discuss stroke and facial palsy in a wide range of Babylonian texts. There are also contributions on women's medicines in ancient Jewish sources (John M Riddle) and on Hittite rituals against disease (Volkert Haas), and several more specific studies of demons and other divine powers associated with health and disease. If there is a query, it is, perhaps, that the authors seem to be taking too much for granted—for example, they seem to assume a more or less static picture for the whole of Babylonia (one contribution speaks of "the complex Mesopotamian system of healing the sick person", p. 120) and leave little room for geographical or chronological variation. There is also frequent use of terms without specific definition, as in the talk about "the medical texts" (which are they? What makes a text "medical"? How were they produced and meant to be used?), "technical language" (what levels of technicality can be distinguished? How did technical terminology develop?), "doctors" (what kind of healers?), as well as a readiness—perhaps too eager—to identify conditions in terms such as "malaria" or "stroke". Related to this is the fact that the volume, in spite of its intention to contribute to opening up the subject to a wider circle, is still somewhat esoteric in presentation—for instance, it does not offer a list of abbreviations of the main reference works (*AMT, BAM*, etc.)—although for most quotations English translations are provided. These are minor quibbles, but they are of some importance when it comes to connecting Assyriology with medical history. Of course, one has to start somewhere, and this volume is an important step forward. One hopes that it will contribute to an even greater interest being taken in the world of Babylonian medicine. The volume concludes with a useful general index, though specialists may regret the absence of an index of texts and passages discussed.

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Jürgen W Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte*, 2 vols, Heidelberg, Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2005, vol. 1, pp. 392, vol. 2, pp. 508, illus., €135.00 (hardback 3-935289-30-8).

For the last sixty years, the study of the Asclepius cult has been dominated by one book, *Asclepius*, by Emma J Edelstein and Ludwig Edelstein. First published in 1945, it collected into a single volume all the literary testimony from Antiquity, and a selection of the epigraphic evidence, mainly the cure inscriptions from Epidaurus, Rome, Lebena and elsewhere. These texts were edited to sound philological standards, and translated into accurate English. A second, much smaller, volume, written by Ludwig Edelstein himself, contained the Edelsteins' conclusions about the growth and development of the cult. A paperback edition in 1998, with a foreword by Gary Ferngren, added some new bibliographical information, but kept the general outlines of the original work. Although some of the Edelsteins' theses have been rightly challenged, for example, the notion that the cult arose from the heroization of a doctor, most scholars have continued to repeat their conclusions, and, in particular, to rely for their own work on the material so patiently assembled by the Edelsteins. It is, indeed, a classic work, and not entirely superseded by these two hefty German volumes.

Although a few reviewers pointed out some major flaws, their comments were usually disregarded by subsequent scholars. In particular, as the Edelsteins themselves admitted, their collection of evidence deliberately excluded most inscriptions, and all coins, artefacts, and archaeological evidence. For that one had to seek out Eduard Thraemer's old article in Pauly–Wissowa (1896, s.v. Asklepios), and the even older book by F R Walton (1894), and few made the effort. Alessandra Semeria in 1986 provided a census of Asclepieia in southern Greece, but this represented only a beginning, and a far

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from accurate one at that. The volumes of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* from 1984 onwards published wonderful photographs and discussions of the iconography of Asclepius and his family, but few medical historians made use of them. But, above all, the progress of archaeology, and discoveries made around the Classical world, from Maryport in Cumbria to the Upper Nile, have fundamentally altered the picture offered by the Edelsteins.

Jürgen Riethmüller is a classical archaeologist with an interest in iconography, and his two massive volumes offer a totally new starting point. Of greatest value is the list of sites and objects region by region that occupies volume 2. He lists evidence from 732 sites, mostly from Greece, Asia Minor and Italy, but with important outliers in Spain, North Africa and Egypt. Each site is given a substantial bibliography, with the more important discussions carefully marked. Even those unfamiliar with German can profit from these near exhaustive bibliographies, and these entries totally supersede the Edelsteins' discussion of the spread of the cult. The volume also contains maps of cult sites, some plans, and photographs of some familiar and also less familiar sites, concentrating on the earliest datable ones.

Volume I contains a massive discussion of the archaeological and architectural development of several sites, principally Athens, Epidaurus, Lebena and Pergamum. For some of the smaller, but no less interesting ones, notably Trikka and Messene, one must refer to shorter expositions earlier in the volume. Riethmüller discusses a range of building types that made up the shrines of Asclepius, mainly erected outside the city, as well as the evidence for trees, sacred groves and sacred springs. Although he is happy to accept the importance of Epidaurus as a model for fourth and third century BC shrines, he is scrupulous about asserting direct derivation. Any doubts one might have of the value of coins and sculpture in establishing the existence of a cult site are removed by the demonstration of a considerable overlap between this type of evidence and that of inscriptions and literary testimony. There are three indexes, of sites, proper names, and topics, which facilitate consultation.

Riethmüller's conclusions, based on this enormous mass of data, challenge those of the Edelsteins in many ways. While acknowledging an origin for the cult in Thessaly, and probably Tricca, he argues that its spread in the Peloponnese and other Dorian regions before 500 involved some assimilation, or takeover, of existing local healing cults. Hence the strong local traditions of an Arcadian Asclepius, a Messenian Asclepius, and even an Epidaurian Asclepius. He rejects the story of Epidaurian links with the birth of Asclepius put forward by the local poet, Isyllus of Epidaurus, on whom see now the 2003 study by Antje Kolde. Asclepius is a latecomer, true, but he does not always push aside earlier cults. There is a boom in the foundation of temples after 420 BC, perhaps associated with Epidaurian (and Athenian?) propaganda, but the evidence for an earlier cult is more substantial than the Edelsteins supposed.

Riethmüller also argues strongly against them that Asclepius was not a heroization of the doctor. Rather the evidence points to a local hero-cult, perhaps linked to a chthonic deity, and one that, as it spread, assimilated itself to other local cults. Its popularity in Egypt and North Africa is convincingly shown to rest on parallels with local healing cults. Areas like Gaul, Britain and Germany, where Asclepius cult is relatively rare, also preserve many of their own local cults, for example, the Matres Sequanae, Sulis, Coventina, or Apollo Grannus. Recent archaeological discoveries at the Danube fort of Novae and at Chester also demonstrate the importance of the Roman army in spreading this Mediterranean cult to the outer limits of the Roman Empire.

Nevertheless, for all their many virtues, these volumes do not supersede those of the Edelsteins entirely. As the author himself admits, they are complementary, and for literary and for some epigraphic sources it will be easier to use *Asclepius*. But for almost

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everything else, and for their bibliographies, these volumes should now be the starting point for future research.

Where so much is offered, it would be foolish to complain that this or that item has been omitted from the bibliography, especially as in the last decade a whole generation of younger scholars has shown new ways of approaching healing cults that transcend the somewhat static picture given here. Much can be found in the journal *Kernos*, whose bibliographies show just how much of a hot topic this whole area has become. But one major source continues to escape notice. The fragments of Galen's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath* contain much important information on Asclepius and his family, and on the cult at Pergamum, but because they are preserved only in Arabic, albeit accompanied by an English translation, they have never been cited in modern studies of Asclepius cult. They may be found, edited by Franz Rosenthal, in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 1956, **30**: 52–87, and reprinted in Rosenthal's *Science and medicine in Islam*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1990.

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Anne-Marie Doyen-Higuet, *L'Epitomé de la collection d'hippiatrie grecque: histoire du texte, édition critique, traduction et notes*, tome 1, publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 54, Louvain-La-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 2006, pp. 242 (paperback and CD 978-90-429-1577-0). Orders to: Peeters, Bondgenotenlaan 153, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium.

Horses were domesticated some 5,000 years ago and since then have been the constant companions of humans. Their widespread use in military operations, agricultural work and leisure meant that an interest in their health developed and subsequently veterinary works on this special subject were produced. The book at hand is devoted to one of these texts, the *Epitome* (of the *Hippiatrica*).

In order to understand the scope of this work it is essential to give a brief overview of the texts examined here. The main horse medicine text is the collection known as *Hippiatrica*, a fifth- to sixth-century compilation of excerpts from seven late imperial authors; it is preserved in five redactions in twenty-two manuscripts reflecting the changes that the text underwent after its compilation (see Anne McCabe, *A Byzantine encyclopaedia of horse medicine: the sources, compilation, and transmission of the Hippiatrica*, Oxford, 2007). Some time after the tenth and before the thirteenth century another compilation was made based on the text of the *Hippiatrica*: it is conventionally called the *Epitome*, as it is to a large extent a summary of the original in some forty odd chapters. It survives in eight manuscripts (preserving ten witnesses to the text) and underwent five significant stages of reshaping, which included quite important changes. As a living text, which "eludes the classical laws of stemmatics" it was an influential text that was used by Byzantine veterinarians. Compared to the *Hippiatrica* it is concise and practical, organized around headings on each disease followed by a small number of recipes. This is the text discussed in the present volume.

Anne-Marie Doyen-Higuet has been working on horse medicine texts for over twenty-five years. Her five volume PhD thesis on the *Epitome* was completed in 1983; in 1984 she published a very useful outline of all known hippiatric texts in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1984, **38**: 111–20, followed by a gap of almost twenty years, only to restart publishing on the topic in 2001.

This volume (the first of three) is a vast prolegomena to the edition of the *Epitome* (never published before, which will appear in the second volume, followed by a French translation with commentary on the third). In 240 printed pages (and another 407 pages in PDF form on the accompanying CD Rom)

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