between "Greek" and "Roman" training of the Attic-Ionic basis is after LT Shoe in the proportions of the upper torus and the underlying plate; AvP 11 (5.8) 29.

²¹³ The portico architraves of both the Charax-propylon and those of Zeus-Asklepios temple were also undecorated AvP 11 (5) 46.

²¹⁴ Ibid. 64.

this oblique 104m Hellenistic stoa at the time of the second century renovations, its entrance and its relationship with the portico was meticulously redesigned. The new main stairs which were added during the renovations, leading straight from the portico were positioned further south so they ran aligned parallel to the stoa and only met it after a 90 degree turn. The reports propose a well thought out tectonic justification for this abrupt angular approach. As the builders were trying to synthesize an older structure buried in the steep bedrock with the newly built porticoes they had to close exits and manage the height difference between two structures.

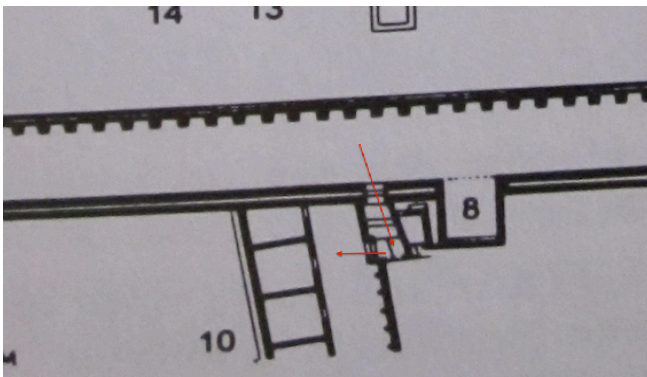
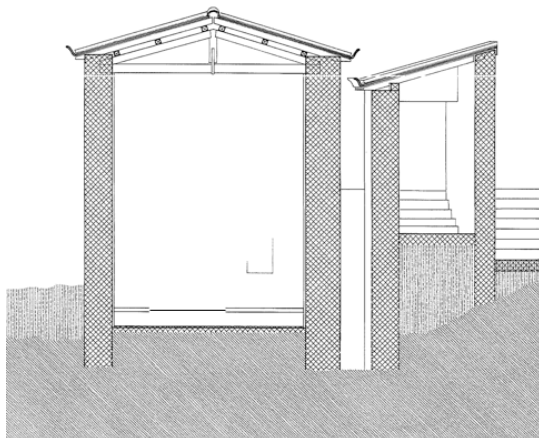


Figure 60 The western portico in plan



1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11M

Abb. 89. Exedra an der Westhalle, Schnitt mit Blick nach W, Rekonstruktionsvorschlag. M. 1:100

Figure 61 The western portico in section

Exedra

The rear wall of the west hall bends to the west, forming a 5.18 to 5.23 m wide, the on the run Hall backplane based 7.25m deep and thus 37.7 m² large room; on the north west wall of the exedra, there were traces of 3 niches (68-70) cm wide and 35-38 cm deep; A 50cm deep votive bench was built. Before the bench was placed in the wall of the exedra, the wall was decorated with multi-colored murals. After the bench the walls and the bench were painted a uniform red color. The flooring might have also been left unpaved, as there is no evidence to any kind of application.²¹⁵ The lack of decoration or any will to create an aesthetic aedicular façade to the northwest wall with the niches, points to a more practical votive function.²¹⁶ As a possible inconspicuous sacred destination during the restorations; Radt likens it to the cult niche in between the propylon and the Zeus Asklepios building.²¹⁷

Southwest Hall

The rather large exedra-like space (measuring a large hall with a floor area of approximately 13.70m (north-south) 732 to 15.74m (east-west) is equal to 215.6m²) farther along the western portico was another ritual node. The grey, white veined or brown veined marble incrustation on the floor and walls indicate that the hall was a permanent space and might have been used for various cultic rituals since it also has a niche on the back wall, which looks large enough to house a statue.²¹⁸ Even though the wall revetments were almost identical to the north hall with opus sectile applications, the

²¹⁵ AvP 11 (5) 137-8.

²¹⁶ Ibid.138-9.

²¹⁷ Ibid. 140.

²¹⁸ Ibid. 137-8.

elaborate flooring as continuation of the walls applications, made this spacious hall into a separate space.

Immediately to the north latrines included a large hall building with a floor area of approximately 13.70m (north-south) to 15.74m (east-west) is equal to 215.6m²; Its floor was marble and the walls were clad; there was a niche (2.60m width and 0.80m depth) which would fit one or several statues; The reports suggest that this building along with the latrines were not designed at the beginning of the imperial renovations but were most probably added gradually; rotating on an axis attached to the end of southhall, they would not have interfered with the general overall design scheme.²¹⁹ There is also an exedra attached to this southwest hall space. Only later joined a flagstone bench was built at the foot of the wall niche, which can be well interpreted as an additional site for votive offerings. The exedra wall was decorated with a grey base with splashes of red and yellow colored marble. When later the bench was added the wall was painted red along with the bench as a part of the wall. Were the aedicular, niched façade for the votive offerings and the bench was used for the overflow of votive and dedications. This might have been the culmination or the end of the earlier Hellenistic hall that was located north of the south hall.

South Hall

The remains of the south portico is fairly sparse due to the heavy destruction, however, few pieces that remain testify that its tectonic and the aesthetic language was in accordance with the west and north porticoes. There was a Hellenistic foundation to the southern stoa however with the Roman extension the boundaries of the temple and the

²¹⁹ Avp 11 (5) 134-135; “The moving version of the frieze tendrils contrasts strikingly with that of the console where entablature ornaments.” The acanthus detailing of the columns show parallels with the Ephesus baths which were built around Trajanic/Hadrianic time period, Bingöl 1980, 237.

south portico was pushed at least 15 m towards the south and there needed to be further embankments to support the main courtyard. As mentioned previously the renovations resulted in the building of a large vaulted cryptoporticus –the incubation chamber- as well as the definition of a new boundary. The new south wing also accommodated the latrines which were pushed away deliberately towards the southwest corner, significantly isolated from the rest of the spaces –its entrance suitably away from the adjacent southwest hall- yet conveniently close to the incubation chambers.²²⁰ The waiting room which acts as almost as a buffer zone between the latrines and the south hall is a 11.66 m² space, running parallel to the South Hall lower half of the run are applied to the top conductive stair outside of the vestibule and to the east wall of the waiting room reaching east of the passage.²²¹

Zeus Asklepios Temple

Termed by Habicht as the Zeus-Asklepios temple and financed by L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, the large rotunda meticulously plated with dark grey to reddish brownish andesite was an impressive structure.²²² The architrave was deeply carved and was in quintessential Asiatic sequence with external cylindrical rod, egg and dart motifs, Fillet, platelets as well as lesbian kymation, platelets. The ceiling cassettes were marble and the profiles were sharp and distinctive, with high carving and unlike the unpaved pathways laid out in the Propylon complex, the whole floor of covered with marble plates.²²³

²²⁰ AvP 11 (5) 111-114

²²¹ Ibid. 111-112

²²² AvP 8 (3) (1969) 13; the evidence is scarce to support this assumption

²²³ Avp 11 (3) 48: The entrance, the Euthynteria defines a marble door threshold, of about 4.90 m height and 1.55m wide

Wiegand's report describes the blue purple and yellow veined marbles and Phrygian incrustations within the temple testifying to the intricate language of the interior. The walls mainly white entailed slightly polychromatic revetments; with high framed niches and framed spandrel panels between the Archivolts; the most colourful and elaborate revetments were applied in between the smaller rectangular niches on the higher levels of the walls. The architectural detailing and ornamentation became more complex and dense until it peaked at the bejewelled dome. Wiegand reports on the mosaic dome: "Many small cubes of coloured glass and coloured stones that we found on the marble floor of the round building, proved that this dome was a rich mosaic."²²⁴ Thus the eye of the entering pilgrims travelled from niche to niche, was guided slowly upwards, through the friezes and revetments until it rested on the magnificent mosaic dome that was crowned with a cornice. Rich surfaces accentuated and dramatized the formal ritual sensation that governed the structure.

The space consisted of a curtain wall -3.55m thickness lining the structure- which entailed eight niches with archivolt: a large semi-circular niche of 7.0m internal diameter and 2.75m depth in the east; quite a large rectangular niche at the eastern entrance; two semi-circular niches 5.50m internal diameter and 2.05m depth in the north and south i.e. in the north-south axis of the building. In addition, four smaller rectangular niches also of 5:50m and 2:05m clear internal width depth in the diagonal axes. It appears that these niches were not used for cultic purposes and had no statues nesting in them.²²⁵ The tholos structure in Epidauros was referred to by Pausanias as a *thymele*, name used for the altar

²²⁴ Ibid. 66-67.

²²⁵ Avp 11 (3) 45.

in the center of the ancient Greek theater orchestra²²⁶ and according to the description there were engraved tablets dedicated to the healing god in this building.²²⁷ Accordingly, the niches might have included dedicatory tablets, which might have perished in time. The niches framed by plasters, the rich marble revetments, the temple interior imitated the decorative schema of Pantheon. A notable exception to this rule however, was the possible addition of a second floor to the structure, although this claim is far from being certain.²²⁸

Library

The library consisted of a large rectangular room (18.50m by 16.52m) with six recessed rectangular book niches on the north and south walls, four on the east wall, two on either side of the central cult niche. On the west wall there was a central large shallow niche of uncertain use and on either side two doors giving access to the north portico and the courtyard. The book niches were sixty five centimeters deep and vaulted at the top. They were located 1.75 meters above the floor level and were accessed by a wooden podium running all the way around the room except in front of the cult niche and along the west wall. Natural light entered the building through a row of windows above the book niches;

²²⁶ “The tholos at Epidauros was one hundred and seven feet in diameter. It consisted, structurally, of six concentric rings. The outermost ring was a colonnade, the second was a wall inside of which was another colonnade. Inside of these were three foundation walls. Under the floor of the building was a vault which consisted of three circular passageways and a small circular room in the center. There was a door leading into each passageway, but it was impossible to go from one passage-way into the next without making the complete circle.” In Robinson, “The Cult of Asklepius and the Theater,” 534.

²²⁷ Pausanias (1. 112). These tablets were published by Cavvadias in Fouilles d'Epidaure.

²²⁸ Avp 11 (3) 63

these are thought to have been at least 1.40 meters in height and their panes made of either thin yellow marble or alabaster.²²⁹

Theater

As with other Roman style theaters, its stage house and cavea were of the same height and were merged together as a simple stereometric structure, in other words as one architectural unit. It was fairly modest in scale with six aisles and was separated by a diazoma in two places. The scaenae frons designed with offset tabernacle and curvy vibrating elements had three stories of columns and gables of white marble, it had five doorways, and within its niches in Hyposkenion were various life-sized statues of Dionysos, Hermes and Satyrs.²³⁰ The stage house had a very narrow tube like backstage and a low pulpitum; the Orchestra was only indirectly accessible; The orchestra even though seems to be placed off center was still an optical center, especially since the marble slab was partly richly encrusted with mosaic; in addition to the niches and fountains on the pulpitum; A sleek and high pedestal, whose role as an altar, decorative or honorary basis can not be clearly defined, was placed at the northern edge of the Orchestra in the vicinity of the Prohedria. Six stairs that rise from the orchestra from, divide the cavea in five wedges. In the center of the central wedge in the lower rank is the carefully crafted official gallery. All elements of the Prohedria, the entire cavea, and other components of the theater were plated with marble²³¹.

²²⁹ Wiegand, *Ausgrabungen* (n.106), 10-11, Deubner, *Asklepieion* (n.103), 40-3, C. Callmer, "Antike-Bibliotheken", *Skrifter utgivina av Svenska institutet I Roms 10, Opuscula archeological 3* (1994), 145-93; Petsalis, *Truly Beyond Wonders*, 207-8-9.

²³⁰ AvP 11 (5) 261.

²³¹ For details regarding the detailing and decoration of the stage building, and its comparisons with the Celsus Library at Ephesus see AvP 11, Teil 5.6, 190-197.

In close connection with the North Hall, whose rear wall also formed the outer wall of the stage building, the new theater of Asklepieion directly adjoined the courtyard. For events, the halls could also serve as a vestibule or an ambulatio. North Hall building ties with the two laterally arranged vestibules; the theater is modest in size. The building depth of the stage house and pulpitum be consistent with a level of about 8.75 m the position of Analemmata which subsequently par allele extend directly to the pulpitum the north hall to the east and west. In the lower part of the cavea they form at the same time the rear walls approximately square vestibule that lie on either side of the stage area and the two subsequent directly to the stage front doors with a level passage about 2.07 m (west door) of the North Hall were accessible from²³²

Lower Rotunda Building

Accessed from the courtyard with a modest entrance and in the south east by a flight of steps and a larger entrance in the form of a rectangular niche, the lower Rotunda an internal diameter of twentyseven meters and the height of its dome is calculated as being the same.²³³ Three hemispherical apses on either side of the axis running into the courtyard each constituted a large space, eleven meters in width and eight meters deep. In the center of the circular hall, beneath the oculus, was located a water tank which was connected t the cirstern between the rotunda and temple of Zeus Asklepios.

The whole basement is none other than the widely situated podium on which rests the circular building.²³⁴ DAI argues that the building had to be visible from the courtyard so it had to be raised with a basement. Yet as the team agrees even though the diameter of

²³² AvP 11 Teil 5.6, 201.

²³³ AvP 11 (3) 76-94.

²³⁴ Avp 11 (3) 76-77.

the building was larger than that of the Zeus Asklepios Temple, there is no clue about the height of the structure and whether it was in fact visible from the courtyard.

The large pillars situated on the basement that carry the floor, and the vaulting of the building. The southeast of the basement was accessible through 4 doors, and a total of fourteen windows. This door might have remained opened yet the other 3 other gates that were narrower were closed with latticed doors. The windows were vaulted with semicircular niches; two windows by the side of the main gate I are wider and designed differently compared to other windows.²³⁵

The stairs from the courtyard into the circular building were inconspicuous in design. The rotunda was so far pushed towards the SE corner of the southhall that it almost came to a contact with the colonnade pillar.²³⁶

A gently rising 1.95m wide staircase is attached to the eastern wall of the south hall basement. Immediately before this staircase leads long on a marble threshold of 68.80m, barrel-vaulted subterranean passage, the so-called cryptoporticus. The ramp is designed in full length with Andesitplatten, which lie in rows, but change in size and shape very much. Despite the irregular joints course all joints are fitted together but very sharp edges, so that the whole ramp appears to be well entrenched, amazingly smooth flooring.

Because of space constrictions caused by the walls of South hall Keller, where the ramp met the building, a trapezoidal, extended forecourt was created between a pillar and the Southhall basement. The fountains are vaulted with semicircular arches whose fronts

²³⁵ AvP 11 (3) 81

²³⁶ Ibid. 85

are offset from each 7 equally wide square voussoirs. A 6cm wide drain hole was cut in the middle of the front gutter so that water could drain into the bedrock.²³⁷

The other water basins were not completed; the first basin on the west, between the columns XI and X was completed but the next one was not finished. This basin resumes a special position. The floor of the hall ring was in this whole area, rings around the pool, paved. This last fountain as well as the two basins at Gate I belonged to the first stage of construction. All other fountains were later additions.²³⁸ The building had excellent aeration and drainage systems, the water for the basins was provided from the large Cistern of the Zeus Asklepios building; it is clear from the construction that the piping and the sewage system was planned very carefully at the beginning of the construction.

On the east wall of the corridor wall apses, a marble plinth at the wall base is at 2.10 m length about that which is composed of sections from 2.2 to 4.5 cm thick and 5.8 to 3.5 cm thick plaster; The marble paving is further proof that this whole corridor space architecturally designed as a terrace.²³⁹

The outer shell, or the terrace of the building on the southern side is 6m wide, the outer retaining wall meets the South hall Keller in one end and makes a twist and then circles around the structure making several bends, reaching the outside stairs to first floor and in this way leads there to an expansion of dealing almost 12 meters wide. From here, the walls then leads straight uphill, to the SW corner of the lower eastern residential road up to the colonnade outside wall approaches again up to 5.0 m and hemming here to

²³⁷ AvP 11 (3) 86-88

²³⁸ AvP 11(3) 90

²³⁹ Ibid. 98-99

access from the residential street to gate I.” The whole southern exterior was immaculate radially laid andesite plates.²⁴⁰

The one columned room (Einsäulensaal) was accessible from two sides: from approach, through a narrow, probably only about 1.25 m wide door and, directly from the colonnade ago, also through a very narrow, only 1.20 m wide door.²⁴¹ The upper floor was covered with marble plates and the northern section entailed 5 skylights and vent pipes to lighten the darkness.²⁴² The main entrance to the upper floor was from the SE direction.

The eastern end of the Zeus Asklepios temple, where there was a passageway to the residential area neighbouring the temple, was promptly closed off during the construction of the Lower Round Building. According to the DAI reports the gap of 5.80 m by 8.40 between was closed carelessly, through which you probably came across two stages to the stairs of the Lower round building. During this time, probably simultaneously with a paving of the whole temple from the site, and the gap must have been paved with large slabs of marble laid in rows, a worthy prelude before entering the south hall basement, the great incubation building. Probably already in this period it will have proven advantageous to strip the east wall of the space, which was apparently heavily moisturized from the cistern ago by Vorblenden a hollow brick layer. It consisted of 25-28 cm long and 7 cm deep, angled at both ends brick shells which are in the lowest layers still be seen in situ.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Ibid. 92-93

²⁴¹ Ibid. 93-94

²⁴² Avp 11 (3) 96-97.

²⁴³ Ibid. 70-71.

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