

# HELLENIC ANALOGIES AND THE TYPICAL HEALING NARRATIVE

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## I. HELLENIC ANALOGIES

### *The Use of Stories from Hellenic Literature*

*Dibelius*.—Beside anecdotes from rabbinic literature, Martin Dibelius also adduces stories from Hellenic sources in order to illustrate the synoptic narrative tradition as form-criticism interprets it. He divides these Hellenic analogies into three groups: *chriae* or short, pointed sayings of famous men, especially the philosophers; *novellen* inserted as episodes in larger works of history or fiction; and *miracle-stories* preserved in connection with some cult. Only the third group need concern us here.<sup>1</sup>

The most famous example of official cult-records is the collection of healing accounts from Epidauros. Dibelius distinguishes two types of story in this collection. In one he discerns the infiltration of novelistic motifs and even whole novellen; the other, in his opinion, records real cures, surgically effected by the priests during the patient's incubation at the shrine. The difference is stylistic: the novellistic stories are vivid but follow no uniform scheme; the accounts of actual therapy, on the other hand, follow a definite pattern: description of the illness, incubation and divine apparition, verification of the result. The *Sitz im Leben* of the latter stream of tradition was veneration of the healing deity; of the former, the satisfaction of a certain curiosity. But the twofold tradition was uniformly revised to serve as propa-

<sup>1</sup> For rabbinic analogies to the synoptic healing narratives, cf. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, IV (1943), 76-79.—The *chriae* are presented by Dibelius as parallels to the Gospel paradigms in regard to their unliterary origin, isolated preservation by disciples, and subsequent collection. In content, however, they differ strikingly: the *chria* is witty repartee rather than a narrative. Dibelius considers the story of the youth at Nain an example of the Greek novelle: a single interesting incident told in a rather piquant style. Of popular origin, the novellen circulated independently at first and were then introduced into a literary work. Unlike the novellen of the Gospel, however, they were not exclusively concerned with the miraculous. Cf. M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1933), pp. 150-65. This book is cited hereafter simply as "Dibelius."

ganda for the cult of Asklepios, and the general result is a tradition analogous to that of the Gospels, in which a somewhat colored record of actual cures (the paradigms) has been augmented by the insertion of material from well known wonder-stories (the novellen) and the whole collection presented under a single viewpoint. In other respects, of course, the analogy fails. In one case we have a wandering Leader of disciples, publicly teaching and healing. In the other, a shrine in which a god—actually his ministers—secretly undertakes to cure the somnolent sick. Inevitably, this cultural and local restriction manifests itself in the text.<sup>2</sup>

*Bultmann*—Rudolf Bultmann also draws copiously on Hellenic sources for analogies. He perceives a parallel to the non-historical character of the synoptic controversies in the Greek tradition concerning sages who were not active in a literary way and who were of less import to science than to personal conduct and life, for example, Socrates and Diogenes.<sup>3</sup> In regard to the biographical apothegms, he believes that they also have their parallels in classical antiquity, but that further investigation is needed before the origin of these apothegms can be determined merely from their form.<sup>4</sup> It is particularly in analyzing the style of the typical healing narrative, however, that Bultmann refers to Hellenic literature.<sup>5</sup> Analogies are adduced in abundance for exorcisms, healings, raising from the dead, and other miracles.<sup>6</sup> His intention, here as elsewhere, is not to present sources for definite synoptic narratives—or only in rare instances. Rather he desires to illustrate the common atmosphere, and to show mutual motifs and forms. Nevertheless, the parallelism is so striking that he feels it affords a presupposition for the origin of the synoptic miracle-stories on Hellenistic ground.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Dibelius, pp. 165–72. Apparently both actual cures and imaginative stories were included in these records. It seems doubtful, however, whether Dibelius' stylistic criterion will serve to separate the twofold tradition in the actual text. His sharp distinction between paradigm and novelle has been discussed in a previous article: *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*, III (1942), 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (2nd ed.; Göttingen, 1931), p. 53, hereafter referred to simply as "Bultmann."

<sup>4</sup> Bultmann, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Bultmann, pp. 236–41.

<sup>6</sup> Bultmann, pp. 247–53.

<sup>7</sup> Bultmann, pp. 253 ff. In "The New Approach to the Synoptic Problem," *Journ. Rel.*, VI (1926), 347, he says: "The gospel stories have exactly [!] the same style as the Hellenistic miracle stories"; cf. *Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien* (2nd ed.; Giessen, 1930), pp. 18 f.

*The Sources.*—As with the rabbinic analogies, the best way to evaluate these statements is by a study of the stories themselves. We may proceed, therefore, to a consideration of our sources for Hellenic healing narratives. They vary from inscriptions to literary dialogues. In compiling a representative list of such stories, Bultmann and Dibelius are of considerable assistance by the anecdotes cited in their treatment of the subject. To these may be added such collections of miracle-stories as that made by Paul Fiebig,<sup>8</sup> and the classic and still invaluable work of Otto Weinreich.<sup>9</sup>

The inscriptions from the shrine of Asklepios near Epidauros will form the main subject of our investigation in the present article. They are deserving of special consideration because of their non-literary form, which more closely approaches the Gospel style than the tales from classical writers; because they were read by pilgrims and visitors for at least half a millenium and thus widely influenced Hellenic miracle tradition; and because they offer an abundance and variety of story that is, at the same time, adapted to complete and detailed analysis.

The cult of Asklepios near the Peloponnesian town of Epidauros began about the sixth century B.C. and was still alive in the middle of the fourth century A.D. What was originally a secondary shrine in a wooded valley, some nine kilometers southwest of Epidauros, became, through skilful propaganda, an internationally famous sanctuary and resort, and the parent of several subsidiary foundations in the Hellenic world. The popularity and wealth of the shrine is indicated by the magnificence of its buildings, among which, beside the temple grounds proper, were a stadium and a theater, the latter one of the finest in Greece and capable of seating twelve to fifteen thousand spectators.<sup>10</sup> Here, between 1883 and 1900, Kavvadias uncovered three *stelai*, partially broken and much obliterated, and the fragment of a fourth. The tablets are about the same size—1.70 x .75 x .17 meters—and written in the same characters. Probably there were originally a

<sup>8</sup> P. Fiebig, *Antike Wundergeschichten* (Bonn, 1911). Cf. also R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (Leipzig, 1906).

<sup>9</sup> O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (Giessen, 1909). This book is referred to hereafter simply as "Weinreich."

<sup>10</sup> The article "Epidauro" in the *Enc. Ital.*, XIV, 58 ff., contains interesting photographs of the theater and ruins, and a plan of the shrine.

series of six.<sup>11</sup> From content and language it seems clear that they are the product of one redaction, and from the writing they have been dated as not later than 300 B.C. The three complete *stelai* contain sixty-six narratives. The dedicatory formula, the excellence of the writing, and the careful presentation of the text, have been taken to indicate that they are official records. Real cures, effected at the shrine by medical, surgical or psychic means, and recorded on votive tablets or *πίνακες*, seem to have formed the kernel of the collection. This was then gradually surrounded with creations of popular fancy, due doubtless not only to the priests and directors of the shrine but also to pilgrims awaiting cure. The aim of the collection was evidently propaganda and advertisement of the shrine, the edification of the visitors and pilgrims, a warning not to forget the proper thank-offering, and the stimulation of courage and hope in a cure.<sup>12</sup>

The healing narratives from other Hellenic sources serve our present purpose mainly as illustrating the traits of the Epidauran stories in a wider field.<sup>13</sup> Two of these sources deserve special mention. The

<sup>11</sup> R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 36. Cf. p. 2, where he quotes Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*, II, 27, 3, to the effect that in his time (c. 165 A.D.) there were still six *stelai*.

<sup>12</sup> F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (editio minor) IV, 1 (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1929), gives the four *stelai*, valuable prolegomena on Epidaurus and the cult of Asklepios, and philological indexes. M. Fränkel, *Inscriptiones Graecae* IV (Berlin, 1902), gives the first, second and fourth *stelai*; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* III (3rd ed., by Weinreich; Leipzig, 1920), gives the first two. R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus* (Leipzig, 1931), gives a complete text, in which the mutilated parts have been restored as far as possible, a German translation, and detailed commentary with parallels. His text has been followed in the present article and the stories are cited according to his numbering (H 1, 2, 3 etc.):

*Stele* A: H 1-20 (Fränkel, IV, 951; Hiller von Gaertringen, IV, 1, 121; Dittenberger, 1168).

*Stele* B: H 21-43 (Fränkel, IV, 952; Hiller von Gaertringen, IV, 1, 122; Dittenberger, 1169).

*Stele* C: H 44-66 (Hiller von Gaertringen, IV, 1, 123).

*Stele* D: H 67-70 (Fränkel, IV, 953; Hiller von Gaertringen, IV, 1, 124).

On other miracles of the shrine, not contained in these *stelai*, cf. Herzog's work, pp. 36-45. Because of the doubtful state of the text, the following narratives have not been studied in detail: H 35-37, 49-61, 63, 67-70. De Grandmaison treats of Epidaurus in *Jesus Christ*, III, 283-87.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Aelian, *De natura animalium*; Dio Cassius, *Historia romana*; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*; Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum*; Lucian, *Philopseudes*; Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii Tyanae*; Apuleius, *Florida*; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*; Spartian, *Vita Hadriani*; Suetonius, *Vespasianus*; Tacitus, *Historiae*.

first is a satirical dialogue of the Greek sophist, Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–190 A.D.), entitled *Philopseudes*, or *The Lover of Lies*. It consists in a conversation between Tychiades and Philokles on the pleasure people seem to take in lying for its own sake, as illustrated by their fondness for yarns concerning mythology, quack remedies, charms, exorcisms and cures. Undoubtedly the author intended to satirize actual foibles of his day, and so, behind the ironic extravagance of the style, we can perceive at least the broad outlines of current healing stories. The second is the *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*. Written about 215 A.D. by Philostratos, "The Athenian" (c. 170–245), at the desire of the Syrian empress, Julia Domna, it was formerly considered an anti-Christian polemic, but is regarded today simply as Pythagorean propaganda. It narrates the travels, teaching, and marvels of Apollonios, a Greek philosopher and wandering magician.<sup>14</sup>

#### *The Form of the Hellenic Healing Narratives*

*Content.*—Marvellous cures predominate in the Hellenic miracle stories. At Epidauros, the following cases receive assistance: child-birth, sterility, paralysis, blindness in one or both eyes, dumbness, a mark on the forehead, stones, lameness, imbedded weapons, leeches, abscesses on the toe and hand, dropsy, tapeworm, growth on the neck, stomach ulcers, insomnia due to headache, a suppurating wound, consumption, a swollen stomach, gout, tumors, epilepsy, oral canker. The wide range of afflictions treated at Epidauros may be illustrated by these two accounts:

Heraieus from Mytilene. He had no hair on his head, but an abundance on his chin. Being ashamed at the mockery of others he slept in the sanctuary. The god anointed his head with a remedy and caused him to have hair. H 19.

Kleinatas from Thebes with lice. He came with a great number of lice on his body, and during incubation saw a vision. He dreamed the god stripped him, stood him up naked and with a broom cleaned the lice from his body. When it was day, he came out of the sanctuary healed. H 28.

<sup>14</sup> On Apollonios, cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, II, 365–69 and references there; on Lucian, Diogenes Laertius, Pliny and Apuleius, cf. III, 260 ff.; on healing by Vespasian and Hadrian, cf. III, 276 ff. The *De natura animalium* of Claudius Aelian (Rome c. 200) is a collection of curious stories of animal life, used to convey moral lessons. The *Florida* of Apuleius (Carthage c. 160) is an oratorical anthology by the author of *The Golden Ass*. Diodorus Siculus was a Greek historian of the first century B.C.; Diogenes Laertius (c. 230 A.D.), a biographer of Greek philosophers.

In the non-Epidauran sources we find records of such maladies cured as tapeworm, lameness, blindness, paralysis of hand or foot, difficult parturition, hydrophobia, quartan ague, a pain in the side.<sup>15</sup>

Exorcisms are rare in Hellenic literature and none are recorded at Epidauros. In Lucian's *Philopseudes* two are mentioned. A Syrian from Palestine is described, who, for a large fee, will deliver possessed people. He stands beside them and questions the devil, who responds in Greek or the language of the country he comes from; then he drives the spirit out by commands or threats. The Pythagorean Arignotos narrates how he banned a devil from a house in Corinth. The devil set upon him in various shapes—as a dog, bull, lion—but Arignotos employed an imprecation in the Egyptian language and the devil disappeared into the ground; the next day they dug up a smoldering row of bones six feet below the surface.<sup>16</sup> In the *Life of Apollonios* an Indian woman describes in detail the possession of her sixteen-year-old son. The devil is the ghost of a man who died in battle and whose wife immediately married again; because of this the man has come to detest the love of women and transferred himself into the boy, whom he keeps from school and home and whose eyes and voice he has altered completely; he has promised the mother to benefit the lad if she will not reveal his secret, but has not kept his word. Iarchas, an Indian sage, gives her a letter, apparently addressed to the ghost and containing threats, which will insure the boy's safety.<sup>17</sup> The following is a summary of an exorcism performed by Apollonios himself:

While Apollonios was discussing the subject of libations there happened to be present a young fop, notorious for his licentiousness, who burst out into loud, coarse laughter so that Apollonios could not be heard. Apollonios regarded him and remarked: It is not yourself that has committed this insult but the devil who drives you on without your knowledge. In fact the youth would laugh and weep strangely and talk and sing to himself. Most people thought this was due to unbridled youth, but it was really because of a devil. At Apollonios' glance, the spirit began to cry out in fear and anger and swore that he would leave the youth alone and never possess anyone else. But Apollonios spoke to him angrily and bade him to depart and show visibly that he had done so. I will throw down that statue, said the devil, pointing to one of the images there; and it began to totter and then fell down, so that there was much excitement and the people applauded

<sup>15</sup> Aelian, *De nat. an.*, IX, 33; Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 39; VI, 43; Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81; Oxyrhynchos Papyri, XI, 1381.

<sup>16</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 16 and 30 f.

<sup>17</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 38.

in amazement. The young man rubbed his eyes as if he had just awakened and looked at the sun. No longer was he licentious but gave up his luxurious way of living and modelled himself upon Apollonios. Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 20 (summary).

Resuscitations from the dead are also rare in the Hellenic sources and none are to be found on the *stelai* at Epidauros. Isis is accredited with having discovered the drug which gives immortality and by it brought her son Horus back to life forever.<sup>18</sup> Empedokles won fame by resuscitating a woman who was either dead or in a prolonged trance.<sup>19</sup> In *Philopseudes* a foreign magician is described who, having dug a pit at midnight in the waxing moon, calls a moldy corpse to life in order to arrange an adulterous love affair,<sup>20</sup> and Antigonos, a physician, states that he attended a man both before his death and after his restoration to life some twenty days later.<sup>21</sup> According to Apuleius, Asklepiades, who was expert in detecting faint signs of life, encountered a funeral cortege and, by close examination and palpation of the body of the supposedly dead man, declared that life was still present; despite the incredulity of some and the objections of others (perhaps the man's heirs), he obtained a postponement of the funeral and revived the man.<sup>22</sup> A similar story is told of Apollonios:

A young woman had apparently died at the time of her marriage and the bridegroom was following the bier, greatly lamenting his unfulfilled marriage, while Rome sorrowed with him, for the girl was of a family of consular rank. Apollonios, seeing their grief, said: Put down the bier, for I will stay your tears over this maiden. Then he asked what her name was. The multitude thought that he was going to deliver a speech, one of those funeral sermons which stir up lamentation, but he only took hold of the maiden and whispering something secretly, awoke her from her seeming death. At this the maiden spoke aloud and returned to her father's house, as Alcestis did when brought back to life by Herakles. When the relatives of the girl wanted to present Apollonios with 150,000 drachmae, he said to give the money to the maiden as a dowry. Now whether he found a spark of life in her which escaped the notice of her attendants—for it is said that, although it was raining, vapor arose from her face—or whether life was really extinct and he rekindled it and brought it back, the answer to this I cannot give and neither could they who were present. Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 45.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 25.

<sup>19</sup> Diog. Laert., *De vitis phil.*, VIII, 61, 67, 69.

<sup>20</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> Apul., *Florida*, 19 f.

<sup>23</sup> De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 263 notes that despite the classic theme of return from hell, resuscitation scarcely occurs in the vast Hellenic literature, and where it does, the death is usually doubtful.

Miracles other than healings are sometimes recorded on the *stelai* at Epidauros. There is a story of the mending of a broken cup; a father learns at the shrine where to search for his son who had become lost amid the rocks while swimming; a woman is given directions for finding a treasure buried by her dead husband.<sup>24</sup> In the other sources, we find statues of heroes and gods with extraordinary powers.<sup>25</sup> Particularly to be noticed, however, are the miraculous punishments:

Hermon from Thasos. This man, who was blind, he healed. When he did not subsequently bring the healing fee, the god again made him blind. When he came back and slept in the sanctuary again, he healed him. H 22.

Similarly, a mark is transferred from one man's forehead to that of another by the bandage with which the god binds them both; a man peering into the sanctuary from a tree falls upon a pointed fence and is blinded; a fishmonger who has failed to pay a promised tithe to Asklepios is bitten by his wares.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, according to Weinreich, in all ancient divinities the power to bless and heal is closely bound up with that to harm and destroy.<sup>27</sup>

Though the god is frequently assisted in his marvellous activities, the motif of healing by disciples is rare. There is but one example on the *stelai*: a woman with a tapeworm seeks help in the shrine at Trozen; as the god is at Epidauros, his sons attempt the cure and cut off the woman's head; being unable to put it back on, they send for Asklepios who comes on the following night, restores the head, and removes the tapeworm by means of an abdominal incision.<sup>28</sup> A variant of the same story is given by Aelian.<sup>29</sup>

*Style.*—The style of the narratives recorded on the *stelai* is always very simple and quite different from the composed, literary presentation of Lucian or Philostratos. Nevertheless, the majority of the Epidauran accounts include some circumstance that caters to human curiosity. Thus, beside the fact that the recital of a dream always stirs the reader's interest, we find such details as these: the bandage

<sup>24</sup> H 10, 24, 46.

<sup>25</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 18–21; cf. Weinreich, pp. 137–61.

<sup>26</sup> H 7, 11, 47.

<sup>27</sup> Weinreich, pp. 55–62.

<sup>28</sup> H 23.

<sup>29</sup> Aelian, *De nat. an.*, IX, 33. The story of the disciple who, overhearing certain magic syllables, succeeds in charming a pestle to carry water but is unable to stop it until his master's return, is given in Lucian, *Philops.*, 35. On master *vs.* disciples cf. Weinreich, pp. 81–84.

removed from a man's forehead now bears the mark formerly upon his skin; a man climbs a tree to peer into the sanctuary after all have gone to sleep; a man cured of lameness is to bring, as a thank-offering, the biggest stone he can find; a boy robs a lame man of his staff; a fleeing patient is bound to the door-knocker; one of the holy serpents curls about the axle of a departing carriage; the god asks a woman petitioning children whether she prefers a boy or a girl; as a couch is being unloaded from a beast of burden, a viper creeps into the filling of the bolster; the god touches an epileptic patient with his finger-ring.<sup>30</sup> In this regard, the following story is of interest:

A man who could move the fingers of his hand, save one, came to the god as a suppliant. When he saw the tablets in the shrine, he doubted the cures and scoffed at the inscriptions. During incubation he saw a vision. He dreamed that while he was playing dice under the temple and wanted to make a throw, the god appeared and sprang upon his hand and stretched out his fingers. When the god withdrew, he dreamed, he clenched his hand and then stretched out his fingers one by one. When he had straightened them all out, the god asked him if he would still doubt the inscriptions on the tablets in the shrine, and he said: No. Because thou didst previously doubt things not to be doubted, said the god, thy name shall henceforth be 'Doubtful.' When it was day, he came out healed. H 3.

The healing narratives from other sources contain the same strain of curious details, especially, of course, *Philopseudes*, the whole dialogue being filled with fantastic details, e.g., a foreign magician who makes Hecate appear and pulls down the moon—at a fee of four minas down and sixteen later!<sup>31</sup>

At times the details approach the humorous, as in the above story of the bald-headed man's chagrin and in the following anecdote:

Euphanes from Epidauros, a boy. Suffering from stones, he slept in the sanctuary. He dreamed the god stood before him and said: What wilt thou give me if I make thee well? He answered: Ten dice! The god laughed and said he would allay his illness. When it was day, he came out healed. H 8.

In other Epidauran narratives, the sexual motif enters: uncovering the body, touching, kissing, sodomy, bestiality.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> H 6, 11, 15, 16, 27, 33, 34, 45, 62. Cf. also the various stories of healing by animals, below.

<sup>31</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 13 f.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. H 14, 31, 39, 41, 42. On excrement healings, cf. Weinreich, pp. 189 f.

In the healings recorded on the *stelai*, the style is usually very concise. The narratives average about six lines, i.e., they are somewhat longer than the above story of the boy Euphanes, which takes up four lines on *stèle* A. In the literary accounts, the style is more diffuse and the incidents are narrated at much greater length. This is due in part to the inclusion of direct discourse and dialogue, which is generally absent from the inscriptions. As a rule, the whole action takes place in a short time—one encounter with the healer, one visit to the shrine. Sometimes, however, a lapse of time is mentioned: a visit three years later, the return home from Epidauros, punishment for not making the required thank-offering, the finding of a boy lost for a week, subsequent employment of athletic skill imparted by the god, the building of another shrine, conception and birth of children.<sup>33</sup> There are no summary accounts in the inscriptions and they are rare in Hellenic literature.<sup>34</sup>

Chronological details are scarce, though the phrase "when it was day" (i.e., after the night of incubation) is common on the *stelai*. Mention is made of a three- and a five-year pregnancy; a weapon imbedded for six years; daytime, the next night, not long after; within a year; the last days of a four-month stay at the shrine.<sup>35</sup> The sanctuary (*ἄβαρον*: place not to be trodden) and the shrine (*ἱερόν*: holy place) are referred to constantly; less frequently the temple (*ναός*: dwelling place). Mention is also made of the sacred grove, the baths, the shelter for pilgrims.<sup>36</sup> Beside the suppliant's place of origin, which is generally recorded, other place names occasionally enter the story: Lakedaimon, Trozen, Epidauros, Kornoï, Halieis, Delphi. Naturally, almost all the cures take place at the shrine in Epidauros, though Asklepios once encounters a pilgrimage returning from the shrine and cures by the roadside.<sup>37</sup> In the Epidauran story of the woman whose head is cut off by the god's assistants and cannot be restored until Asklepios appears, the action takes place in the shrine at Trozen.<sup>38</sup> In another narrative, the origin of a subsidiary shrine is recounted: a man from Halieis with consumption is unsuccessful in his incubation at Epidauros; a serpent accompanies him home to Halieis and cures

<sup>33</sup> H 2, 21, 22, 24, 29, 33, 34 (cf. 39, 42 etc.).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 25 (Isis); IV, 71 (Asklepios).

<sup>35</sup> H 2, 1, 12, 17, 23, 29, 34, 64.

<sup>36</sup> H 44, 65.

<sup>37</sup> H 25.

<sup>38</sup> H 23. In the variant story of Aelian, *De nat. an.*, IX, 33, it takes place at Epidauros.

him there; the city authorities then ask the oracle at Delphi what to do with the serpent and are advised to establish a filial grove of Asklepios in the city, which they do.<sup>39</sup> Numerical details are infrequent: four months; three, five, six years; ten dice; five children; sixty-seven dishes of pus.<sup>40</sup>

The healings recounted in the Epidauran inscriptions are all independent units,<sup>41</sup> and those contained in the other sources possess little continuity. Characterization is almost entirely absent, though sometimes scepticism is apparent, greed, ingenuousness, or curiosity.<sup>42</sup> The names of the patients at the shrine are regularly recorded and it is interesting to note that they are never duplicated, which points to considerable artistic skill in the redaction. The names of secondary characters are practically never given and groups of witnesses are met with only in the literary sources. Feelings are not described, the embarrassment of the bald-headed man and the fright of a little girl at seeing a snake being exceptions to the general style of the inscriptions.<sup>43</sup> The subsequent history of the patient, however, is occasionally related:

Hegestratos, headache. He suffered from sleeplessness because of his headache. While he was in the sanctuary he fell asleep and saw a dream. He dreamed that the god cured his headache, stood him up naked and taught him the lead for the pancration [a boxing and wrestling contest]. When it was day, he came out healed and not long after won the pancration at Nemea. H 29.

Similarly, we learn that a woman whose sterility was cured at the shrine was pregnant for the following three years; that the stone which the lame man rolled to the shrine as a thank-offering still stands there; that on her return from Epidaurus a mother finds her daughter well; that the sterile Andromache conceives and bears a son to Arybbas.<sup>44</sup>

The power of Asklepios, as recorded in the inscriptions, is appar-

<sup>39</sup> H 33. Similar filial foundations were established in Sikyon, Athens, Pergamon, Naupaktos: cf. Herzog: W 71-74; also Weinreich, pp. 115 f. for stories from the Asklepeion on the island in the Tiber.

<sup>40</sup> H 64, 2, 1, 12, 8, 39, 30.

<sup>41</sup> H 6 and 7 are linked: Echedoros receives the mark formerly on Pandaros' forehead, for not making the thank offering for which Pandaros had paid.

<sup>42</sup> Scepticism: H 3, 4, 9, 10; greed: H 7, 22, 47; ingenuousness: H 8 and Lucian *Philops.*, throughout; curiosity: H 11.

<sup>43</sup> H 19, 44.

<sup>44</sup> H 2, 15, 21, 31; cf. also H 6 f., 22, 33, 34, 39, 42.

ently unlimited,<sup>45</sup> but that of his disciples is quite circumscribed, and the god is wroth with those who attempt in his absence a cure which is too great for their capabilities.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Vespasian's power to heal is pictured by Tacitus as both limited and doubtful, as is clear from the following passage:

While Vespasian was in Alexandria, a blind man approached him and asked to have his cheeks and eyes anointed with the ruler's spittle. Another with an ailing hand begged to be touched by the emperor's foot. Vespasian laughed at them at first but when they insisted was torn between fear for his reputation and the hope aroused by pleas and flattery. Finally he asked the doctors to advise him whether such blindness and lameness could be cured by human means. They expressed rather favorable opinions, and suggested that perhaps the gods were propitious. At any rate success would bring glory to the emperor while failure would only bring shame to the petitioners. Vespasian felt that all was in his favor and smilingly carried out the request. Immediately the hand was healed and the blind man saw—as those present still testify. Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81 (summary).<sup>47</sup>

As a rule, no motive is given for the miraculous healing, but Asklepios sometimes wishes to prove his power to those who doubt; Vespasian desires to test his fortune; a Babylonian magician and a Syrian exorcist perform marvels for money; Apollonios is stirred by pity.<sup>48</sup> The healer's feelings are not generally expressed. We can see, however, that beside a general friendliness of mien and complacency in his power, Asklepios is alternately stern, meticulous, vengeful, amorous and in a humorous mood;<sup>49</sup> while the other healers manifest avarice, complacency, incredulity.<sup>50</sup>

One of Apollonios' miracles is occasioned by his teaching on the subject of libations,<sup>51</sup> but as a rule the healers of Hellenic literature are

<sup>45</sup> At least at the shrine; cf. H 48 where a man is told by the god to come to the shrine for a certain length of time. In the other sources, Asklepios is presented as skilled in medicine and surgery, rather than endowed with preternatural powers: cf. Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, IV, 71; Lucian, *Philops.*, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Aelian, *De nat. an.*, IX, 33; cf. H 23.

<sup>47</sup> A similar account is given in Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.*, 66, 8.

<sup>48</sup> H 3, 4; Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81 and Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Lucian, *Philops.*, 13 f., 16; Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 45.

<sup>49</sup> Stern: H 3, 4, 27; meticulous: H 2, 15, 65; vengeful: H 7, 11, 22, 47; amorous: H 14, 31, 39, 41, 42; sense of humor: H 8, 19, 28, 29, 34.

<sup>50</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 14, 16; 30 f.; Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81.

<sup>51</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 20.

merely wonder-workers or magicians. There is no spiritual tone other than the motif of preternatural powers,<sup>52</sup> and no direct insistence on the reality of the prodigies narrated. The whole dialogue of Lucian is intended, of course, to poke fun at current superstitions and fantastic stories. Similarly, it is not clear from the account of Diogenes Laertius whether the woman cured by Empedokles was really dead or only in a trance; Philostratos is uncertain whether or not the young bride revived by Apollonios was still alive; Vespasian's advisers inform him that his suppliants may possibly be cured by natural means.<sup>53</sup> In the inscriptions, such uncertainties are absent, but fanciful exaggerations sometimes occur: three- and even five-year pregnancy; a woman lying for a day with her head severed from her body and dreaming in that condition; strange punishments; cures by animals.<sup>54</sup>

*Topic: Exposition.*—Turning our attention to the topic of these stories, we notice that it is customary for the narratives in the Epidauran inscriptions to begin with a short title. In its most complete form this states the patient's name, origin, and malady:

Gorgias from Herakleia, pus. During a battle he was wounded in the lung by an arrow and for a year and a half suppurated so much that he filled sixty-seven dishes with pus. During incubation he saw a vision. He dreamed the god took the arrow's point out of his lung. When it was day, he came out healed, with the arrow's point in his hands. H 30.<sup>55</sup>

In this story, as in many others from Epidaurus, the malady is further described. The list of the various complaints has been given above, but we may note here that not infrequently women visit the shrine to obtain children:

Nikesibule from Messene, during incubation for children, saw a dream. She dreamed that the god came to her with a serpent following after and with this she had intercourse. Thereupon she had two male children within the year. H 42.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Cf. M. Dibelius, "The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels," *Harv Theol. Rev.*, XX (1927), 159.

<sup>53</sup> Diog. Laert., *De vitis phil.*, VIII, 61, 67, 69; Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 45; Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., H 2, 1, 23, 7, 20.

<sup>55</sup> The title was engraved on the stone in the same way as the rest of the text: cf. Herzog, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. H 2, 31, 34, 39.

Sometimes parturition is the object of preternatural assistance:

Kleo was pregnant for five years. When she was already pregnant for five years, she came to the god as a suppliant and slept in the sanctuary. As soon as she came out from it and was outside the shrine she bore a boy, who straightway washed himself at the fountain and walked about with his mother. Having received this favor she inscribed on her votive offering:

Wonderful is not the size of the tablet,  
but the favor of the god,  
that Kleo bore the burden in her womb for five years,  
until she slept in the sanctuary and he healed her. H 1.<sup>57</sup>

Lucian recounts a recovery from the bite of a venomous serpent and Apollonios heals a youth who has been bitten by a mad dog.<sup>58</sup>

The origin of the patient's affliction is stated in several inscriptions, e.g., blindness from a fall or as a punishment from the god, weapons imbedded in the flesh in the course of battle.<sup>59</sup>

A man from Torone, with leeches. During incubation he saw a dream. He dreamed the god slit open his breast with a knife, drew out the leeches and gave them into his hands, and sewed up his chest. When it was day he came out with the insects in his hands and was healed. He had swallowed them through the deceit of his stepmother, who had put them into a mixed draught which he drank. H•13.

Philostratos speaks of a dislocated hip received from a charging lion during the hunt.<sup>60</sup>

Occasionally the seriousness of the patient's condition is stressed on the *stelai*: one man has no eye at all, only an empty socket; another is very sick from an abscess on the toe; a woman is in serious condition from tapeworm; the man with the arrow in his lung has filled many dishes with pus from his wound; Erasippe can retain no food.<sup>61</sup> The inability of physicians to bring relief is mentioned: a man from Trozen is warned by the god not to let the doctors cauterize him but to come to the shrine at Epidaurus.<sup>62</sup> The duration of the illness may also be recorded: five years pregnancy, three years pregnancy, a lancepoint imbedded in the jaw for six years, an arrow in the lung for a year and six months.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Cf. H. 2; Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 39.

<sup>58</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 11; Philostr., *Apollon.*, VI, 43.

<sup>59</sup> H 11, 22; 30, 32, 40.

<sup>61</sup> H 9, 17, 25, 30, 41; cf. also H 28, 64, etc.

<sup>60</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 39.

<sup>62</sup> H 48.

<sup>63</sup> H 1, 2, 12, 30.

In the non-Epidauran sources similar details depict the gravity of the patient's condition: a youth suffering from hydrophobia for thirty days barks and runs about on his hands and feet like a dog; both doctors and disciples fail to cure a woman with an intestinal worm; Isis heals many who have been despaired of by their physicians; Empedokles cures a woman whom the medical men have given up trying to save; a mother suffers for three years from quartan ague.<sup>64</sup> Philostratos narrates the origin and history of a possession in one passage and the mocking yet fearful character of a demon in another.<sup>65</sup> Lucian speaks of possessed people who fall down in the moonlight, with rolling eyes and foam-filled mouths, and of a devil black and smoky of hue; he also tells of a haunted house, where the devil is squalid, long-haired and blacker than night.<sup>66</sup>

Beside the patient's name, which is regularly stated, there is little other description of the sick person except his place of origin.<sup>67</sup> In the inscriptions this is usually recorded and with almost the same artistic variety of redaction that was noticed in the list of the suppliants' names.<sup>68</sup> Philostratos mentions the age of the possessed boy and of the man lamed during the lion hunt,<sup>69</sup> but ages are not given on the *stelai*. Most of the patients are men; of the women pilgrims about half seek children; young boys are mentioned without reference to their parents, but this is not true of young girls.<sup>70</sup> Apollonios once cures a dog.<sup>71</sup>

As the *stelai* record miracles performed by Asklepios at the shrine, the patient usually approaches the healer. Intermediaries, however,

<sup>64</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, VI, 43; Aelian, *De nat. an.*, IX, 33 (cf. H. 23); Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 25; Diog. Laert., *De vitis phil.*, VIII, 69; Oxyrh. Papyri XI, 1381. Cf. also the examples of failure of the physicians' skill, Weinreich, pp. 195 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 38; IV, 20.

<sup>66</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 16, 31.

<sup>67</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 20 gives a detailed description of a possessed youth. Cf. also III, 38; IV, 45; Lucian, *Philops.*, 11; Apul., *Florida*, 19 f.

<sup>68</sup> Some reduplication occurs: Halieis in H 18, 24, 33; Epidauros in H 8, 35 and probably (i.e., according to Herzog's restoration of the text) in 49, 66; Trozen in H 48 and probably in 23, 34; Argos in H 37 and probably in 62.

<sup>69</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 38 (sixteen years), 39 (thirty years).

<sup>70</sup> Son: H 5, 24; Philostr. *Apollon.*, III, 38; VI, 43; Oxyrh. Papyri XI, 1381; boy: H 8, 20, 26; daughter: H 21, 44.

<sup>71</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, VI, 43. On cures of animals and their thanksgivings, cf. Weinreich, pp. 126 ff.

appear at times—the father of a dumb boy, a mother who sleeps in the sanctuary instead of her sick daughter<sup>72</sup>—and the god occasionally leaves the shrine. Thus Asklepios goes to Trozen to repair the damage done by his sons in severing a woman's head from her body; he appears to a man under the doctors' care in that same city; at Kornoi he encounters a group returning from Epidauros.<sup>73</sup> In the accounts from other sources, Isis approaches the bed of the sick; the magicians in Lucian approach the sick person or demon or corpse; Apollonios and Asklepiades advance to meet the funeral cortege; but the mother of a possessed boy and the husband of an ill woman seek out Iarchas, the Indian sage, as do a lame man, a blind man, a paralytic.<sup>74</sup> Faith is not required of the patient—the god heals even scoffers<sup>75</sup>—but perhaps a sacrifice was usual before incubation.<sup>76</sup>

Though *stele* A at Epidauros is entitled, "Healings of Apollo and Asklepios," Apollo is not mentioned in the inscriptions, having been thrust into the background by his son and successor in the shrine. Asklepios is much less referred to by name<sup>77</sup> than simply as "the god." In many of the cures he does not appear, or at least not as a god. Instead, the prodigy may include intercourse with a beautiful boy; the theft of a staff by a boy; a serpent licking an abscessed toe; a dog curing blindness or licking a growth on the neck; a serpent curing consumption, or sterility, or causing conception; a goose healing gout; a serpent frightening a dumb child into speech; a viper draining an abscess on the hand; even biting fish.<sup>78</sup>

Animals also play a part in stories from the other Hellenic sources: a dog, weasels and lions, a viper, all manner of snakes. Thus a Babylonian magician repeats seven sacred names out of an old book, purifies the ground with sulfur and flame, and going around in a circle three

<sup>72</sup> H 5, 21. As the daughter has the same dream, the motif of healing at a distance is probably not intended. In Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 38, Iarchas sends a letter to a demon possessing someone at a distance.

<sup>73</sup> H 23, 25, 48.

<sup>74</sup> Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 25; Lucian *Philops.*, 11, 31, 14; Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 45; Apul., *Florida*, 19 f.; Philostr., *Apollon*, III, 38 f.

<sup>75</sup> H 3, 4.

<sup>76</sup> H 5 mentions a preliminary sacrifice.

<sup>77</sup> H 10, 23, 24, 25, 27, 33, 36, 37, 47, 68.

<sup>78</sup> H 14, 16, 17, 20, 26, 33, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47. On serpents as divinities of healing, cf. Weinreich, pp. 93-109.

times, calls forth all the reptiles present—snakes, asps, vipers, horned snakes, toads, a python—and then shrivels them with a burning breath.<sup>79</sup> Two stories will illustrate the variety of animals that appear in these tales. The first is from the *stelai*:

Diaitos from Kirrha. He was lame in the knees. During incubation he saw a dream. He dreamed the god bade his assistants to lift him up, carry him out of the sanctuary, and set him down in front of the temple. When they had brought him out, the god yoked horses to a chariot, drove round him in a circle three times and trod on him with the horses and straightway he again had control over his knees. When it was day, he came out healed. H 38.

The other is from the life of Apollonios. Iarchas, the Indian sage, has just healed a lame hunter (by massage), a blind man, and a man with a paralyzed hand:

A certain woman who had already suffered from difficult labor seven times, was thus healed when her husband interceded for her. [Iarchas] bade the man, whenever his wife should be about to give birth, to bring a live hare inside his cloak into the place where she was in labor and walking around her to release the hare at the same time—for the womb would be thrust out with the fetus unless the hare were straightway driven out. Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 39.

*Topic: The Miracle.*—Characteristic of most of the cures at Epidauros is the practice of incubation *ἐγκαθελθεῖν*, *ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι*: sleeping in the sanctuary in expectation of divine assistance during a dream. How many nights this lasted, we are not told, but one lame man stayed at the shrine four months.<sup>80</sup> Sometimes, however, the cure was effected without incubation:

N. from Kios, gout. While he was awake, as he trod on a goose it bit him in the foot and drawing blood made him well. H 43.

Similarly, a dumb boy is cured during the preparatory rites; a lame man pursues a thieving youth; dogs cure one boy of blindness and another of a growth on the neck while they are awake; a dumb girl is startled into speech while playing in the grove.<sup>81</sup> Occasionally the incubation fails, inasmuch as no miraculous dream occurs, and the patient leaves the shrine to be cured en route or on arriving home.<sup>82</sup> In one instance a mother sleeps in the shrine on behalf of her daughter;

<sup>79</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 12.

<sup>81</sup> H 5, 16, 20, 26, 44.

<sup>80</sup> H 64.

<sup>82</sup> H 25, 33.

on her return home she finds that the daughter is well and has had a similar dream.<sup>83</sup>

The dream experienced during the incubation is usually described. The god appears and speaks, occasionally giving directions regarding the cure or favor requested: not to let the physicians operate; to remain four months in the shrine; where to find a treasure, etc.<sup>84</sup> Still more frequently, the action taking place during the dream is depicted:

A man with an abdominal ulcer. During incubation he saw a dream. He dreamed that the god bade the helpers who were in attendance to seize and hold him that he might cut open his abdomen; that he fled, but that they seized him and bound him to the door-knocker. Then Asklepios slit open his abdomen, cut out the ulcer, and sewed him up again and loosed him from his bonds. Thereupon he came out healed but the floor in the sanctuary was full of blood. H 27.

Similarly the god stretches out the fingers of a crippled hand; binds a patient's forehead with a bandage; strips a patient and brushes him with a broom; teaches a man to box; harnesses horses to a chariot and drives it; touches an epileptic with his finger-ring; and performs many therapeutic actions.<sup>85</sup> Once the dream differs from the narrated cure: a serpent heals an abscess by licking it but the patient dreams that a boy has applied an ointment to the infection.<sup>86</sup>

The actual (dream-)healing at Epiduros is therefore described in some detail. As a rule, it is represented as instantaneous, though a blind man "first saw the trees in the shrine," and a man with a tumor has to wait for the "appointed length of time" for his cure.<sup>87</sup> Once the healing is only partial, in the sense that a woman who asked to conceive a child is not granted her delivery until she returns to the shrine to ask for this also.<sup>88</sup> Sometimes the cure is more or less natural:

A little girl, dumb. While she walked about the shrine she saw a serpent creeping down from one of the trees in the grove. Filled with fear she straightway cried out to her mother and father and went away healed. H 44.

Similarly: the emission of a stone; the lame man pursuing a thief; the removal of the lice; the discharging of a tumor.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup> H 21. In the other sources the motif of divine assistance during sleep also occurs: Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 25; Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Oxyrh. Papyri XI, 1381.

<sup>84</sup> H 48, 64, 46; cf. 29, 34, 41, 65.

<sup>85</sup> H 3, 6, 28, 29, 38, 62. On medical and surgical activity, cf. below.

<sup>86</sup> H 17.

<sup>87</sup> H 18, 48.

<sup>88</sup> H 2.

<sup>89</sup> H 14, 16, 28, 48.

The cure is often medical, at least in part:

Erasippe from Kaphyiai [worms]. She had a [distended] abdomen, was all swollen and [could retain nothing]. During incubation she saw a dream. She dreamed that the god rubbed her abdomen, kissed her, and then gave her a cup in which there was a remedy, bidding her to drink it all. Then he bade her to throw up and she did so, filling her robe. When it was day she saw her whole robe full of the evil things she had vomited, and thereupon she was healed. H 41.<sup>90</sup>

Indeed the motif of miraculous healing by means of medical treatment pervades Hellenic literature. Thus among the inscriptions on the *stelai* we find that the god brews a remedy, opens the eyelids of a blind man and pours it in; a stately youth spreads ointment on an infected toe; salve is used on a bald man's head; to cure a man with a lance wound under the eye, the god rubs herbs and applies them to the wounds; in healing an oral canker he props the man's mouth open with a wedge and then cleanses it.<sup>91</sup> A separate *stèle* at Epidaurus gives a detailed description of the complicated treatment to which Julius Apellas submitted at the shrine: special foods are prescribed, exercise, baths, strange ointments, even a gargle, together with sacrifices and magic ritual sufficient to satisfy the most fastidious hypochondriac.<sup>92</sup> In other sources we find that Isis was the discoverer of many health-giving drugs; Asklepios devoted himself to medicine and greatly advanced the science; Asklepios and his sons ministered to the sick by applying healing remedies.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, the companions of Iarchas heal the hunter's leg by massage; Asklepios cures a woman of quartan ague by simple remedies; Asklepiades knows medicines and the pulse as a sign of life: palpating the body of an apparently dead man, he finds indications of life and cures him with medical treatment.<sup>94</sup>

Surgical operations also play a prominent part in the Epidauran cures. A blind eye is slit open; a lancepoint is extracted; the god makes an incision in a man's breast with a knife, removes some leeches, and then sews up the cut; on three occasions he opens the patient's

<sup>90</sup> The text is somewhat uncertain.

<sup>91</sup> H 9 (cf. 4), 17, 19, 40, 66. On this union of miracle and medicine, cf. Weinreich, p. 29.

<sup>92</sup> Text and translation in Herzog: W 79 (Hiller von Gaertringen, IV, 1, 126; Dittenberger, 1170). The *stèle* is dated about 160 A.D.

<sup>93</sup> Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, I, 25; IV, 71; Lucian, *Philops.*, 10.

<sup>94</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 39; Oxyrh. Papyri XI, 1381; Apul., *Florida*, 19 f. On Asklepiades and his medical methods, cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, 7 (37) and 26 (3); both texts are given in Fiebig, *Ant. Wundergesch.*, pp. 18 f.

abdomen, removes the cause of the sickness (tapeworm, ulcer), and sews up the wound; an arrowhead is removed from a patient's lung, a spearpoint from a patient's head.<sup>96</sup>

Sostrata from Pherai, pregnant with [worms]. She was borne to the shrine in serious condition and slept in the sanctuary. As she saw no distinct dream she was being carried back home. Later, near Kornoi, she and her attendants seemed to encounter a man of stately bearing who being informed by them of their misfortune bade them set down the stretcher on which they bore Sostrata. Then he slit open her abdomen and drew forth a great number of [live things], two washbasins full. After he sewed up her abdomen and made the woman well, Asklepios made his presence known and bade them to send the healing fee to Epidauros. H 25.<sup>96</sup>

To these accounts may be added such stories as the cure of an abscess by the bite of a viper, of gout by the bite of a goose; also the dream of a mother incubating for her dropsical daughter: the god cuts off the daughter's head, hangs the body upside down until much liquid has drained out and then replaces the head.<sup>97</sup>

A number of secondary characters enter these stories as assisting or personifying the god. Sometimes they are temple attendants:

A blind man. He lost his ointment bottle in the bath. As he lay down to sleep, he dreamed that the god said he should seek it in the large shelter, to the left as he entered. When it was day, the attendant led him to seek it. Entering the shelter he saw it immediately and thereupon was healed. H 65.

A boy is mentioned as carrying fire for the god; another steals the staff of a lame man; the god's sons attempt a cure in his absence and a priest notices their failure; assistants seize and bind a patient; a boy uncovers a woman for the god's touch; attendants carry a patient outside the shrine and lay him on the ground; other attendants unload a woman's pallet from a beast of burden.<sup>98</sup>

The part played by healing serpents is particularly noticeable:

Agamede from Keos. During incubation, for children, she saw a dream. She dreamed that during sleep a serpent lay upon her abdomen; and thereupon she had five children. H 39.

<sup>96</sup> H 4, 12, 13; 23, 25 and 27; 30, 32.

<sup>97</sup> H 45, 43, 21.

<sup>98</sup> The text is somewhat uncertain.

<sup>98</sup> H 5, 16, 23, 27, 31, 38, 45.

These serpents also cure abscesses, consumption, and dumbness.<sup>99</sup> Among other animals healing in virtue of sacred power—a viper, horses, a goose, a hare<sup>100</sup>—the dogs in the shrine are prominent. One cures blindness,<sup>101</sup> another a growth:

A dog healed a boy from Aigina. He had a growth on his neck. When he came to the god one of the sacred dogs treated him with its tongue, while awake, and made him well. H 26.

As the inscriptions do not usually contain direct discourse, the actual words of the god are not quoted.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, the Hellenic wonder-worker usually heals by act rather than by word. Apollonios, however, commands a devil to depart and speaks to the apparently dead young woman while revivifying her;<sup>103</sup> and in the non-Epidauran cures, incantations play a small but definite part. Thus a vine-dresser is bitten by a viper and is nearly dead when a Babylonian drives the poison out of his body with a spell, binding on his foot, at the same time, a fragment broken from the tombstone of a dead maiden.<sup>104</sup> The motif of unintelligible words is to be found in a passage from the Paris *Magic Papyrus*:

Then enter straightway and gazing intently draw the breath into thyself from the divinity. When thy soul has been restored, say: Draw nigh, O lord, archandara photaza puriphotaza buthix etimenmerophorathenerieprothriphorathi [!]<sup>105</sup>

Physical contact occurs frequently in Hellenic healing stories. At Epidauros the god's touch heals paralyzed fingers, blindness, sterility, a swollen stomach, epilepsy;<sup>106</sup> and the cures by animals are regularly effected through contact.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, when Asklepiades and Apollonios meet the people believed dead, they touch them in the course of

<sup>99</sup> H 17, 33, 44; cf. 42.

<sup>100</sup> H 45, 38, 43; Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 39.

<sup>101</sup> H 20.

<sup>102</sup> Exceptions are H 3, 8, 46.

<sup>103</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 20, 45.

<sup>104</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 11.

<sup>105</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Graec., 574: 628–33; quoted in A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (2nd ed.; Leipzig, Berlin, 1910) p. 10: 23–26. Cf. Lucian, *Philops.*, 12, 30 f. On the use of unintelligible words and names in the mystery religions, cf. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 39. On the papyrus itself, cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae magicae* I (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 64 ff. and the references there.

<sup>106</sup> H 3, 18, 31, 41, 62.

<sup>107</sup> H 17, 20, 26, 38, 39, 43, 45; cf. Philostr., *Apollon.*, VI, 43 where the mad dog cures its victim by licking the wound.

resuscitation; and Apollonios strokes the mad dog in curing it.<sup>108</sup> Usually the healer touches the afflicted part of the body, which is sometimes uncovered that he may do so, as in this account from the shrine:

Andromache from Epeiros, for children. During incubation she saw a dream. She dreamed that a beautiful boy uncovered her and after this the god touched her with his hand. Thereupon Andromache had a son from Arybbas. H 31.<sup>109</sup>

The contact sometimes effects a mutual cure: while the emperor Hadrian is suffering from a fever, he is touched by a blind man and both are cured.<sup>110</sup> Contact with a bandage that has removed a mark from one man's forehead suffices to imprint the mark upon the face of another.<sup>111</sup> Sexual contact also occurs,<sup>112</sup> kissing,<sup>113</sup> contact with the human foot or the hooves of horses.<sup>114</sup>

Various remedies are used in the Epidauran cures, but they are medical rather than magical.<sup>115</sup> In Lucian's *Philopseudes* the tooth of a weasel wrapped in the skin of a lion is prescribed as a cure for rheumatism,<sup>116</sup> and Vespasian is accredited with healing by the use of spittle in the stories from Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius.<sup>117</sup> Things colored red seem to have been specially effective: charms were made by wrapping in red cloth a live dung beetle, fingernail parings, or the first anemone of the year.<sup>118</sup> Talismans were erected;<sup>119</sup> Asklepios touches an epileptic with his finger-ring; and Iarchas gives the mother of the possessed boy a magic letter threatening the demon.<sup>120</sup> Recipes are given for exorcising, in other Hellenic sources:

<sup>108</sup> Apul., *Florida*, 19 f.; Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 45; VI, 43.

<sup>109</sup> On votive bronze hands in honor of the divinities that helped the parturition, cf. Weinreich, pp. 15-18. On the healing hand in general, cf. Weinreich, pp. 1-66; the right hand, pp. 33, 42; as phallic, p. 21; as communicating medical knowledge, p. 51.

<sup>110</sup> Spartian, *Vita Hadr.*, 25; cf. Weinreich, p. 65; also pp. 175-83 on mutual cures.

<sup>111</sup> H 6 and 7; cf. Weinreich, p. 90, note 3. <sup>112</sup> H 14, 31, 39, 42.

<sup>113</sup> H 41; cf. Weinreich, pp. 73 ff.

<sup>114</sup> Suet., *Vesp.*, 7 and Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81; H 38; cf. Weinreich, pp. 67-73.

<sup>115</sup> H 4, 9, 17, 19, 40, 41; cf. also the *stèle* of Apellas, Herzog W 79.

<sup>116</sup> Lucian, *Philops.*, 7.

<sup>117</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81; Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.*, 66: 8. Dibelius, p. 83, note 3, refers also to Petronius, *Saturae*, 131: 4 f., where spittle is used as a stimulant of sexual desire—which indicates how far afield the critics roam in seeking analogies.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Weinreich, p. 97. <sup>119</sup> Weinreich, pp. 162-70.

<sup>120</sup> H 62; Philostr., *Apollon.*, III, 38.

In the case of a possessed person, say his name and hold sulfur and bitumen to his nose. Straightway [the devil] will speak and depart;<sup>121</sup>

and for raising the dead:

Awaking of a dead body: I adjure thee, spirit roaming the air, enter, animate, invigorate, rouse this body by the power of the eternal god and with fire let it walk to this place, because I am acting by the power of the holy god Thauth. Speak his name.<sup>122</sup>

*Topic: Conclusion.*—In about half of the stories examined, the successful result of the cure is proved by some definite detail. From the *stelai* we learn that at the delivery of the woman pregnant five years the child washes itself at a spring and walks about.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, dumb children speak; a lame man runs; one blind man sees the trees and another his lost ointment bottle; the boxer wins his championship; sterile women conceive and bear children; a tumor discharges;<sup>124</sup> and the cripple no longer needs his crutch:

Demosthenes from X, lame in the legs. He came into the shrine on a stretcher and went about supported by canes. As he lay down to sleep, he saw a vision. He dreamed the god ordered him to spend four months in the shrine because in that time he would be healed. Thereupon within four months, entering the sanctuary during the last days with two canes, he came out healed. H 64.

Distinctive of these inscriptions is the motif of traces of the dream-cure: the patient leaves the shrine with the foreign body in his hand (spearpoint, leeches, stone, arrowhead<sup>125</sup>) or the floor or garment is found soiled on the following morning.<sup>126</sup> Occasionally certain obligations are laid upon the patient: to believe henceforth, to make a

<sup>121</sup> Leiden Papyrus J 395 (W), 6: 30-31; quoted by A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 188: 5-7.

<sup>122</sup> Leiden J 395, 7: 15-19 (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 190: 5-10). It may be noted that sighing or exhaling audibly seems to have been credited with peculiar efficacy: cf. the previously quoted passage from the Paris *Magic Papyrus*, where it is connected with staring, and the following from Leiden J 395, 21: 30-33:

"To me, O god of gods, aeoei ei iao ae oi otk. Draw in with shut eyes, fill thyself, bellow as hard as thou canst, then with a moan let the air hiss out again" (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 202: 13-16; cf. his *Mithrasliturgie*, 6: 4-9 [Paris 574: 537-44]). There is no particular link with healing in either passage, but Dibelius, p. 82 f. offers them as analogous (!) to Jesus' sigh and glance when curing the deaf and dumb man, Mr 7: 31-37.

<sup>123</sup> H 1.

<sup>124</sup> H 5 and 44; 16; 18 and 64; 29; 2, 31, 34, 39 and 42; 48.

<sup>125</sup> H 12, 13, 14, 30; cf. 25. <sup>126</sup> H 27, 41.

gift, hang up the bandage, roll a large stone, pay promised tithes.<sup>127</sup> In the other sources, a devil exorcised by Apollonios knocks over a statue on his departure; a girl thought dead speaks aloud; the vine-dresser cured of a viper's bite picks up his pallet and returns to his house; a youth suffering from hydrophobia recognizes his parents; a mad dog barks, lays back his ears and wags his tail (!); a woman is bidden to give a magic letter to the demon.<sup>128</sup>

The healer may be rewarded by an inscription<sup>129</sup> or by money—Apollonios was offered 150,000 drachmae by the relatives of the resuscitated bride.<sup>130</sup> Sometimes the healer demands a gift:

Ambrosia from Athens, one-eyed. She came to the god as suppliant. While walking about the shrine she laughed at some of the cures as improbable and impossible—that lame and blind were healed merely by seeing a dream. During incubation she saw a vision. She dreamed that the god stood before her and said that he would indeed make her well but that he demanded as reward from her that she give a silver pig to the shrine as a memorial of her ignorance. Having said this he slit open the ailing eye and poured a remedy into it. When it was day, she came out healed. H 4.<sup>131</sup>

If such a gift is not made, punishment may ensue: a man receives a mark upon the face; another is blinded; the fishmonger is bitten by his wares for not paying the promised tithe.<sup>132</sup>

When Apollonios exorcises a young man, the crowd marvels and the delivered youth henceforth models his life on that of the wonder-worker.<sup>133</sup> However, the mystic secrecy surrounding most Hellenic cures precludes popular acclamation or description of the healer's subsequent fame. We are told only that Empedokles became famous for healing the woman in a trance (or dead),<sup>134</sup> and Asklepios, through energetic study of medical science, "healed many hopelessly sick, and on this account seemed to make many of the dead live again":

<sup>127</sup> H 3, 4 (etc.), 6, 15, 47.

<sup>128</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 20; IV, 45; Lucian, *Philops.*, 11; Philostr., *Apollon.*, VI, 43; *ibid.*, III, 38.

<sup>129</sup> H 1; Oxyrh. Papyri XI, 1381.

<sup>130</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 45; cf. Lucian, *Philops.*, 14, 16.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. H 8, 15, 25; a shrine attendant demands it in the cure of a dumb boy, H 5.

<sup>132</sup> H 7, 22, 47.

<sup>133</sup> Philostr., *Apollon.*, IV, 20; cf. E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός* (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 193 ff. for examples of the bystanders marvelling at miracles.

<sup>134</sup> Diog. Laert., *De vitis phil.*, VIII, 67.

Hence it is that legend tells how Hades accused Asklepios and brought action against him before Zeus, on the ground that his power was being lessened: for the dead were becoming fewer and fewer, since Asklepios was healing them. And Zeus, angered, struck Asklepios with lightning and destroyed him. Diodorus, *Bibl. hist.*, IV, 71.

## II. THE TYPICAL HEALING NARRATIVE

### *Importance of a General View*

In making a detailed analysis of the content, style, and topic of various healing stories, such as has been attempted in these articles, two difficulties arise. The first consists in the tendency to neglect the spirit of a tradition as a whole while scrutinizing its constituent parts. In regard to the Gospel stories, however, this inclination is counteracted by the student's habitual familiarity with the synoptic tradition. For the Hellenic and rabbinic traditions, it is hoped that the abundant citation of the stories themselves has solved the problem, since these traditions—especially the Talmudic and Epidauran literature—are merely collections of independent episodes without any continuity or dominating theme.<sup>1</sup>

The second difficulty is encountered in endeavoring to obtain a general view of the points in which these three parallel streams of tradition converge or separate. The present section seeks to offer a solution to this problem. It aims to present the typical healing narrative, as found in the traditions of the Christian, Jewish, Hellenic, and, to some slight extent, Roman world, near the beginnings of the Christian era. For this, no new material need be adduced; it will suffice to summarize and arrange the observations previously made.

In discussing the cures recorded at Epidauros, Dibelius points out a stylistic pattern which he believes fundamental to those stories which narrate actual healings.<sup>2</sup> However, the schema is very brief and refers only to those accounts which Dibelius considers analogous to the Gospel paradigms—the novellen are not included. Bultmann's schematic presentation of the phenomenology of miracles of healing is much more complete.<sup>3</sup> Though it concerns topic rather than con-

<sup>1</sup> Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios* is an exception.

<sup>2</sup> Dibelius, p. 169 and notes 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> Bultmann, pp. 236-41; cf. also: *Die Erforschung*, pp. 19 f.; "The New Approach," pp. 347 f.

tent or style, it is very detailed, covers a wide field, and cites numerous references. Many of its points are included in the outline presented below.

For our present purpose, however, neither of these summaries will suffice, because they are concerned only with similarities. The traits which are typical of only one tradition are no less important for form-criticism than those which are common to all three. Human nature or the subject matter selected for analysis may explain common characteristics. Divergences, specific traits are more indicative of the milieu in which a tradition originates and evolves. In an attempt to point out both the common and the specific characteristics of the synoptic, rabbinic, and Hellenic healing-traditions, the following schema has been evolved. The traits previously noted are summarily presented under the three general headings: Content, Style, and Topic. The subordinate headings (e.g., "Cures") and the details accompanying these (e.g. "fever, dumbness, undefined illnesses") are common to the three traditions, and thus portray the typical healing narrative.<sup>4</sup> Below these secondary headings are listed the traits proper to the individual traditions.

### *Survey of the Three Healing-Traditions*

#### CONTENT

**CURES:** of fever, dumbness, undefined illnesses.

Synoptic: of blindness, lameness, paralysis, dropsy, pains, leprosy, deafness, mutilation, withered hand, issue of blood, lunacy.

Rabbinic: of toothache, skin disease.

Hellenic: of blindness, lameness, paralysis, dropsy, pain, difficult parturition, sterility, facial mark, stones, imbedded weapons, leeches, abscesses, tapeworm, growths, ulcers, insomnia, headache, open wound, consumption, swollen stomach, gout, epilepsy, canker, hydrophobia, baldness, vermin.

**EXORCISMS:** single.

Synoptic: frequent, multiple, linked with cures.

Rabbinic: frequent, multiple, of places.

Hellenic: rare.

**RESUSCITATIONS:**

Synoptic: occasional.

Rabbinic: somewhat frequent; creation.

Hellenic: rare, dubious.

<sup>4</sup> Unless, of course, this is explicitly negated for one or other tradition.

**MIRACULOUS PUNISHMENTS:**

Synoptic: none.<sup>5</sup>

Rabbinic: death, leprosy, paralysis, burns.

Hellenic: blindness, facial mark, fishbite.

**HEALING BY DISCIPLES:**

Synoptic: frequent; disciples given power, instructed; others than disciples.

Rabbinic: rare.

Hellenic: rare, unauthorized.

**STYLE**

**GENERAL TONE:** simplicity; dialogue; few numerical details.

Synoptic: realism, sobriety.

Rabbinic: curiosity, humor.

Hellenic: realism, curiosity, humor, indecency; no dialogue in inscriptions; composed style in literary sources.

**NARRATION:** concise; continuous action.

Synoptic: summary accounts; multiple cures.

Rabbinic: occasional digressions, lapse of time.

Hellenic: occasional digressions, lapse of time; diffuseness in literary stories.

**CHRONOLOGICAL DETAILS:** rare.

Synoptic: occasion frequently mentioned.

Rabbinic: occasion sometimes mentioned.

Hellenic: occasion stereotyped (incubation).

**TOPOGRAPHICAL DETAILS:** brief description; place names.

Synoptic: frequent description; place names.

Rabbinic: frequent description; place names rare.

Hellenic: place names abundant; description rare; shrines.

**EXTERNAL COMPLETENESS:**

Synoptic: frequent.

Rabbinic: general.

Hellenic: general.

**CHARACTERIZATION:** simple, indirect; emotions, patient's subsequent history rare; groups as units.

<sup>5</sup> The absence of miraculous punishments in the synoptic tradition is significant. It is true that in Mt 21: 18-22 Jesus curses the barren fig tree and it withers (cf. Mr 11: 12-14, 20-25). However, this symbolic action is not a punishment in the sense here intended: as the opposite of healing. Unlike non-Christian wonder-workers of His time, Jesus is never presented in the synoptic tradition as the healer-avenger, who sometimes cures and sometimes maims. On the contrary: "And going they entered a Samaritan village to prepare for him; and they would not receive him, because his face was set for Jerusalem. And when the disciples James and John saw this they said, 'Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire fall from heaven and consume them?' But he turned and rebuked them. And they went to another village" (L 9: 52-56).

Synoptic: names occasional; groups frequent, described, enthusiastic.

Rabbinic: name of patient if rabbi; groups occasional, not described.

Hellenic: name of patient (artificial); groups rare; subsequent history occasional.

**DESCRIPTION OF HEALER:**

*Power:*

Synoptic: Jesus: universal, independent; disciples: limited, dependent.

Rabbinic: limited, dependent.

Hellenic: Asklepios: universal (over death?), independent (medical? local?); others: limited; knowledge or skill.

*Motive:*

Synoptic: pity, to reward faith, to prove teaching.

Rabbinic: observance of law, money, repentance, prudence, to prove power.

Hellenic: to prove power, money, pity, to test fortune.

*Emotions:*

Synoptic: compassionate, marvelling at faith, encouraging.

Rabbinic: weeping, remorseful, complacent.

Hellenic: complacent, friendly, vengeful, amorous.

**SPIRITUAL TONE:**

Synoptic: general; Healer's holiness; miracles refused; fame hidden.

Rabbinic: frequent; healer's sins.

Hellenic: absent; miracles imposed.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF HEALING:**

Synoptic: prove mission, doctrine; stir repentance.

Rabbinic: reward good deeds; prove holiness.

Hellenic: none.

**HISTORICAL TONE:**

Synoptic: reality assumed.

Rabbinic: illustrative tradition; superstition, exaggerations.

Hellenic: Epidauros: reality assumed (dream); literary sources: reality doubtful; superstition, exaggerations, mythology.

**TOPIC: EXPOSITION**

**SICKNESS:** described.

Synoptic: name, general description; occasionally: duration, seriousness, failure of doctors, disciples.

Rabbinic: description rare; as a chastisement.

Hellenic: name, general description (title); frequently: detailed description, origin, duration, seriousness; occasionally: failure of disciples, doctors.

**POSSESSION:** described; devils harm, speak, plead.

Synoptic: devils unclean, recognize Healer, cause disease.

Rabbinic: devils named, in physical form, haunting places; independent, insolent, helpful; cause disease, death.

Hellenic: rare (devils in physical form, changing shape, haunting places).

**PATIENT:** named, described; men, women, boys, girls (parents mentioned).

Synoptic: name, age rare; description occasional.

Rabbinic: rabbis named; description usual.

Hellenic: name, origin (artificial) general; age, description rare.

**ANIMALS:** healer, patient.

Synoptic: none.

Rabbinic: rare.

Hellenic: healer: frequent; patient: rare.

**THE APPROACH:** made by patient, healer, intermediary.

Synoptic: patient generally approaches; frequently brought, on stretcher; worships; healing at a distance; Healer approaches; encounter on the way.

Rabbinic: patient rarely approaches; intermediaries frequent; healing at a distance.

Hellenic: patient generally approaches (shrine); occasionally: brought, on stretcher; intermediaries rare; healer approaches; encounter on the way.

**HEALER:**

Synoptic: Jesus, disciples, others; occasionally: miracle apart from crowd.

Rabbinic: rabbis, R. Hanina b. Dosa, disciples.

Hellenic: Asklepios (god), animals, magicians, others; generally: miracle in secret.

**FAITH:**

Synoptic: demanded, tested; shown by patient, others; bystanders mock, are hostile.

Rabbinic: not demanded; mockery punished.

Hellenic: not demanded; patient, bystanders mock.

#### TOPIC: THE MIRACLE

**INCUBATION:**

Synoptic: none.

Rabbinic: none.

Hellenic: Epidauros: general; god appears, speaks, acts; others appear, act; animals; cure during dream: by actions, remedies.

**CURE:** described; instantaneous, rarely gradual.

Synoptic: brief description.

Rabbinic: brief description; rarely natural.

Hellenic: detailed description; occasionally natural; frequently medical, surgical.

**EXORCISM:** described; devil rebuked, bidden to depart.

Synoptic: brief description; simple; devil silenced; called by name, permitted to go elsewhere (rare).

Rabbinic: longer description; complicated; devil resists; called by name (rare).

Hellenic: rare (detailed description; complicated; devil resists).

**HEALER'S ASSISTANTS:**

Synoptic: none.

Rabbinic: rare.

Hellenic: frequent: attendants, boys, serpents.

**HEALER'S WORDS:** foreign phrases, sacred names.

Synoptic: quoted; cure, exorcise, resuscitate; foreign words translated; others heal in Jesus' name.

Rabbinic: quoted; exorcise, resuscitate; usually a prayer: "implore mercy"; magic formulae, incantations, gibberish; in Solomon's name.

Hellenic: not quoted; rarely heal; incantations, gibberish; sacred names.

**HEALER'S GESTURES:** touching sick part, with hand or fingers.

Synoptic: a touch cures, exorcises, resuscitates; taking by hand; contact with Healer's garment; sigh, eyes raised.

Rabbinic: a touch cures; touching with foot; taking by hand; prayer gestures.

Hellenic: a touch cures; body uncovered; touching with ring, foot; hand as phallic; sexual contact, kissing; touch of animals' mouth, tongue, feet; bandage, medical, surgical contact; mutual cure.

**HEALING OBJECTS, RECIPES:**

Synoptic: none.

Rabbinic: roots, lupines, ring, amulets; recipes and precautions against disease, possession.

Hellenic: ring, red charms, letter, talismans; recipes for exorcising, resuscitating.

**HEALING REMEDIES:** spittle for blindness.

Synoptic: spittle for dumbness, blindness (word and gesture); oil.

Rabbinic: spittle for blindness (medical), in incantations.

Hellenic: spittle for blindness, as sexual charm; (many medical remedies).

#### TOPIC: CONCLUSION

**SUCCESS OF HEALING:** stated; frequently proved: patient speaks, moves; devil's departure described.

Synoptic: patient sees, carries bed, is tranquil, returns in gratitude; to be given food.

Rabbinic: patient asks for food, recites Talmud.

Hellenic: patient sees, carries bed; children born; athletic victory; traces of operation, foreign body in hand; dog wags tail.

**PATIENT'S OBLIGATIONS:**

Synoptic: make offering to priests; return home; observe silence; proclaim healing (rare).

Rabbinic: none.

Hellenic: make gift, hang up bandage, roll stone, believe, pay tithes.

**REACTION:** of witnesses, patient.

Synoptic: amazement, comments, praise of God; Healer honored; healing proclaimed; fear, opposition.

Rabbinic: comments; healer honored; recurrence considered unlikely.

Hellenic: rare (amazement).

**CONSEQUENCES FOR HEALER:**

Synoptic: followed by patients, others; fame, crowds; opposition; career influenced.

Rabbinic: rare (reward, fame of R. Ḥanina b. Dosa).

Hellenic: reward; gift demanded, penalty for not making; fame (rare).

*The Results*

*Common Characteristics.*—In this schematic review of the healing narratives' general and specific form, the significance of those details in which the three traditions coincide and differ becomes apparent. Most of the common characteristics were to be expected: they are due either to the subject matter chosen for analysis or the fundamental oneness of human nature. Thus, in the three traditions maladies are cured, the malign influence of evil spirits is vanquished, the dead live again—a unity of *content* arising partly from the scope of the investigation, partly from the fact that it is precisely in these ills that man seeks the healer's preternatural assistance. Similarly, since analogies for the synoptic narratives have been sought mainly in non-literary sources, we find a certain general simplicity of *style*: conciseness, few chronological or topographical details, indirect characterization, a loosely knit sequence of events. It is natural that in the *exposition* the character of the sickness or possession should be indicated; demons are portrayed as harmful; men, women, boys and girls approach the healer; sometimes—in resuscitations, obviously—the healer comes to meet the patient, or an intermediary requests the cure. So too with the *miracle* itself: being preternatural the healing is instantaneous; the healer speaks or makes some gesture; he touches the patient with his hand; the devil is rebuked and bidden to depart. The *conclusion* is equally natural: some concrete detail is mentioned that verifies the cure; the comments of the witnesses are noted down.

These are the traits to be found in all three traditions. They form the outline of a typical healing narrative. All of them are to be expected in simple human stories of preternatural healing. Indeed the whole investigation provides only one detail, common to these three traditions, which can occasion any surprise: the use of spittle in healing blindness. Yet even here—it is a question of ancient medical practice—certain differences are clear. With Jesus the act is definitely symbolic: He heals in this instance, as in others, because He wills the cure. The Jewish usage is partly medical, partly imprecatory. In the Hellenic examples we have either a preternatural remedy or a magic charm.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The stories referred to are: Mr 8: 22–26 (the blind man of Bethsaida); the examples cited in Strack-B., II, 15 ff., where the difference between the Jewish and synoptic traditions is clearly pointed out; and Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 81; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.*, 66, 8.

*Rabbinic Traits.*—The details distinctive of one or other tradition are no less important for an appraisal of the form-critical conclusions. In regard to *content*, the rabbinic stories are noteworthy for the relatively unimportant part played by cures, the belief in spirits haunting certain places, the casualness with which the dead are revived. The *style* betrays a certain tendency to cater to curiosity. The healers are of limited, dependent power; they are motivated by a desire to show their might, and by repentance; they are complacent and remorseful; their sins are recorded. The healings seem to be illustrations of a point rather than actual events; superstition is prevalent and exaggerations, even creation, are narrated. In the topic of the *exposition* we notice that sickness is regarded as a chastisement, that the devils enjoy a certain insolent independence. In that of the *miracle* we are particularly struck by the position of the healer as great in prayer rather than in deed. The exorcisms are complicated and the devil may resist. Incantations and magic gibberish occur, as do healing objects and healing recipes. In the *conclusion* the reaction of the person healed is sometimes a sceptical attitude as to the possibility of such marvels happening again.

*Hellenic Traits.*—In *content* the Hellenic stories are distinguished by a scarcity of exorcisms and resuscitations. On the other hand, all manner of cures abound, those connected with conception and child-birth being prominent, as also the removal of imbedded weapons and the healing of strange maladies, such as vermin and baldness. The *style*, in the non-literary sources, abounds in names of persons and places artificially varied, in curious and sometimes indecent details. The healers are skilled in medicine or magic, motivated by money and an urge to prove their power, complacent, vengeful, amorous. There is no spiritual tone to the stories, no significance in the miracle, the literary authors doubt the reality of the healing, throughout there is superstition, exaggeration, mythology. The *exposition* frequently presents a very detailed account of the illness. Sometimes the patients mock. All manner of animals, particularly serpents, appear as endowed with power to heal. The *miracle* is usually depicted as taking place during the dream of incubation; medical and surgical cures predominate; the healer is assisted in his task. Words are rare but touch is frequent: of man or beast, of hand or foot or mouth, as medical, surgical and phallic. Incantations and gibberish occur, as do

healing objects and healing recipes. In the *conclusion*, traces of the surgical operation may prove the cure, or an athletic victory, or a dog's wagging tail; the patient is reminded to make the suitable thanksgiving offering to the shrine.

*Synoptic Traits.*—In *content* the synoptic narratives present no striking traits. Man's ordinary ills are cured—among them, leprosy, which in Jewish eyes was remediable by God alone. Cures and exorcisms are coupled, yet distinguished; resuscitations are occasional, solemn, definite; no punishments occur; the disciples are given healing power and spiritual principles to guide them in its use. The *style* is real, sober, so concise that much of Jesus' marvellous activity is merely summarized; frequent mention of the occasion fits the stories into the general framework of the tradition; names are recorded if known, without effort at completeness. Jesus' power is portrayed as sovereign, personal, purely preternatural, due neither to medical skill nor prayer; He is moved by pity, a desire to reward men's faith in Him; He is compassionate, never complacent. Through every story there runs a lofty spiritual tone and the Healer's holiness and modesty; the significance of the miracles is clear: they prove His mission as Messias and Incarnate Son of God; the historical reality of every deed is quietly assumed. In the *exposition*, we may observe that the evil spirits immediately recognize their Master; that the patient or intermediary worships Him; that faith in Jesus' person and His word is shown throughout. The *miracle* is performed quite simply. There are no complicated exorcisms; a mere word suffices to cure, to exorcise, to resuscitate; when the original saying has been retained, a translation is appended. His touch is equally simple and powerful, but neither word nor gesture are really necessary for the cure: "*I will: be thou made clean.*" In the *conclusion* we note that the person healed is frequently bound to silence; the multitude is stirred to honor and praise of God; the effect upon the Healer's career is an increase of fame, from which flow logically an increase of followers, a more determined opposition from His enemies, and, ultimately, His death.

#### *Conclusion*

The significance of our long analysis is clear at last. If from a study of form we can detect anything of the milieu in which a tradition

originates and evolves, then a dominating factor has entered the rise and growth of the synoptic tradition to which the rabbinic and Hellenic stories are alien. Traits common to all three traditions are only those due to the choice of subject matter and the unity of human nature. The Jewish and Greek converts to the primitive Christian community did not introduce into the synoptic tradition the motifs of the rabbinic and Hellenic traditions they knew so well. The evidence that they *did not* do so lies in all those traits which distinguish the Gospel story from its contemporary traditions—particularly in a completely different *historical and spiritual tone*. The reason that *they could not* do so lies in the fact that the synoptic tradition did not originate or develop in the same fashion as the rabbinic or Hellenic literature. It was not a compilation of popular anecdotes, evolving over a long period of time, careless of the reality of its facts. It was a threefold historico-apologetic composition, written by definite authors, in a hierarchical community, at a time when witnesses of the events were still alive and aflame with zeal to propagate or annihilate the new religion. To the question posed in beginning this investigation: *Do the Gospel healing stories so resemble their rabbinic and Hellenic parallels that they must have originated in a similar way?* we can answer categorically: *The synoptic narratives so differ from the analogies adduced, that their very form indicates a different origin and development.* In brief: the argument from analogy, tested according to form-critical methods on the proving ground of healing narratives, demonstrates the falsity of form-criticism's general conclusions.

On the other hand, our investigation itself has shown the value of one contribution of form-criticism to synoptic studies: the use of form-analysis in comparative research. Employed as a tool—not as a weapon—form-analysis should be of much assistance to the Scripture student. Nor is this all. The new method has illustrated many traits of the synoptic forms—by comparisons drawn from other literatures; and it merits no little praise for deterring rationalist critics from aimless vivisection of the text and from that idle source-speculation which fails to take into account the oral period of the Gospel tradition.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The change in the Protestant attitude in this regard is remarked by O. Cullmann, "Les Récentes études sur la formation de la tradition évangélique," *Rev. d'hist. et phil. rel.*, V (1925), 460.

As developed by Bultmann and Dibelius, however, form-criticism has many serious and perhaps irremediable defects. It has failed to work out a position in independence of the Two-Source theory.<sup>8</sup> It has neglected the essential differences between the Gospels and *Kleinliteratur*. It has accepted the discredited theory of collective creation and applied it to a community in which it did not and could not exist. It has mistaken simplicity of style for patchwork compilation. Forms have been too sharply defined and at the price of much excision of the text. A *Sitz im Leben* has been sought in every phase of primitive Christian life except the most important one: the Christian's desire to know the life of Jesus. Throughout, no place is given to historical testimony; substance is neglected in preoccupation with form; the controlling factor of time is disregarded; there is prejudice against the historical value of the whole Gospel story.

These points and many others have been discussed, however, in treating of the general principles of form-criticism and its application to healing narratives, and there is no need to repeat them here. Instead, we may sum up the general impression received from study of the new method by saying that if, at best, much of what is true in form-criticism is not new and much of what is new is not true, still, at the worst, there is wheat in the chaff for the winnowing. To the writer it seems that the good points of the method will find a permanent though subordinate place in future scriptural studies; but that the theory as a whole, in the extreme form proposed by Bultmann and Dibelius, is moribund. As the flowering of a century and a half of German rationalist criticism, it may perhaps be hoped that the blossom, being inbred, will be sterile, and that in the new Germany the line will be more clearly drawn between the exegesis which is truly Christian, and that which is fundamentally pagan.

*Finis* .

<sup>8</sup> Fascher believed that form-criticism would at least strongly modify the Two-Source theory: E. Fascher, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode* (Giessen, 1924), p. 51. However, it does not seem to have done so as yet.