The World of Aelius Aristides[*]

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The term 'world' has a wide range of meanings. It can be used in a physical or geographical sense, or refer to a world of mental entities: psychological, intellectual or religious. Yet, when we come to appreciate Aelius Aristides' perception and portrayal of his world, any such dichotomy between physical and mental aspects is neither required nor valid. For Aristides, the world meant the intellectual and religious space of his human existence, as well as the geographical region in which he lived. Aristides was a Greek man-of-letters, a skilled orator, and a writer (he was not, however, a geographer and his interest in geography was not scientific but cultural, with actual geographical facts often subordinated to his main arguments).[1] Aristides was also a citizen of a city, a province, and the Roman Empire. He was well-traveled and highly respected in regions far and wide beyond his place of origin. All these elements are of great import when attempting to trace Aristides' picture of his world. Indeed, the language and notions that shaped Aristides' perception of space originated in the three dominant spheres which were most influential on his life as a whole: his Greek identity and *paideia*, his religious beliefs, and the political reality under Roman rule.

In this paper I wish to explore three key elements of Aristides' conception of his world. First, I will address the Greek world of Aristides. This calls for an examination of his ideas about the influence of geography on the moulding of human character and the means he used to distinguish between a geographical centre and its periphery. Only then will it be possible to outline the manner in which Aristides envisaged his Greek identity as defining a particular region and the expansion of Greek *paideia* as a geographical landmark. Next, I wish to analyse the way Aristides' attitude towards Rome shaped his picture of the world. In this context I shall examine how the particular economic conditions created by Rome and her policies influenced Aristides' views, with local economic changes causing shifts in his perception of these regions. I shall also investigate the effect of the political reality of Aristides' day on his spatial descriptions and the pertinence of connectivity in this respect.[2] Finally, I shall study the role that religion played in forming Aristides' perception of the world and attempt to demonstrate the ways in which he

[1] Indeed, it will be argued below that a notion as seminal to Greek geography as οἰκουμένη was more of a cultural definition for Aristides than one of latitude and longitude. Thus, on one occasion Aristides claimed that the landscape of Achaia and Athens embodied divine order (*Or.* 1.19-20 K), in other circumstances he placed the Aegean Sea at the centre of the οἰκουμένη (*Or.* 44.2-3 K), and in Rome he identified the limits of the οἰκουμένη with those of the Roman Empire (*Or.* 26.9, 10, 16, 29, 33, 36, 59, 61, 81, 85, 86, 97 K) .

[2] See below p. 99 on the concept of connectivity.

used religion as an organizing mechanism of space. The focus of this paper is, then, the relation between the references of Aristides' depiction of his world, i.e. the actual objects he was denoting, and the sense these objects made to him. By placing Aristides' perception of his world first in the context of the Greek culture, then in the context of the political reality of the second century CE, and finally in the context of Aristides' religious experience, I hope to shed light on features of Aristides' Hellenism which are often overlooked and to explain how he was able to maintain his Greek identity along with his position as a Roman citizen and a provincial supporter of Roman rule.

The Greek world of Aelius Aristides

The Greek world of Aelius Aristides needs to be considered both in terms of geography and culture.[3] Aristides took the force of geography in moulding human character for granted, in accordance with traditional Greek teachings.[4] Equally self-evident to him was the role of the gods in shaping the world, and their role in allocating to the various nations the different regions that they inhabited. Naturally, he believed that the gods paid particular attention to the Greeks. Aristides constructed his own personal Greek identity in a similar manner, for he saw himself as a member of a vibrant Greek society and his Hellenic identity was valid and significant to him even under foreign rule. Both as an individual and as a part of a collective, Aristides used familiar elements of Hellenic culture in order to construct his Greek identity and his Greek world.

Aristides perceived a close relationship between a land and the character of its inhabitants. He regarded the effect of this relationship as being particularly discernible in Attica and Athens, because the original inhabitants of Attica had never left their land, thus allowing the particular characteristics of the land to shape and develop their character. The natives of Attica did not arrive in their land after a period of wandering, and so never needed to seize their country by force. Rather, 'like spring-water, the race arose from the bosom of the earth, taking its beginning from itself'.[5] Attica and Athens held special importance for Aristides because he believed that they were the point of origin of humankind and particularly of the Greek world: 'Thus although the land is in the beginning of Greece proper, it is nonetheless in the midst of all of Greece'.[6] As a point of origin, Athens and Attica lay at the centre of the Greek world and Aristides wrote, 'in whatever direction you move from it, are at hand the most famous races of the Greeks. And just as its own territory is adjacent to the city, so the whole of Greece is adjacent to

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3   On Aristides' life see: Behr (1968), chap. 1-4; Behr (1994). For the so-called 'Second Sophistic' literary context see Swain (1996), 254-297. For a discussion of the connection between geography, history and Greek views of the geography of the Roman world see Clarke (1999).

4   This perception of regional and environmental effects on the physique and mental character of a land's inhabitants is found already in fifth century BCE Greece, particularly in Greek medical thought. Hippocrates, for example, dedicated the second part of his treatise, *On Airs, Waters, and Places* to an explanation and description of the ways and means by which nature shapes the character of people, both physically and mentally (Hippoc. *Aër.* 12-19).

5   Aristid. *Or.* 1.25 K.

6   Ibid. 1.14 K.

Attica'.[7] Aristides believed that being at the centre also meant that the Greeks of Athens and Attica, who were not contaminated by alien influences, epitomised Greek character:

> For this reason it alone assumed the appearance of an unblemished Greek people, and is to the greatest degree racially distinct from the barbarians. For to the extent that it is separated by the nature of its geography, it is also removed from the barbarians in the customs of its men. For it neither shares any common river, nor does it have a boundary line, which can both separate and join land. But as if to the bearing of a shield, all things Greek from every extreme are directed to this centrally located land, and on all sides Greeks encircled its territory, some from the sea, some nearby on the mainland, as is meet for the common hearth of the race.[8]

Aristides' picture of the world, then, had at its centre the regions inhabited by Greeks. Moreover, this centrality was not accidental. It was designed by the gods and reflected divine order. By virtue of the supreme physical and geographical qualities of Attica and of its perfect climate:

> One would not speak of the northerly and southerly sectors [of Attica] by name, or of the other two regions of the land. But without qualification the region on the one side of it can be defined as north, and on the other side as south, and east and west whatever is upland and lowland, and it can be said that the territory itself is as it were at the crossways of all points, a kind of common ground where all the sectors are blended, beneath, one might say, the very Acropolis of heaven and the empire of Zeus, and which in fact is the lot of Athena and a place proper to her deeds and nurselings... Indeed, the creators, to whom belonged the task, set Attica at this point of earth, sea and air.[9]

Aristides' perception of space echoes his Greek sense of identity:

> As if the city has been assigned by nature as an opponent and enemy of the barbarian race, it has avoided foreign and barbarian land to such an extent that it even put forth as a bulwark another Greece, its colony, on the mainland opposite, which even now has kept far apart from the barbarians. From these causes it has always provided its people with honest, pure, and uncorrupted customs, and it also introduced, as a model for all Greek speech, a dialect which is clear, pure, and pleasant.[10]

It is noteworthy that by the second century CE, at the time that Aristides was writing, the literary language of the elite turned away from the written *koine* of authors such as Polybius and Strabo, towards an imitation of the authors of classical Athens. The use of *koine* itself became a mark of literary inadequacy.[11] Those who were able to master Attic Greek were acclaimed as *pepaideumenoi*[12] and usually came from the wealthiest and most influential families in their city.[13] In Aristides' lifetime this broad learning constituted the intellectual arena in which debates took place, and such knowledge provided its

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7   Ibid. 1.14 K.
8   Ibid. 1.14 K.
9   Ibid. 1.19-20 K.
10   Ibid. 1.15 K.
11   Swain (1996), 19.
12   Anderson (1989).
13   Bowie (1970), 5.

possessors with the tools needed to persuade their audience.[14] Moreover, because identity is predominantly shaped by memory, and memory is to a large extent pre-determined by collective creations such as language and mythology (whether historically based or imagined),[15] this Greek cultural renaissance was a major force in moulding the particular shape of Greek identity at the time.[16] Hence by depicting geographical boundaries in terms of (Greek) language, Aristides also reveals his conception of the meaning of 'Greekness'.

Aristides goes on to depict Athens, stating:

> The city occupies the same position in its territory as its territory does in Greece; for it lies at the very centre of a central land, inclining only so far to the sea that the harbours show clearly whose they are. And as a third centrality after these, there rises clear aloft through the midst of the city, what was the old city and is now the present Acropolis, like a mountain peak, not to be the last part of the city, but that all the remaining body of the city encloses it, where the high and central point coincide, an adornment in the midst of all and the final boundary marker of the good position of the land. For as if on a shield layers have been set on one another, in fifth place, the fairest among all fills the area up to the boss; if Greece is in the centre of the whole earth, and Attica in the centre of Greece, and the city in the centre of its territory, and again its namesake [i.e. the Acropolis] in the centre of the city.[17]

Such a portrayal of harmony between the different spheres, and between micro-cosmos and macro-cosmos, must have agreed with the Greek philosophical tendencies of Aristides' day, when the Platonic school regained its supremacy amongst the four traditional schools of Greek philosophy.[18] His description of Attica and Athens is not just an aesthetic judgement; it is also significant in the context of cosmology, philosophy, and religion. A similar picture of the world, with the Greek part at its centre, is found in a hymn to the Aegean Sea, delivered before a Greek audience in Delos shortly after April 155 CE, in the course of Aristides' journey to Greece and Rome (*Or.* 45 K).[19] In this hymn, Aristides proclaimed that the Aegean Sea merits praise, 'first of all because it has been allotted the best location ... For it is indeed set in the middle of the whole inhabited world (πρῶτον ὅτι θέσεως ἄριστα εἴληχεν ... ἐν γὰρ τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πάσης οἰκουμένης)'.[20] The author makes it clear that the pivotal location of the Aegean Sea is not a geometric statement, but a cultural one. He asserts that the sea, 'has the most distinguished and civilised races on each of its banks, on this side Ionia and the Aeolian land, and on the other side Greece, so that only this sea could be said to be in the midst

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[14]   Whitmarsh (1998), 194; Anderson (1989), 89-104.
[15]   Halbwachs (1992) discusses the formation of memory within a social-cultural context of language and specific forms of recollection of the past. His conclusion is that the memory of the past is constructed socially, not individually, and that it bears a distinctive mark of the present.
[16]   Anderson (1989), 137-146.
[17]   Aristid. *Or.* 1.16 K.
[18]   Russell (1973), 73. More generally, see Dillon (1996).
[19]   Behr (1981-6) vol. II, 419.
[20]   Aristid. *Or.* 44.2-3 K.

of all Greece'.[21] Centrality, it seems, is more than just geometry to Aristides, and incorporates both ethnicity and culture.

The particular nature of Greek identity during Aristides' lifetime, and the central place of the Attic dialect within it, is the proper context for understanding Aristides' identification of the οἰκουμένη with the regions where Attic Greek was spoken. Indeed he demonstrated this outlook in the *Panathenaic Oration* where he argues that the Athenians led all the people of the οἰκουμένη to adopt their dialect.[22] For Aristides, in other words, the οἰκουμένη is precisely where the Attic dialect is used.[23] When he identifies the οἰκουμένη as the areas to which the Attic dialect has spread, Aristides makes a powerful statement about the prevalence of Greek culture and its power to depict geographical boundaries. When Aristides speaks of the οἰκουμένη, he is referring to a geographic domain, but it is a domain whose limits are nonetheless determined not by landscape, but by the culture of its inhabitants. The advance of Greek language and culture[24] cannot be contained by the Pillars of Heracles,[25] the hills of Africa, the Bosphorus, or the passes of Syria and Cilicia,[26] and the limits of the οἰκουμένη are consequently in constant expansion. Unity of language helped the Hellenic world to maintain its cohesion.[27] The Greek language was crucial to Greek identity and the existence of a Greek

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21   Ibid. 44.4 K.

22   καὶ δι᾽ ὑμῶν ὁμόφωνος μὲν πᾶσα γέγονεν ἡ οἰκουμένη. Aristid. *Or.* 1.325 K.

23   The notion of οἰκουμένη was first introduced by Herodotus and his work changed the Greek picture of the world and the vocabulary used to depict it (Romm [1992], 32-41). Herodotus marks the divorce of the Greek geographical tradition from simple speculation; instead, real information and eyewitness reports formed the core of Herodotus' geography. His dismissal of the archaic notion of the legendary river Ocean may be taken as a case in point. Herodotus considers its existence unfounded, unproven, and simply mythical (Hdt. 2.23; 4.8, 36). This method placed accessibility to empirical information at the centre, thus forming a close connection between geography and habitation and communication. It is therefore no surprise that it was Herodotus who introduced the notion of οἰκουμένη into the geographical discourse. From Herodotus onward οἰκουμένη means 'a region made coherent by the intercommunication of its inhabitants'. For a history of this term see: Gisinger (1937), cols. 2123-74; Van Paassen (1957), 16-24; Romm (1992), 37.

24   Aristid. *Or.* 1.324 K.

25   The Pillars of Heracles were seen as much more than a physical boundary in archaic and classical Greece. See Hdt. 8.132; Pind. *Ol.* 3.43-5; *Nem.* 3.20; *Isthm.* 4.11-14; Romm (1992), 17-20.

26   Aristid. *Or.* 1.324 K.

27   It is noteworthy that the reluctance of Greeks to adopt a foreign language did not trouble their Roman rulers (Rochette [1997], 1-47). The demand put forward by Apollonius to Vespasian (as reported by Philostratus) to send Greek-speaking governors to the Greek cities was reasonable and not anachronistic (Philostr. *VA.* 5.36). The need for Greek-speaking governors in the Greek world arose as an issue in Roman politics already in the days of Cato the Elder and Marius (Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 4f; *Mar.* 2.2). It is likely that Pliny was sent as a special governor to Bithynia by Trajan because of his command of the Greek language (Griffin [1984], 295). Both Cicero and Pliny were attentive to the unique status of Greek culture and language (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 1.1; Plin. *Ep.* 8.24). By the time of Antoninus Pius, Greek-speaking governors were common. Moreover, most emperors knew Greek to some degree (Flinterman [1995], 123). No other language or culture enjoyed such high repute in the Roman Empire.

speaking region in the Roman World was a key element in the survival of this identity. The importance of language as a component of Greek identity also affected the perception of space for a Greek like Aristides, who marked the boundaries of his world as the realm of the diffusion of the Greek language. Roman recognition of the status of Greek was also seen as a tacit agreement with this particular perception of space. Indeed, Roman approval of a Greek-speaking East implicitly validated all of Aristides' geographical statements, not only in the *Roman Oration*, but also those found in the speeches he delivered in Greek cities.

The prevalence of Greek *paideia* in shaping Aristides' cognitive arrangement of space and his distinction between centre and periphery comes to the fore in his narrative of the Persian Wars. In the *Panathenaic Oration*, Aristides discusses the threat made by Xerxes to deport the inhabitants of Achaia to colonies outside the οἰκουμένη, and notes: ἔτι δὲ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους κληρουχίας ἀτίμους ἠπείλει καὶ γῆς ποίησιν ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης.[28] Here, clearly, the meaning of οἰκουμένη is neither the entire world in the Homeric sense nor οἰκουμένη as Herodotus perceived it. Οἰκουμένη for Aristides is explicitly the part of the world inhabited by Greeks and the final defeat of Xerxes proved that Athens was the bastion of the entire οἰκουμένη.[29] As Aristides explains: 'so, in every way, the city served the whole Greek race, and it was proved in full that it was the only means of protection for the Greeks and also, I think, for the rest of the world'.[30]

A similar use of the term οἰκουμένη, as equivalent to the region where Greek culture prevails, can be found in his discussion of what must have been a moral stain on Athens in the Greek collective memory: their treatment of the Melians and the Scionians.[31] We learn from Thucydides that Scione was captured by the Spartans in 423 BCE during the Peloponnesian War.[32] When the city was recaptured by the Athenians, all males were executed. Melos was captured by the Athenians in 416 BCE when the Melians refused to join the Athenian alliance. Here too, all the men were killed, while the rest of the population was reduced to slavery. Aristides is reluctant to go into details about this period in Athens' history, but says that these two incidents cannot cast a blemish on a city with a history as long and as glorious as Athens. Moreover, Aristides argues, to judge Athens by these two acts alone would indicate ignorance of Greek history and of the deeds of other cities and other Greek rulers. It would be as if the person making these judgements had been living outside of the *oikoumene*: ἀλλά μοι δοκοῦσιν ὅλως ἠγνοηκέναι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν καὶ ὥσπερ ἔξω οἰκεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης οἱ τοὺς τοιούτους παραφέροντες λόγους.[33]

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28   'Further he threatened to assign them with miserable allotments in the Atlantic Ocean, and with the task of reclaiming land outside the inhabited world'. Aristid. *Or.* 1.118 K.

29   Ibid. 1.166-8 K.

30   Ibid. 1.167 K.

31   Ibid. 1.302-6 K.

32   Thuc. 5.116.4, 5.32.

33   'But those who bring forward such arguments seem to me to have misunderstood entirely the nature of the matter and, as it were, to live outside of the civilized world'. Aristid. *Or.* 1.306 K.

It appears, therefore, that οἰκουμένη is a synonym for the regions where the inhabitants are familiar with Greek traditions and history; in other words, where Greek *paideia* prevails.

Aristides was able to retain the Greek traditional names of places such as cities, rivers, continents, and districts under Roman rule, and this allowed him to see a continuum of Greek life from the golden age to his own day. Much of the glory of Athens, Ephesus, Smyrna, Delphi and other places rested in memories, rather than in political reality. Unlike any other group under Roman rule, it was the Greeks alone who did not have to exchange their language, their geography and their way of life for that of their rulers. Nor did they have to hold two discrete sets of identities: their own and that of their Roman rulers. For Aristides, the Greek world, in parallel to his personal identity as a Greek, was the conglomerate of the regions where Greek culture, in the particular manner in which Aristides perceived it, existed.

The Roman world of Aelius Aristides

Aristides' attitude towards Rome can be derived from three main sources: his description of his Roman acquaintances and friends; the representation of Rome in his dreams; and his public speeches. Aristides' public speeches are perhaps the most problematic factor because they seem to lead to various, contradictory conclusions.[34] In order to best interpret these sources, it is first necessary to discuss the political reality documented by Aristides.

Aristides' experiences stemmed from the wider social and political climate in which he lived. The decline of the Flavian dynasty and the coming of Nerva and Trajan left their mark on the cities of the province of Asia.[35] Following his predecessors' guidelines, Trajan adopted a policy of urbanisation, founding and re-founding cities which he named after himself.[36] Trajan administered the provinces carefully and with a firm hand, continuing the centralisation tendencies of the Flavians.[37] The honours and extravagant titles conferred by the Greek cities of Asia Minor upon Nerva and Trajan are indicative of the favours that the new imperial dynasty had granted them. The temple in Pergamum was by far the greatest of the many monuments in honour of Trajan.[38] Zeus 'the Friendly' shared the temple with the emperor and both were worshipped together in a building erected, in all likelihood, by the *koinon* of Asia.[39] Construction of roads, promoted by this urbanisation, also furthered the development of the area. The work on roads, begun by the Flavians who 'restored' the road leading from Sardis to Thyateira and finally to Pergamum, was followed by that of Nerva and Trajan, who continued the highway at least up to Cyzicus.[40] More important were the construction works undertaken by Titus Pomponius Bassus, who repaired the road leading from Mazaca-Caesareia to Tyana and the Cilician Gates and built a road from Ancyra in Galatia to Amaseia in Pontus. He con-

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34   See n. 88.
35   Eck (2000), 266-292; Griffin (2000), 117-118.
36   Magie (1950), 595.
37   Ibid. 593.
38   Ibid. 594, 1451-2
39   Ibid.
40   *CIL* iii. 7192-7193; *IGRom.* iv. 1194b, near Thyateira; *IGRom.* iv. 172, near Cyzicus.

structed a further road either to the valley of Lycus or through the southern Pontus to Cappadocia and another road along the lower Lycus. It seems that he also rebuilt a section of the great highway leading from Lycus through Phazimonitis to Paphlagonia and Bithynia.[41]

Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan, displayed philhellenic tendencies and he too left a profound mark on the landscape of the Greek world, and on the province of Asia in particular.[42] His two visits to Asia Minor, the first during 123-124 CE and the second in 129-131 CE, led to a series of newly founded cities within the existing Greek areas, and he left his mark on the very landscape of the province itself.[43] Hadrian's special interest in Lydia and in Aristides' birthplace, Mysia, can be deduced from the number of cities founded by this emperor, cities which subsequently bore his name.[44] The location of Stratoniceia, at the entrance to a valley that was a section of the main route north to Cyzicus, made it an attractive place for development.[45] Hadrian gave the two communities there, which already formed a sympolity and had struck coins together from the time of Trajan, the status of a polis and the new city was named after the emperor.[46] In the interior of Mysia, the foundation of three cities — Hadrianotherae, Hadrianeia, and Hadriani — was intended to further the development of the region.[47] The first of the three was situated, according to tradition, at the place where Hadrian had hunted a bear,[48] but the real reason for choosing this location was probably the natural advantages of the site.

With the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian the provinces of Asia Minor reached new heights of prosperity and brilliance.[49] One indication of this prosperity is the fact that more temples dedicated to rulers were built in the first half of the second century CE than in any other period.[50] Successful wars against Dacia, concluded in 106 CE, provided Asia Minor with new markets in the newly founded province, while the peace with Parthia in 117 CE reduced governmental expenses. Nonetheless, the prosperity of Asia Minor cannot be credited to one particular person or dynasty and deeper reasons relating to the geographical nature and connectivity of the area, most notably the fertility of Asia Minor and its position between two continents, are probably the real explanation.[51] In addition, the advance of Roman power towards the Danube and beyond provided Asia Minor with new markets for its products with the opening up of regions to the east of the peninsula, in Cappadocia-Galatia itself and to the west. The stationing of legions on the

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41   Magie (1950), 595.
42   Cf. Cass. Dio 69.5.2-3.
43   Magie (1950), 613-4, 1470-1.
44   Ibid. 616.
45   Jones (1940), 84-85; Magie (1950), 616.
46   For Hadrian's three letters to the Ἀδριανοπολῖται Στρατονικεῖς written from Rome in 127 CE see *IGRom*. iv.1156 = Robert (1948), 80f. no. 26. The name appears also in *IGRom*. iv.1159 and on coins from Hadrian onwards, B.M. *Cat. Lydia*, 286, no. 9f, and Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, 34f. no. 12f.
47   Magie (1950), 616-7.
48   SHA *Hadr*. 20.13; Cass. Dio 69.10.2.
49   Levick (2000), 612.
50   Price (1984), 57-9.
51   Levick (2000), 608, 617-18.

Danube and on the Euphrates both furnished the east Anatolian markets with stable demands for provisions, equipment and amenities and led to a long and sustained peace, providing the region with perfect conditions for economic growth.[52]

Aristides' spatial perception of his world was largely affected by a tangible connectivity among the various cities and villages he stayed in. Connectivity, as Horden and Purcell define it, consists of the various ways in which micro-regions cohere, both internally and with one another.[53] The extensive Roman road system helped the inhabitants of this region form a picture of the world.[54] Thus, in a speech on concord delivered in Pergamum, Aristides said, 'all men who live between the Pillars of Heracles and the river Phasis would rightly regard Ephesus as having a connection with them both through accessibility of their harbours and through all its other means of reception'.[55] To the Rhodians Aristides mentioned how their famous harbour connected Rhodes to Caria, Egypt, Cyprus, Phoenicia and other places, making their city a part of a network.[56] In Aristides' perception Rhodes was 'opposite to Caria'.[57] Caria, of course, lay on the coast of the mainland, but for Aristides, both cities were part of a single picture. This picture was depicted in Greek terms from within Greek culture, but there is no doubt that all this was made possible by the stability of Roman rule and its guarantee of connectivity.

Acquaintances and Friends

Aristides was born on 26 November 117 CE[58] in Mysia, in the tribal area of the Olympeni.[59] Philostratus and the *Suda*, report (probably independently) that his place of birth was Hadriani,[60] but the city was not established until 131 or 132 CE, perhaps on the occasion of Hadrian's second visit to the area.[61] Hadrian already visited the area as emperor in 123 CE with the purpose of improving its administration and it was probably then that the emperor granted Roman citizenship to Eudaimon, Aristides' father, and Aristides himself.[62] This was not an unusual occurrence as it was not uncommon for a Greek member of the civic elite of Asia Minor to have close connections with high Roman officials and to hold Roman citizenship.

Close relations between Greeks and Romans are also demonstrated by the Roman presence at Greek temples. By the second century CE the Pergamene Asclepieion was frequented by Romans as well as by Greeks, and the remodelling of the temple by

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[52]   Levick (2000), 608-11.
[53]   Horden and Purcell (2000), 123, and chap. 4.
[54]   Ibid. 128.
[55]   Aristid. *Or.* 23.24 K.
[56]   Ibid. 25.3 K.
[57]   Ibid. 25.31 K.
[58]   Behr (1994), 1141-51.
[59]   Cf. references in n. 3 and Galen, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, in H.O. Schröder (1934), *CMG* Suppl. 1, 33; Behr (1968), 162.
[60]   Philostr. *VS* 581; Suda *s.v.* Aristides; Behr (1994), 1151.
[61]   Behr (1994), 1155 n. 56; Swain (1996), 256.
[62]   The foundation of Hadrianotherae is reported in Hadrian's biography: *SHA Hadr.* 20.13, and Cass. Dio 69.10.2. For Hadriani as the administrative centre of the Olympeni, cf. Magie (1950), 1501.

Hadrian turned it into an agreeable convalescent centre for Roman patients.[63] Aristides tells us that he was invited by Asclepius to his temple in Pergamum in the summer of 145 CE and there he met Salvius, the famous consul ordinarius 148 CE, who, 'happened to be applying to the god at that time'. Salvius subsequently became a friend of Aristides.[64] While convalescing there, Asclepius ordered Aristides to have a large quantity of blood drawn from his elbow. Aristides obeyed and encountered there one of the Roman senators, L. Sedatius Theophilius, who had been commanded by the god to undergo the same procedure. Sedatius, originally from Nicaea of the lower Cilbiani and of praetorian rank,[65] befriended Aristides who terms him 'the best of men'.[66] Indeed, it was Sedatius who persuaded Aristides to comply with Asclepius' prescribed regimen. Q. Tullius Maximus was also convalescing in the Pergamene Asclepieion at that time and he too was on friendly terms with Aristides. Maximus later rose to be consul and was said by Aristides to be an excellent Latin orator.[67] There is nothing to suggest that Aristides felt alienated from his Roman acquaintances. Indeed, not only did Aristides have connections with Roman magistrates due to his civic importance, but more importantly Aristides shared with these magistrates and their like more intimate experiences of healing and worship.

Rome in Aristides' Dreams

When we turn to Aristides' dreams, as recorded in the *Sacred Tales,* we see that here, too, Rome and Roman officials are portrayed as amicable and helpful. One example of Aristides' attitude towards Roman officials can be seen in a dream from August 146 CE, when he became involved in a property dispute over the title of his Laneion Estate, bought for him by proxy while he was still in Egypt in 142 CE.[68] The dispute must have been more complicated than a simple case of expropriation, and Aristides was too sick at that time to handle such legal issues himself. While Aristides was convalescing in the Pergamene, a dream in which 'the emperor Hadrian [appeared] in the court of the temple, honouring me, who had just now became acquainted with him, and offering me great hopes'[69] inspired him to turn to his friend Rufinus for help, and he won the support of the governor who vindicated him in the assizes.[70] This dream indicates that in Aristides' mind Roman sovereignty was embodied in the figure of the emperor. Interestingly, the

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63   For the remodelling of the Asclepieion see Habicht (1969), 1-20; Radt (1988), 250-71; Hoffmann (1998), 41-61.
64   Aristid. *Or.* 48.9 K.
65   For his name: *CIG* 3937.
66   Aristid. *Or.* 48.48 K.
67   Ibid. 50.18 K. Maximus, as a legate of Legio VII Gemina Felix in Leon Spain under Antoninus Pius, left an inscription on hunting in four different metres: *CIL* ii 2660. As governor of Thrace after Marcus Aurelius became an emperor, Maximus issued a coin depicting Asclepius in his temple; see *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien* (no. 8761 = *Roman Provincial Coinage* temp. no. 8777) with Pick (1891), 63 n. 78; *PIR* 400; Behr (1968), 48.
68   Aristid. *Or.* 50.105-8 K.
69   Ibid. 50.106 K.
70   Ibid. 50.107-8 K.; Behr (1968), 56-7 suggests that the governor in question is Q. Fabius Julianus Optatianus.

emperor in the dream was Hadrian, not Antoninus Pius who was actually reigning then. This may be because Hadrian represented the ideal of a philhellenic emperor. In any case, the emperor stood for hope and justice, which is a strong indication of the level of faith Aristides had in the imperial legal system.

In another dream from 17 January 165 CE, Aristides dreamt:

> With my teacher Alexander, I approached the emperor, who sat upon a dais. When Alexander, since he was a long time friend and acquaintance, first saluted him and was saluted by him and his retinue, I approached. And when I saluted him and stood there, the emperor wondered why I did not come forward and kiss him. And I said that I was a worshipper of Asclepius, for I was content to say that much about myself. 'Therefore in addition to other things', I said, 'the god has instructed me not to kiss in this fashion'. And he replied, 'It is well'. I was silent. And he replied, 'Asclepius is better than all to worship'.[71]

It appears from this dream that Aristides felt that the Roman emperor appreciated both his religious habits and his Greek culture. The emperor is presented as a personal acquaintance of Alexander, who was the teacher of young Aristides, and this signifies his approval of Aristides' own vocation. This view of the emperor Marcus Aurelius well suits the philhellenic disposition of a Roman emperor who studied philosophy, wrote Greek, and wore a beard. Furthermore, the alleged opportunity granted to Aristides to discuss his religious habits and beliefs freely with his Roman sovereign was a privilege that only a select few in the Roman world enjoyed. This dream portrays an educated Greek who was by no means alienated from his Roman sovereign. Indeed, less than two weeks later, Aristides dreamt:

> I prayed to the gods, some things in common to those whom I am wont to pray, and again privately to Zeus and Ares, and the gods who hold Syria. And the habitations there appeared nearly the same as those at home. And after this, there was a procession to the emperor. But I took part in the procession to the emperor, who was then in Syria. And it turned out well.[72]

The date of the dream, 28 January 165 CE, suggests that the dream refers to both reigning emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The first emperor in the dream is Marcus Aurelius and the second was Lucius Verus, who was in Syria at that time, campaigning in the east. Two interesting issues emerge from this dream. The first is the proximity in Aristides' mind between the gods and the Roman emperors, and the second, which we learn from Aristides' final words, 'and it turned out well', is that Aristides identified the success of the Roman army with his own well being.

During the following week, 4 February 165 CE, Aristides dreamt:

> Antoninus, the elder emperor, and the king of our enemies made a treaty of peace and friendship with one another. Vologases' retinue talked not a little as they advanced, and they seemed to speak Greek. Next they both came to me in their royal trappings. And Antoninus was well in his prime, and the other somewhat imposing to look upon. He sat not far from me, and on the other side, upon the throne, Antoninus. And the Mede seemed to me to have some experience in medical affairs. And greeting me, he said 'When are you

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[71]   Aristid. *Or.* 47. 23 K.
[72]   Ibid.

going to read to us?' And I was pleased by his remark and said, 'Whenever you two bid me'. And they prepared to listen, but I went off to select some of my writings. And I decided to compose hastily a prologue for them, and it went somehow so — in my dream I recalled the whole composition, but this alone I have preserved: 'Now somebody who wished to indicate his pleasure, when some good thing happened to him, said, "that he was more than doubled with joy"; and somebody else, "that he seemed to be in the Isles of the Blest". And such are also my feelings through the good fortune of the present day'. And at the same time I considered whether it were fitting to share the speech between them, or to give the greater portion to our emperor, and next deal with that for the other party. I spoke somewhat as follows: 'therefore', I said, 'if I had not been trained in divine visions, I think that I would not easily endure this spectacle, so wonderful does it seem to me and greater than man's estate'. I said 'divine vision', especially indicating Asclepius and Sarapis. So much for that. Meanwhile I judged it proper to select one of my writings. Next I decided to bring in the casket and permit them to take whatever they wished. For this otherwise had a certain charm, and at the same time thus especially astounded them.[73]

Aristides' dream bears clear traces of recent political events, since the Romans and the Parthians had been engaged in war since 161 CE. Interestingly, Aristides refers to the Parthians as 'our enemies' and to the Roman emperor as 'our emperor'. This theme of being a part of Rome is further developed when Aristides describes the Parthians' appearance. The Parthian king is described as 'somewhat imposing to look at', surely because he looks different, an 'other'.

In addition, Aristides seems to have taken for granted the support of these two regal figures for his religious habits, and also the universality of his Greek language. A week later, on 14 February, he dreamt:

I was staying in the palace, and the care and honour of the emperors towards me was marvellous and unsurpassable in all the various things which I was doing. For I alone was granted everything, and no one else had even a small part in these honours. And in this way I passed my time within and shared their lodgings, and none of those fearsome sophists were present. Later they took me along on a tour. They went off to inspect some draining ditch, which they happened to be putting about the city, to prevent the inundation of the river from causing harm. I also saw the excavation of this ditch taking place. They acted marvellously towards me during the trip. For many times I was between the two of them, and whenever I wished to go to one side so that the elder stood in the middle, the younger himself did this. And I remained always in the same place. He also seemed to have the age of a boy. And this happened many times. And when, as it were, a ladder must be placed at some steep point, first the younger one assisted me up, and I exclaimed how grateful I was. Next above at the end of the ladder, the elder emperor assisted me. And when he asked, 'How did he help?', I said, 'In all and everything'. And after this, desiring to leave, I now spoke: 'I thank you,' I said, 'O emperors, for your providence and honour which you have paid me'. But they said in reply 'We then thank the gods to have known such a man. For we also believe him to be an equally capable orator'. And after this, the elder emperor began to say that it was an attribute of the same man to be morally good and a good speaker. The younger continued with the saying of someone that 'words follow character'. And I said that, 'I wished that this were so. For it would profit me in speaking,

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73   Ibid. 47.36-39 K.

if indeed in other things I am so regarded by you and if at the same time I would have two goods instead of one'. I answered them somewhat in this manner.[74]

On 7 February 166 CE Aristides dreamt that, 'the governor sent me a letter and addressed me so: "Greetings to Aristides the priest"'.[75] The dream does not make explicit what kind of priest Aristides is said to be, but the context suggests that he is a priest of Asclepius. A second option, according to which Aristides is a priest of the ruler cult, is less likely, because we know that Aristides actively avoided taking on such a position only a few years earlier, and we have no reason to believe that he had changed his attitude. Either way, it appears that the dreaming Aristides saw Rome and its symbols of power as positive and amicable.

The *Sacred Tales* were not written as propaganda and their form suggests that the dreams recorded in them were genuine. The agreeable images of the Roman emperors found in this work are consequently much more revealing of Aristides' attitude towards Rome and her emperors than are his speeches, particularly the *Roman Oration* (below, 104-105). In his dreams Aristides depicts Roman emperors as figures who respect him, his vocation and skills, and Greek culture in general. Further evidence of this is found in a dream of late summer 170 CE. Aristides took a trip to Cyzicus to participate in the Cyzicene Olympiad; he also wanted to appear before the assizes that were held in Cyzicus at the same time.[76] At the previous Olympiad four years earlier, Aristides had delivered an oration, *The Panegyric to Cyzicus, Concerning the Temple* (*Or.* 27.1-4 K), but this time he did not make any public speech and limited his talks to a small circle of the city's prominent figures.[77] Before returning home, Aristides asked the god for a sign as to whether he should stay on in the city. The god did not disappoint him and sent Aristides a dream:

> I dreamt that I was looking for an opportunity of approaching the emperor, and that while he was sacrificing I happened to be lying down. When the gasping cock came near my hands, I grabbed it and regarded it as an omen, and as I held it in my hands, I began my address. And all of this was inspired by the Homeric passage when Odysseus, having filled his cup, addresses and speaks to Achilles. But the words ran somewhat as follows: 'For the good of the emperor, for the good also of both emperors, as even for all of us'. He marvelled; and when he had tested my rhetoric, he said that he valued it in any price, and added 'Would that there was also an audience of about fifty present at this speech'. And I said in reply 'If you wish, emperor, there will also be an audience and', I said, 'so that you may marvel, these things which you now say have been foretold to me by Asclepius.' And I was prepared to show him what had been written down. After this, he turned away somewhere, and I considered that this was the best occasion for the rhetorical display. After this I dreamt that I was walking towards Cyzicus.[78]

This dream, as well as those cited above, demonstrates that in Aristides' eyes the emperor represented an amicable and lawful Roman sovereignty. In his dream the emperor

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[74]   Ibid. 47.46-49 K.
[75]   Ibid. 47.41 K.
[76]   Ibid. 51.43 K. Assizes may be indicated by the lawsuits of *Or.* 51.43 K and the presence of the governor's staff, ibid. 51.46 K; Behr (1968), 108.
[77]   Behr, ibid.
[78]   Aristid. *Or.* 51.44-5 K.

is familiar with Greek culture and appreciates rhetoric and does not represent an alien authority.

The Roman Oration

Aristides' conception of the Roman world, as influenced by his own social and political reality, is also revealed in his *Roman Oration*. The οἰκουμένη of the *Roman Oration* simply means the geographic space of the Roman *imperium*.[79] The city of Rome was fortunate to contain 'all the crops of the seasons and the produce of each land, river, lake, as well as of the arts of the Greeks and barbarians.' The city, then, bears all that is to be found in the οἰκουμένη.[80] The limits of the Roman Empire are the boundaries of the οἰκουμένη, but this is not to say that the two are synonymous. In fact, Aristides made it quite clear that the οἰκουμένη predated the Roman Empire, since he expresses gratitude to Rome for bringing peace, tranquillity and concord to the οἰκουμένη; these qualities were lacking in the οἰκουμένη which existed prior to the establishment of Roman rule.[81] The οἰκουμένη, a creation of Zeus, was designed for the dwelling of humans, and Aristides presents contemporary Rome in a similar fashion. At the beginning of his encomium, Aristides describes the (Mediterranean) sea, which lies at the centre of the οἰκουμένη like a girdle (ὥσπερ ζώνη), thus indicating the natural qualities of the οἰκουμένη that have made it into a single, cohesive unit, not one which is man-made.[82] The very same image was used by Aristides of the Aegean Sea,[83] in a speech delivered in the city of Delos, and the two claims agree with one another both in form and in content, for in both speeches the Mediterranean Sea is depicted as the centre of the οἰκουμένη having the civilised world conglomerating around it. Towards the end of the *Roman Oration* Aristides returned to the nature of the οἰκουμένη and proclaimed it to be god's creation: Ζεὺς μέν, ὅτι αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης καλοῦ, φασίν, ἔργου καλῶς ἐπιμέλεσθε.[84] As has been noted many times before, the *Roman Oration* lies well within the compass of Greek *paideia*, and does not mention even a single Roman name or source, and this is true of its geography as well. Unlike some of his Greek contemporary *pepaideumenoi*, Aristides seemed happy to accommodate a Greek identity alongside his Roman citizenship and sympathy toward the Roman Empire.[85] Moreover, Rome, so he thought, was there to

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79   E.g. Ibid. 26. 9, 10, 16, 29, 33, 36, 59, 61, 81, 85, 86, 97 K.
80   Ibid. 26.11 K.
81   Ibid. 26.98 K.
82   ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν θάλαττα ὥσπερ ζώνη τις ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἡγεμονίας τέταται. Ibid. 26.10 K.
83   Ibid. 44.2-3 K.
84   Ibid. 26.105 K.
85   The attitude of the Greek *pepaideumenoi* toward Rome was the subject of the studies of Palm (1959) and Swain (1996). Though none of the Greek authors discussed by both Palm and Swain (Dion. Hal.; Dio.Chr.; Plut.; Aristid.; Poll.; Paus.; Gal.; App.; Philostr.; Cass. Dio; Hdn.) was actively opposed to Rome, their attitude varied. Dio of Prusa, for example, perhaps because of his own biography, was much more attentive to the particular personality of the Roman emperor, thus distinguishing between good emperors (Nerva and Trajan) and a bad one (Domitian).

stay.[86] The *Roman Oration* was delivered in Rome at the zenith of Aristides' career, perhaps in the presence of the imperial household itself.[87] While the sincerity of Aristides in this speech has been questioned, it need not concern us here. We might not agree with James Oliver on the extent to which Aristides did indeed see the Roman Empire as embodying heavenly order, and envisaged Rome as Eros with the Roman emperor as the demiurge, under the heavy influence of Platonic cosmogony.[88] The circumstances under which the speech was delivered imposed strict censorship and for a comprehensive appreciation of Aristides' view of Rome one must consult his work as a whole. Nonetheless, in matters relating to geography and the perception of space, we can find no discrepancy between the *Roman Oration* and the rest of Aristides' work, either in the shape of his argument or its contents.

In sum, an analysis of Aristides' relationships with acquaintances and friends, his dreams and his public speeches indicates that, like Polybius, Posidonius and Strabo before him, Aristides identified the realm of the *Imperium Romanum* with that covered by the Greek notion of the οἰκουμένη. The Roman world of Aristides was friendly towards him, and valued his culture, his religious practices and beliefs, and his social status. Aristides' Greek-oriented perception of space expressed unity of space alongside continuity across time, and this perception was particularly apparent in his view of Rome and its impact on the Greek world. His attitude towards Rome was to a large extent one of appreciation and anti-Roman sentiment is nowhere to be found in Aristides' work.[89]

Religion as an Organising Mechanism of Space: The Case of Asclepius

The world of Aristides was also mapped by religion. It is not uncommon for geographical language to be employed when discussing the history of religion.[90] Religious geography relates both to holy places and to the routes which lead to and adjoin them.[91] Aristides' *Sacred Tales* record many instances of such religious journeys, which were usually motivated by a divine exhortation or by Aristides' desire to worship in a particular place.[92] Aristides was not exceptional in this respect. Graeco-Roman theology and religious habits encouraged pilgrimages and religious travel because its various gods were associated with particular places. Hence Graeco-Roman pilgrimage can usually be explained by the devotee's desire to worship a particular deity, as in the case of Aristides' wish to worship Asclepius. Aristides' (unsuccessful) expedition to Chios is one such religiously-motivated journey.[93] The religious significance of the journey, as well as the landscape both en route and in the environs of the temple, is underlined by Aristides'

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[86] Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 26.92-106 K, and *passim*.
[87] Suggested by Swain (1996), 275.
[88] Thus Oliver (1953). This view was criticised by Philips (1954), 128-9; Vittinghoff (1957), 74-6; Vannier (1976), 501; Klein (1981), 165-6; Swain (1996), 275.
[89] Palm (1959), 56-61.
[90] Horden and Purcell (2000), 403.
[91] Ibid. 404.
[92] Pestalis-Diomidis (2005), 186. For the importance of place in Graeco-Roman pilgrimage see: Smith (1987).
[93] Aristid. *Or.* 48.11-23 K. For this pilgrimage see Rutherford (1999), 133-48.

use of mythical narratives.[94] Thus both places associated with Asclepius' birth, Epidaurus and Thelpoussa (in Arcadia), displayed landmarks which were also part of the mythical tradition. At Epidaurus, the landmark was Mount Myrtion, which is clearly visible from the Asclepieion. The mountain was renamed Titthion (Nipple), recalling that Asclepius had been suckled by a goat there. In Thelpoussa, it was the tomb of Trygon, the rival human nurse of the divine baby, which linked landscape and myth.[95]

If Greek mythology and theogony were indeed significant forces in shaping Aristides' perception of space and image of his world, it is worthwhile to examine how this was achieved and to describe the picture that emerges. Focusing on Asclepius, we find that Homer makes him a native of Tricca, a claim repeated by Strabo, Hyginus, and Eusebius.[96] Others ascribed Asclepius' origin to various places in Thessaly,[97] Messenia,[98] Arcadia,[99] and Epidaurus.[100] The myths of Asclepius the hero and later Asclepius the god relate that his mother, named either Coronis or Arsinoë, was of human descent, thus associating Asclepius' origin with Greece both literally and allegorically.[101] Asclepius was then taught the art of medicine by Chiron, who lived on Mount Pelion, so that once again his myth is associated with a region.[102] Festivals and games dedicated to Asclepius were regularly held in Epidaurus,[103] Athens,[104] Cos,[105] Pergamum,[106] Lampsacus,[107] Ephesus,[108] and Italy.[109] Images of Asclepius in sanctuaries dedicated to him were found in Athens,[110] Aegina,[111] and Epidaurus where the statue of Asclepius was considered by some as one of the world's seven wonders.[112] Other sites where Asclepius was

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[94]   Pestalis-Diomidis (2005), 187.
[95]   Paus. 2.26.3-7; 8.25.11.
[96]   Hom. *Il.* 2.729-731; Str. 14.1.39; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.21; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 3.4.6.
[97]   *h.Hom.* 16.1-3; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.616-7.
[98]   Paus. 2.26.7.
[99]   Ibid. 8.25.11.
[100] *IG* iv², i. no. 128; iv, 48-50; Paus. 2.26.4; Placidus, 3.398.
[101] Coronis: Hes. *Fr.* 122, 123; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.25, 59; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.40; Paus. 2.26.6; Serv. 6.618; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.611-17; Diod. Sic. 5.74.6; Eust. *Il.* 2.729; *h.Hom.* 16, 1-5; *IG* iv², i. no. 128, iv, 48-50; *h.Hom.* 3.207-13; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.14, 15. Arsinoë: Paus. 2.26.7; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.14; Paus. 3.26.4; 4.3.1-2; Cic. *Div.* 3.22.57.
[102] Hom. *Il.* 4.218-9; Pind. *Nem.* 54-56; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3.92; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.9, 79, 102b; Xen. *Cyn.* 1.1-6; Philostr. *Her.* 9; Anonymus, *Vita Sophoclis*, 11 (ed. Pearson); Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.40; Heraclit. *Quaest. Hom.* 15; Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea, 291 (ed. Eyssenhardt); Justinus, Minge, *PG* 6.23.
[103] Pind. *Nem.* 5.95-97; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5.94b, 96, 147; Pl. *Ion*, 530a; *IG* iv², 1, nos. 41, 47.
[104] Aeschin. *Or.* 3.66-7; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.4; Paus. 2.26.8; Philostr. *VA* 4.18.
[105] Hippoc. *Ep.* 11.
[106] Lucian, *Icar.* 24; Aristid. *Or.* 47.6, 48.74 K.
[107] *CIG* ii Add. No. 3641b.
[108] *Inscriptio Ephesia* [Österreichische Jahreshefte, VIII, 1905, 128].
[109] Arn. *Adv. nat.* 7.32; Poll. *Onom.* 1.37.
[110] Paus. 1.21.4.
[111] Ibid. 2.30.1.
[112] Anonymus, *De incredibilibus*, 2, 89, 6-9 (ed. Festa). Other descriptions of the statue of Asclepius in Epidaurus and his temple are: Paus. 2.27.2; 2.29.1; 5.11.11; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.52.4.

worshipped include Laconia,[113] Tricca,[114] Epirus,[115] Naupactus,[116] Phocis,[117] Laconia,[118] Messenia,[119] Attica,[120] Argolid,[121] Messenia,[122] Megalopolis in Arcadia,[123] Elis,[124] Pellene in Achaia,[125] the islands of Thasus, Euboea, Delos, Crete, Paros, Anaphe, Rhodes, and Cos.[126] The cities of Asia Minor had also been the home of many *Asclepieia*; we have testimonies for their existence in Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Cilicia, Media, and Scythia.[127] Phoenicia, Africa, Spain, Italy, and, of course, Rome, too, had their temples of Asclepius.[128] This catalogue of the widespread cult of Asclepius indicates that the world of Aristides was also a meaningful space from a religious standpoint.

Genealogies of the gods were a common scholarly quest and a familiar literary genre in the ancient world. Pausanias, for example, a contemporary of Aristides, argued that there was good evidence that Asclepius was born in Epidaurus:

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[113] Paus. 3.23.10.

[114] Str. 8.4.4, 9.5.17.

[115] Polyb. 21.27.2.

[116] Ibid. 10.38.13.

[117] Ibid. 10.32.12, 4.4-6.

[118] Ibid. 3.22.9-13, 23.6-10, 24.5

[119] Str. 8.4.4; Paus. 4.31.10, 34.6, 36.7.

[120] *IG* ii², nos. 4960a, 4969; Ar. *Plut.* 620-1; Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 621; Xen. *Mem.* 3.13.3.; Plin. *HN* 2.103 (106), 225; Paus. 1.21.4-5, 22.1; Lucian, *Pisc.* 42; Marin. *Proc.* Cp. 29; Ael. *VH* 5. 17, *NA* 7.13; Philostr. *Ep.* 8; Ar. *Vesp.* 122-3.

[121] Str. 8.6.15; Plin. *HN* 4.5 (9).18; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 6, 1; Solin. Cp. 7.10; Paus. 2.2.3, 10.2-3, 11.5-7, 27.1-7, 29.1; Diod. Sic. 38.7; Plut. *Pomp.* 24.6

[122] Paus. 4.31.10, 36.7.

[123] Ibid. 8.21.1, 21.4, 54.5.

[124] Ibid. 5.20.3, 26.2.

[125] Str. 8.7.4; Paus. 7.21.14, 23.7, 27.11.

[126] Thasus: *IG* xii 8, no. 265; Euboea: *IG* ix 9, no. 194; Delos: *IG* xi, no. 119; Anaphe: *IG* xii 3, no. 248; Crete: *IC* i 17, no. 21, Philostr. *VA* 4.34; Rhodes: Diod. Sic. 19.45.4; Cos: Str. 14.2.19, Plin. *HN* 20, 24 (100).264.29.1.(2).4, Val. Max. 1.1.19, Tac. *Ann.* 4.14.1-2, 12.61.1-2.

[127] Bithynia: Paus. 3.3.8; Mysia: Polyb. 32.15.1; Paus. 2.26.8; Gal. [2, 224-25 K]; Aristid. *Or.* 39, 48.30, 50.1-18, 53.1-5 K.; App. *B Civ.* 12.23; 12.60; Tac. *Ann.* 3.63.2; Lydia: Paus. 7.5.9; Aristid. *Or.* 47.17 K.; Caria: Vitr. 7. *Praef.* 12; Cilicia: Philostr. *VA* 1.7; Lib. *Or.* 30.39; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.56; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 2.5; Zonar. 13, 12c-d; Media: Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.5-6; Scythia: Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄγιον.

[128] Phoenicia: Str. 16.2.22, Schol. Caesaris Germanici, Aratea, 173, Philo Byblius, *Fr.* 2.20 [Müler], Dam. *Isid.* 302; Africa: Egypt: Amm. Marc. 22.14.7; Epiphanius, *De XII Gemnis*, 32, Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.134, Tac. *Hist.* 4.84.5; Cyrene, Tac. *Ann.* 14.18.1; Carthage: Liv. 41.22.2, 42.24.3, Str. 17.3.14, App. *B Civ.* 8.130-1, Cass. Dio, 21, *Fr.* 71 = Zonar. 9.30, Apul. *Flor.* 18; Spain: Polyb. 10.10.8; Italy: Sicily: Polyb. 1.18.2, Cic. *Verr.* 4.43.93, Polyaenus, *Strat.* 5.2.19; Southern Italy: Iamb. *VP* 27. 126, Jul. *Gal.* 200b, Liv. 43.4.7; Rome: Str. 12.5.3, Liv. *Perioch.* 11, Liv. 29.11.1, Val. Max. 1.8.2, Anonymus, *De Viris Illustribus*, 22.1-3, Ov. *Met.* 15.622-744, Claud. *Stil.* 3.171-3, Arn. *Adv. nat.* 7.44-48, Aug. *Civ. Dei.* 3.17, Ov. *Fast.* 1.290-4, Plin. *HN* 29.1(8).16, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.13.4; Suet. *Claud.* 25.2, Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 1.7.12, Cass. Dio 47.2.3, Varro, *Ling.* 7.57, Suet. *Aug.* 59. See also the discussion in Graf (1994).

I find that the most famous sanctuaries of Asclepius had their origin from Epidaurus. In the first place, the Athenians, who say that they gave a share of their mystic rites to Asclepius, call the day (of the festival) Epidauria, and they allege that their worship of Asclepius dates from then. Again, when Archias, son of Aristaechmus, was healed in Epidauria after spraining himself while hunting about Pindasus, he brought the cult to Pergamum. From the one at Pergamum has been built in our day the sanctuary of Asclepius by the sea of Smyrna.[129] Further, at Balagrae of the Cyreneans there is an Asclepius called Healer, who like the others came from Epidaurus. From the one at Cyrene was founded the sanctuary of Asclepius at Lebene, in Crete.[130]

Such genealogies, inscribed in geographical space as well as shaped and preserved by it, were powerful tools in mapping the world of Aristides. They gave his picture of the world a meaningful centre (the god's place of origin) and a periphery. Aristides' choice of religion as an organizing mechanism of space was, in essence, also a choice of Greek over Roman, for he used Greek myths to depict his world and Greek temples to conduct his worship, and he cast his religious expeditions in a Greek mould or typology.

Conclusion

It is evident from this investigation into Aristides' perception of his world that space was significant to him in various ways. As a Greek, he depicted the world he was living in as the whole οἰκουμένη, using Greek notions from within his Greek perspective. He also defined the same space using quite a different set of concepts, that of the jurisdiction subject to the *Roman Imperium*, which is a definition that makes sense within the Roman juridical system and discourse of power. A third semantic field was drawn for Aristides by his religious cult and beliefs. In each of these areas Aristides mapped his world differently, assigning different meanings to the same geographical objects, and using different methods to mark boundaries and to distinguish centre from periphery. Even though he envisaged a similar picture of the world and its limits as a Greek, as a Roman subject, and as a devotee of Asclepius and other pagan cults, these pictures varied in meaning and in methods of creation.

Aristides was able to share this terminology and taxonomy with his Roman sovereigns because many of the essential aspects of the region — such as the crucial place of the Mediterranean Sea, the high level of connectivity and the geo-political situation — allowed it. Moreover, Aristides was fortunate to have a sovereign who was fairly familiar with his (Greek) culture and well-disposed towards it, and this allowed him to construct images of the world other than those prescribed by authority. He had a picture of the world as a Greek because he did not see himself as a Roman. This picture, though varied in meaning, was nonetheless identical in its outline to the picture of the Roman Empire. Hence, the boundaries of Aristides' 'world(s)' stayed intact whether drawn in Greek or in Latin. In sum, while Aristides articulated his perception of space in Greek, using notions and *exempla* borrowed from classical Greek literature, it was possible for him to do so only because the Roman world did not consider such an approach to be subversive (or absurd).

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[129]   Aristid. *Or.* 47.17 K also mentions the construction of an Asclepieion in Smyrna.
[130]   Paus. 2.26.8-9 (translation adapted from Jones, *LCL*).

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