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# SCRIPTA CLASSICA ISRAELICA

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
ROBERT A. KASTER, Cicero's Economy of Praise .....	1
EVA ANAGNOSTOU-LAOUTIDES AND BART VAN WASSENHOVE, Drunkenness and Philosophical Enthusiasm in Seneca's <i>De Tranquillitate Animi</i> .....	15
FAYAH HAUSSKER, Plut. <i>Them.</i> 10.5: Generosity and Greek Public Education in Historical Memory .....	35
CARLO DELLE DONNE, Time and Time-Before-Time: An Ancient Puzzle .....	55
MERON PIOTRKOWSKI, On the Origin of the Jewish Historian Artapanus .....	73
RIVKA GERSHT, The Caesarea Maritima Asklepios and the Question of Glykon .....	85
MAREN R. NIEHOFF, From the "Theater of the World" to the "Mask of Christ" — and Back Again: Insights from Origen's Newly Discovered Homilies on Psalms .....	117
NOGA EREZ-YODFAT, The Inscribed Gold <i>Lamellae</i> from Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Evidence .....	137
EMMANUEL NANTET, The Public Boats of Olbia: Warships or State Merchantmen? .....	149
REVIEW ARTICLES	
DAVID F. GRAF, A Major Catalogue of Toponyms for the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods .....	163
GUY D. STIEBEL, What Have the Romans Ever Done for Us? .....	175
BOOK REVIEWS	
Hallvard Fossheim, Vigdis Songe-Møller and Knut Ågotnes (eds.), <i>Philosophy as Drama: Plato's Thinking through Dialogue</i> (by Ivor Ludlam) .....	183
Lisa Maurice, <i>Screening Divinity</i> (by Adele Reinhartz) .....	186
Altay Coşkun and David Engels (eds.), <i>Rome and the Seleukid East: Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V, Brussels, 21-23 August 2015</i> (by Joshua Schwartz) .....	189
J. Alison Rosenblitt, <i>Rome after Sulla</i> (by Alexander Yakobson) .....	191
Miriam T. Griffin, <i>Politics and Philosophy at Rome. Collected Papers</i> (by Joseph Geiger) .....	194
Katelijn Vandorpe (ed.), <i>A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt</i> (by Haggai Olshanetsky) .....	197
OBITUARIES: DAVID GOLAN (by Ephraim David) .....	
FERGUS MILLAR (by Hannah M. Cotton) .....	201
LISA ULLMANN (by Jonathan Price) .....	204
LISA ULLMANN (by Jonathan Price) .....	207
DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS .....	
PROCEEDINGS: THE ISRAEL SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF CLASSICAL STUDIES .....	211
	215

## The Caesarea Maritima Asklepios and the Question of Glykon

Rivka Gersht

*Abstract:* The resemblance of the small marble head of Asklepios uncovered in Caesarea in 2015 to the portrait of Asklepios holding an egg from Nea Paphos brought me into the dispute concerning the significance of the egg held by the god in many of his images. The evidence examined made it clear that (a) any attempt to link the egg in Asklepios' hand with Glykon's epiphany and cult is incorrect; (b) the interpretation of the egg as a symbol of the universe was not in the mind of the sculptor who first put an egg in the hands of Asklepios and Hygieia; (c) the egg is nothing but the serpent's diet; (d) although Glykon was another aspect of the healing god he was never shown in Asklepios' guise; (e) and that in inscriptions — including those accompanying images of Asklepios serving an egg to his serpent — the god of medicine is associated with other deities than Glykon.

Among the Caesarea types of Asklepios — discussed in the supplemental catalogue of images — the Amelung or its related Giustini type could have held an egg in the right hand; yet no evidence associating these images with Asklepios-Glykon in Roman Caesarea exist. Glykon was a rather common name/nickname, even before the invention of the god by Alexander of Abonoteichos. Individuals named Glykon, in Caesarea and elsewhere, had nothing to do with the god who bears the same name. In Caesarea Asklepios was not associated with Glykon but with Serapis; he ensured the health of the people of Roman Caesarea and was venerated in private dwellings and in the public sphere. Asklepios, for exemplifying the functional, hygienic, and medicinal merits of bathing, also served, along with his daughter Hygieia, the Caesarean Christians who used the bath in Insula W2S3 between the fifth and seventh century.

*Keywords:* Asklepios; Asklepios-Glykon; Glykon as a proper name; egg; pinecone; Caesarea Maritima; Roman sculpture; Caesarea Asklepios types; inscriptions; serpent; Hygieia; Serapis; Isis

### Prologue

Asklepios must have been one of the most venerated deities at Caesarea, the city built by Herod between 22-10/9 BCE. This can be concluded not only from the visual depictions in various media, but also from the contexts of discovery which point to a long-lasting existence of the god from first to seventh century CE in the city, and to the deities — Hygieia, Serapis, and Isis — with whom he was allied.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The responsibilities of Asklepios at Caesarea and his association with Serapis and Isis were comprehensively dealt with in chapter seven of the final report of the excavations conducted by Y. Porath in Herod's Circus and related buildings between 1992 and 1998 (Gersht 2015) and in the paper titled "Deities at the Service of Cities and People: Sculpted images from

In August 2015 the Israel Antiquities Authority team, conducted by Uzi Ad, uncovered a small marble head — 4.5 cm high — portraying a bearded male with short forehead, flat nose, thick sloping mustache, and long curly hair.<sup>2</sup> It was found in a Late Roman-Early Byzantine fill at the meeting point of the north and east retaining walls of the temple of Augustus and Dea Roma platform (Fig. 1). This is the first and only head of the god Asklepios found at Caesarea. Sadly, the head does not belong — either in size or in workmanship — to any of the headless images of Asklepios uncovered in the ancient city (Cat. Nos. 1-3, 5). The discovery of the head spurred me into looking for additional hints that might point to aspects of veneration of Asklepios at Caesarea other than those already concluded from the depictions of the god uncovered until 2015 (listed in the supplemental catalogue below).<sup>3</sup>

### The Caesarea Head and the Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier Type

Although a bit worn, the resemblance of the Caesarea head (Fig. 2a-b) to the head of the late second century CE statuette of Asklepios from the Villa of Theseus at Nea Paphos, Cyprus is remarkable (Fig. 2c).<sup>4</sup> The hairstyle of the two heads is almost identical; in both the pupils are drilled at the edge of the lid; the beard and moustache are similarly shaped; and the serene expression of the face is alike. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Caesarean head was carried by an image which, like the Nea Paphos Asklepios, was standing with his right leg slightly bent, dressed in *himation* which left his chest, right shoulder, and right arm bare; that he was supported by a serpent-entwined staff, which was thrust into his right armpit; and that he held an egg in his right hand.

This hypothesis is supported by another Asklepios statuette (Fig. 3), in a private collection, whose hairstyle is similar — although with three curls on each side of the face instead of two — and like the Nea Paphos Asklepios he is holding an egg.<sup>5</sup> The two statuettes also share other affinities, such as the arrangement of the *himation* and the type of base. The workmanship of the private collection example, however, is poorer and the god is accompanied by Hygieia and Telesphoros (Τελεσφόρος). The three also appear on votive reliefs from Glava Panega, Bulgaria, where Asklepios is similarly dressed and in one, also similarly coiffed (Fig. 4a-b).<sup>6</sup>

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Caesarea Maritima” (Gersht 2017). In the latter, the inclusion of Asklepios’ and Hygieia’s images in the decorative program of the Late Antique Christian complex — fifth-seventh century CE — occupying insula W2S3 is also discussed.

<sup>2</sup> Thanks are owed to Dr. Uzi Ad for the permission to discuss the head in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Although the sculpted depictions of Asklepios in Roman and Byzantine Caesarea have already been dealt with in several of my publications (Gersht 1987, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2008, 2015, 2017) they have never been gathered before — along with depictions from other media — to form a complete catalogue of items.

<sup>4</sup> The statuette — 48 cm high including the base — was found during the 1966-1967 Polish excavations at Nea Paphos (Daszewski 1968: 52-53, Pl. XIV/1). Images whose original height is less than 60 cm are referred to as statuettes; those between 60 and 140 cm are referred to as small-scale statues.

<sup>5</sup> H. 26 cm, including the base (Mazzuca 2014: 293, No. 15, Pl. I:4).

<sup>6</sup> In one (Fig. 4a) the inscription framing the relief reads: κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ὑγίᾳ | Βεΐβιος Φλάβιος εὐχαριστή-ρις. ☩ (IGBulg II 519; Koleva 2017: 19-20, Fig. 1). In the other (Fig. 4b) — where the serpent is bearded — the inscription reads: κυρίῳ ἐπηκόῳ Σαλδοουισσηνῶ

In the Classical Colloquium held in the British Museum in 1988, Grimm linked the Nea Paphos image, and two other related images of the god holding an egg in Alexandria<sup>7</sup> and Trier<sup>8</sup> with the cult of Glykon in Abonoteichos (Ionopolis), a city in Paphlagonia on the south coast of the Black Sea. He ruled out the interpretation of the egg as the serpent's diet and the explanation that the egg is a symbol of the universe, and claimed, based on numismatic evidence, that the egg — which he interpreted as a symbol of the epiphany of Asklepios-Glykon — was added to the Asklepios iconography of the Amelung type during the reign of Antoninus Pius to adjust the god's appearance for the new temple of Asklepios-Glykon at Abonoteichos.<sup>9</sup>

A detailed account of the epiphany of Glykon is contained in an essay by Lucian on a false prophet named Alexander,<sup>10</sup> who in the mid-second century established in his homeland Abonoteichos the cult of the new born Asklepios, the grandson of Zeus, whom he named Glykon, and proclaimed himself interpreter of the new god. Alexander, according to Lucian, was tall and handsome, godlike in appearance, and multitalented, but he made the worst possible use of his qualities. Together with a man called Cocconas he bought a huge tamed serpent in Pella, then buried bronze tablets in the temple of Apollo Pythaios in Chalcedon “which said that very soon Asklepios, with his father Apollo, would move to Pontus and take up his residence at Abonoteichus” (Lucian *Alex.* 10). A short time after the revealing of the tablets, the inscribed prophesy spread, and soon reached Alexander's homeland, where the inhabitants voted to erect a temple in honor of the god. Cocconas remained in Chalcedon; Alexander went back to his native city and buried in the temple's foundations, where a pool of water had gathered, a goose-egg containing a serpent just born. In the morning, after addressing the people from an altar in the agora, he ran to the future temple and discovered the egg; he broke it and let the serpent twist about his fingers (Lucian *Alex.* 13-14). He took the little creature home and prepared a linen human head to deceive the people on with regard to the appearance of the new god. Lucian goes on telling that

For some days he [Alexander] remained at home, expecting what actually happened — that as the news spread, crowds of Paphlagonians would come running in. When the city had become over-full of people ... he seated himself on a couch in a certain chamber, clothed in apparel well suited to a god, and took into his bosom his Asklepios from Pella, who, as I have said, was of uncommon size and beauty. Coiling him about his neck, and letting the tail, which was long, stream over his lap and drag part of its length on the floor,

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Ἀσκληπιῶ Δεινίας ὁ τοῦ Ποτάμῳνος φυλαρχῶν καὶ τειρωνολογῶν (*IGBulg* II 517; Grimm 1989: Fig. 9; Gočeva 1984: 898, No. 17).

<sup>7</sup> H. 1.22 m. Found in 1973 together with twelve other objects — among them a statue of Hygieia (H. 1.15 m) — in the area between Gamal Abdel Nasser Street and Sidi Bishr Station. The cache is believed to be sculpted in a single workshop and housed in a single residence within the city of Alexandria (Savvopoulos and Bianchi 2012: 148, 154-155 Cat. No. 47F). Apart from the hairstyle and base-shape, the appearance of the Nea Paphos and Alexandria images of Asklepios is the same.

<sup>8</sup> On display in the Archäologische Sammlung der Universität, inv. OL 1985.158. Bought in Alexandria; head missing, surviving height 39.5 cm (Grimm 1989: 168, fig. 4).

<sup>9</sup> Grimm 1989: 170-171.

<sup>10</sup> Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet* (Translated by A.M. Harmon. The Loeb Classical Library Vol. IV, 174-253. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1961).



he concealed only the head by holding it under his arm ... and showed the linen-head at one side of his own beard, as if it certainly belonged to the creature that was in view (Lucian *Alex.* 15).

He constituted an *oraculum* and made a fortune by misleading the public. “He established a celebration of mysteries, with torch-light ceremonies and priestly offices, which was to be held annually, for three days in succession, in perpetuity ...” (Lucian *Alex.* 38). Lucian mentions that Glykon was honored with “paintings and statues and cult-images, some made of bronze, some of silver” (*Alex.* 18); but he does not say whether Glykon — the human headed serpent — was shown along with Asklepios or only by himself. Likewise, he does not refer to the place where these images were held — in what towns, whether in public or private locations, and whether indoors or outdoors. Obviously, Lucian had no interest in a detailed description of the visual depictions of Glykon; he mentioned them only as part of the people’s responses to the new god. By doing so he became partly, yet unintentionally, responsible for a scholarly debate about the association of the egg in second century CE images of Asklepios with Glykon.

In 1994, a few years after Grimm linked the Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier type with Glykon’s temple at Abonoteichos, Sirano widened Grimm’s list of images to eleven. He agreed upon the date of the archetype but had different views regarding the connection between the Nea Paphos type and the cult of Glykon, as well as about the *temenos* from which the type had spread. He argued that the statue type of Asklepios holding an egg should be linked with Asklepios’ temple at Kos; and that the Nea Paphos statuette and the other images of its kind all derived from the Koan prototype. Yet, the only Koan image of Asklepios listed by Sirano came from the ruins of a private context — the House of the Rape of Europa — along with an image of Hygieia feeding a serpent.<sup>11</sup> Sirano doubted the credibility of Grimm’s thesis beyond the limits of Paphlagonia, Dacia, and Thracia, claiming that the serpent and the egg should not be regarded as an indication of the spread of Glykon’s cult to any of Asklepios’ principal cult centers; and that the fact that they — the serpent and the egg — were traditionally associated with Asklepios is attested by Galen’s reference to the visual appearance of the god in his Commentary on the Hypocratic Oath.<sup>12</sup> As an explanation of the appearance of the egg in Asklepios’ hand during the second century CE, he pointed to the religious syncretic trends typifying the period.<sup>13</sup>

In 2014 Mazzuca published an updated catalogue of the images of Asklepios holding an egg. Of the copies whose provenance is known, fourteen came from mainland Greece, three from Asia Minor, four from the islands, two from Alexandria, four from the Danubian provinces, and two from Rome. He noticed that at least two of the images — the ones in the Antalya and the Kensington Science Museums — are related to the Eleusis Asklepios type, a derivative of two known types, the Amelung and the related

<sup>11</sup> The headless Asklepios (H 1.27 m) is accompanied by Telesphoros, 150-200 CE; on display in the Archaeological Museum. Sirano 1994: 207 Nr. 4, Fig. 7a-b; 2004: 956, 958, 963-964, Figs. 4 (Hygieia), 5 (Asklepios); 2005: 156, 158, Figs. 20 (Asklepios), 21 (Hygieia).

<sup>12</sup> Rosenthal 1956: 63 (fr. B 2 c), 72 (fr. B 2 e).

<sup>13</sup> Sirano 1994: 221-225.

Giustini.<sup>14</sup> Based on the small number of surviving images of the god with an egg, the images' distribution, and their small dimensions (smaller than life size, ranging from 14 to 122 cm), Mazzuca suggested that the Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier Type did not derive from a specific famous statue of a major cult center, and that the egg, as a new attribute, was added to different iconographic models of Asklepios — mainly of the Amelung type — which vary in their hairstyle, dress arrangement, and left arm position.<sup>15</sup>

### The Search for Epigraphic Evidence

In view of the absence of the hand in many of Asklepios' existing images, one may wonder how common the egg attribute was among the god's types of representation. As for the Caesarea sculpted images, although in all of them the right hand is missing, the better preserved corresponding images from elsewhere enable us to argue that in three Caesarea examples (Cat. Nos. 1, 2, 5) the god was not holding an egg; in Cat. Nos. 3, whose dress arrangement and concealed left arm correspond with the Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier type, the egg could possibly, but not necessarily, be included.

As no hand holding an egg has yet been found at Caesarea Maritima, I turned to look for inscribed traces of Glykon in the city. Two testimonies of the name were found: (a) a third century epitaph, stating that Glykon, who is also called Paul, built a burial monument for the memory of his own foster brother, Aurelios Hermogenes (Fig. 5);<sup>16</sup> and (b) the list preserved in the Corpus canonum, of the bishops of the three Palestinian provinces who came to the church council at Chalcedon in 451 CE. Glykon of Caesarea, although listed, did not attend the council, he was represented by Bishop Zosimus of Menöis.<sup>17</sup>

In the Roman Period Glykon was a rather ordinary name. A physician by the name Glyco [sic], as told by Suetonius (*Aug.* 11), had been accused of having poisoned the wound of his patron, Gaius Vibius Pansa (died on 43 BC); another Glykon — an unconquered first century BC athlete of a remarkable strength — is mentioned by Horatius (*Epistles* 1, 1. 30), and a third one, a sculptor, signed the Weary Herakles statue which was found in the baths of Caracalla.<sup>18</sup> The name also appears in a number of dedicatory and funerary inscriptions found in various regions of the Roman Empire. A 57 CE dedication from Lydia (north of Ayazviran) is an acclamation addressed to the God Men in his sanctuary by a certain Glykon.<sup>19</sup> In Hierapolis<sup>20</sup> and Laodikeia am

<sup>14</sup> Mazzuca 2014: 294, Nos. 16, 17 on p. 293.

<sup>15</sup> Mazzuca 2014: 295-296.

<sup>16</sup> *CIIP* II: 405-406, No. 1457; Lehmann and Holm 2000: 176-177, No. 245, Pl. CXXX: Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἐρμογέ|νην Γλύκων | ὁ κέ Πλαῦλος | τὸν ἴδιον σύντρο|φον | μν(ήμης) χά(ρις).

<sup>17</sup> Honigmann 1950: 240-241, 246.

<sup>18</sup> Smith 1870: 278.

<sup>19</sup> *SEG* LIII 1344; Chaniotis 2009: 204-205, 214-215, Appendix II no. 1: “Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Μηνός Αξιοττηνοῦ. Μηνι Οὐρανίῳ, Μηνι Ἀρτεμιδώρου Αξιοττα κατέχοντι. Γλύκων Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Μύρτιον Γλύκωνος εὐλογίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν Ἰδίων τέκνων ...”

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Miranda 1999: 122-123 (No. 11), 125-126 (No. 16), 130-132 (Nos. 22, 23); Ameling 2004: 400-402 (No. 188), 414-423 (Nos. 196, 197), 432-435 (No. 205).

Lykos in Phrygia,<sup>21</sup> for example, Glykon and its derivative names recurrently appear in epitaphs associated with the Jewish community. Another Glykon is remembered by Lucius Paccius in a graffito dating from the mid-second century from Tomb R in the Vatican necropolis.<sup>22</sup> All the aforementioned examples indicate that Glykon was a name or nickname given to private individuals and had no connection with the god Asklepios-Glykon.

Inscriptions inferring to Glykon as god are also known. One example, on an altar from the camp of Legio XIII Gemina at Apulum, Dacia reads: “To Glykon, Marcus Antonius Onesas, by command of the god, freely placed”.<sup>23</sup> The same formula appeared in another Latin inscription, now lost.<sup>24</sup> Both dedicators were probably from Asia Minor as their Greek cognomina suggest.<sup>25</sup>

The question whether “Glykon” in these inscriptions was honored as the New-Asklepios or as merely an oracular deity, is beside the point given the absence of Asklepios from the inscriptions and the absence of Glykon from inscriptions accompanying depictions of Asklepios holding an egg. Usually, when a deity is associated with another deity, the connection between the two is supported by epigraphic evidence. One example is the inscription from Lebena in Crete which was dedicated to Zeus Serapis Asklepios the healer.<sup>26</sup> In Glava Panega, where Asklepios was worshiped together with the Thracian Rider Hero, he is often shown holding an egg and titled Σάλδηνος.<sup>27</sup> Inscriptions from Rome mention another Thracian hero who was brought to the city by Thracian members of the Praetorian Guard and was worshiped there as Asclepius Zimidrenus/Sindrinus.<sup>28</sup> Further evidence for the religious syncretism between the healing Thracian Hero and the cult of Asklepios and Hygieia, yet without an inscription, is provided by the relief discovered in Izvorovo, in the Chirpan district area, Bulgaria, where Asklepios is holding an egg.<sup>29</sup> Apparently, in this case too, Asklepios was not associated with Glykon.

No inscription honoring the god Asklepios has yet been found at Caesarea. The only intact inscribed evidence is the *titulus* “Asclepios” above the god’s portrayal on the fourth century CE Caesarea cup in the Louvre (Cat. No. 9, Fig. 16). Although the name

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Ameling 2004: 446-447 (No. 213).

<sup>22</sup> Guarducci 1960: Tomb R, Fig. 41.

<sup>23</sup> *CIL* 3.1021: Glyconi | M(arcus) Ant(onius) | Onesas | iusso dei | l(ibens) p(osuit).

<sup>24</sup> *CIL* 3.1022: G[ly]co(ni) | M(arcus) Aur(elius) | Theodo- | tus ius- | so dei p(osuit).

<sup>25</sup> Schäfer 2004: 183; van der Ploeg 2018: 211.

<sup>26</sup> Δι̅ | Σεράπιδι | Ασκληπιῶ̅ ιατρῶ̅ ... dated to the third-fourth century CE (*SIRIS* 161). Among the examples concerning other deities than Asklepios is the one dedicated to ... Δι̅ Ἡλίῳ Σεράπιδι ... dated to the second-third century CE (*SIRIS* 332) and the recurrent acclamation Εἶς Ζεὺς Σάραπις listed by Chaniotis 2009: 215-216, Appendix II, Nos. 3, 9-11. The same acclamation appears on a Caesarean amulet (*CIIP* II: 568, No. 1681).

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Gočeva 1984: 897-898, Nos. 2 (*IGBulg* II 510: Ασκληπιῶ̅ Σαλδηνῶι | Ἰούλιος Κεσσου εὐχαριστή-ριον), 3 (*IGBulg* II 512; Dimitrova 2002: 217, Fig. 5: Ασκληπιῶ̅ι Σαλδοουσηνῶι | Αἴλιος Βειθυκενθος φυλαρχῶν χαριστήριον), 17 (*IGBulg* II 517: κυρίῳ ἐπηκόῳ Σαλδοουσισηνῶ Ασκληπιῶ̅ | Δεινίας ὁ τοῦ Ποτάμωνος φυλαρχῶν | καὶ τειρωνολογῶν).

<sup>28</sup> Renberg 2006/2007: 117-118, 136, 150-152 Cat. Nos. 25: “In honore(m) domus divinae | Asclepio Zimidreno cives...” and 26: “Numini sancti dei Aescul[api] | Sindrinae ...”

<sup>29</sup> Gočeva 1984: 899, No. 23; Sakellariou 2015: 29, Fig. 13.

provides an explicit identification of the figure, the god's appearance differs from all of his sculpted images uncovered in the city. In these, the upper body of Asklepios is partially exposed and he is, or was, accompanied by his serpent. On the cup, Asklepios is fully dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and cloak; his most common attribute — the serpent — is missing and a small *kalathos/modius* is seen on the crown of his head. The fusion of the dress, the *kalathos/modius*, and the inscription indicates that the figure is that of Asklepios-Serapis.<sup>30</sup> An egg is perhaps held by Hygieia — identified by the *titulus* “YGIA” — who is depicted next to Asklepios on the cup; however, instead of a serpent, she holds a palm branch in her right hand.<sup>31</sup>

In 1990 the Combined Caesarea Expedition (CCE) uncovered a fragment of a colonnette in front of the Augustus and Roma Temple Platform.<sup>32</sup> Lehmann and Holum suggested that the remaining three letters on the colonnette base belonged to a dedication to Asklepios — Ἀσκ(ληπιῶ). Such an interpretation seems plausible given the findspot's proximity to the nymphaeum at the north-western corner of the temple platform, where a headless female figure — Livia or Agrippina — in the guise of Demeter/Ceres, Hera/Juno, or Hygieia, was found.<sup>33</sup> However, in view of the inscribed lead tablet in the Hendlar collection, whose exact findspot at Caesarea is unknown,<sup>34</sup> it is likewise plausible that the alpha (α), sigma (σ), and kappa (κ) composed the first three letters of a name of a private individual — Asklepios or Asklepiades<sup>35</sup> — rather than that of the god. The text on the lead tablet is a curse that targets three individuals; one of them is named Asklepios. Other people named Asklepios/Asclepius are mentioned in literature, among them a Greek grammarian of uncertain date, a physician who lived in or before the second century CE, and a peripatetic philosopher who lived in about 500 CE.<sup>36</sup>

### Between Asklepios and Glykon: The Significance of the Egg

The search for epigraphic evidence concerning Glykon and Asklepios in Caesarea made it clear that if Glykon, the new Asklepios, was venerated in the city, the evidence has yet to be found. Although Caesarea has only been partially excavated and a lot of evidence is still buried in the ground, my guess is that Glykon's cult never reached the city. Even if Asklepios held an egg in some of his Caesarea images, the egg should not be regarded an indicator of Glykon's veneration in the city.

Scholars agree that the egg was first added to Asklepios' iconography in the second century CE, but how can they be sure that earlier sculpted images of the god whose hands are broken, and lost images mentioned in the literary sources,<sup>37</sup> did not hold an

<sup>30</sup> Gersht 2015: 149-150; 2017: 81.

<sup>31</sup> Gersht 2015: 150; 2017: 81.

<sup>32</sup> Lehmann and Holum 2000: 123 No. 127.

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed discussion regarding the nymphaeum statuary, see Gersht 2017: 73-77.

<sup>34</sup> *CIIP* II: 562-567 No. 1680.

<sup>35</sup> Ἀσκληπιάδης is inscribed on a second century CE portrait gem found at Caesarea (*CIIP* II: 600, No. 1719. Asklepiades also served as a generic name for physicians.

<sup>36</sup> On the three with references, see Smith 1880: 383.

<sup>37</sup> On the testimonies and interpretation of Asklepios' images and attributes, see Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 343-369.

egg? As many of the lost images are not fully described, we have no idea what type each one of them represented. In certain cases, the staff and the serpent are mentioned; and in a single case, a fifth century BC gold and ivory image of the beardless Asklepios by Kalamis, the god held a scepter in one hand and a cone of the cultivated pine tree in the other (Pausanias 2.10.3). Edelstine and Edelstine mentioned that

Pausanias has nothing to say about the meaning of these attributes, nor are they ever mentioned by any other writer in connection with Asclepius ... the pinecone ... is a conventional symbol of moisture, that is, of vitality and fertility; it is indicative of the sap of life. This attribute, usually connected with Dionysus or Poseidon, seems not unfitting for the god who restored to life and who granted and preserved health.<sup>38</sup>

In fact, the pinecone was used by Asklepios medicinally.<sup>39</sup> A first century CE inscription from Crete mentions the pinecone (στρόβειλον) among a number of medicinal ingredients which Asklepios prescribed to Poplius Granius Rufus for his painful right shoulder.<sup>40</sup> In another inscription, the same Rufus is treated with an egg and pine resin — among other ingredients — to cure his two year's cough.<sup>41</sup> In the second century CE, Ioulianos, who was spitting up blood, was cured by eating pinecone seeds with honey for three days.<sup>42</sup>

A fragmentary beardless Asklepios in the Louvre is perhaps a Roman derivative of Kalamis' statue of Asklepios mentioned above, but instead of the pinecone, he is holding an egg.<sup>43</sup> For being beardless and holding a pinecone Bieber questioned the identification of Kalamis' statue with Asklepios.<sup>44</sup> Rosenthal, on the other hand, questions the identification of the pinecone, claiming that the author of the Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath<sup>45</sup> — ascribed to Galen (130-210 CE) — was more correct than Pausanias or the guide who explained to him the object held by Kalamis' Asklepios. According to Galen, the Greeks, “when they represent the snake, they place into his [Asklepios'] hand an egg, hinting at the fact that the whole world needs medicine; the symbol of the Universe is the egg”.<sup>46</sup> That Asklepios was thought to have a cosmic significance is attested by Aristides, *Oratio* 42.4;<sup>47</sup> however Aristides does not mention an egg, neither does any other ancient author.

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<sup>38</sup> Edelstine and Edelstine 1998: Vol. II, 226.

<sup>39</sup> A dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia by Philemon shows, above the Greek inscription, a coiled serpent (partly preserved) and four pinecones in relief carving (Mitropoulou 1977: 188-189 Fig. 97; housed in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens).

<sup>40</sup> *Inscriptiones Creticae* I, xvii, no. 18; Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 253, Testimony 440.

<sup>41</sup> *Inscriptiones Creticae* I, xvii, no. 17; Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 252-253, Testimony 439.

<sup>42</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae* XIV, no. 966; Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 250-251, Testimony 438.

<sup>43</sup> Michon 1896.

<sup>44</sup> Bieber 1957: 72.

<sup>45</sup> Although traditionally attributed to Hippocrates (460-370 BC), it is not certain when the Hippocratic Oath was composed.

<sup>46</sup> Rosenthal 1956: 63 (fr. B 2 c), 72 (fr. B 2 e); Strohmaier 1970.

<sup>47</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 150, Testimony 303, Vol. II, 106.

That the author of the commentary truly believed that the symbolism of the egg in Asklepios hand derived from the notion that the egg symbolizes the universe is understandable; the question is, however, whether it agrees with the significance ascribed to the egg by the sculptor who first put the egg in Asklepios' hand. I claim that the sculptor's intention was simply to represent the god feeding his serpent with an egg; an interpretation erroneously denied by Grimm.<sup>48</sup> Also, Stirling interprets the egg as the serpent's diet when discussing the late antique statuette of Asklepios uncovered in the Panayia Domus at Corinth.<sup>49</sup> The feeding interpretation is reinforced by the egg served by Hygieia to her serpent in a statue uncovered in Kos,<sup>50</sup> and in the statue from Alexandria,<sup>51</sup> where images of Asklepios feeding a serpent with an egg were also found.<sup>52</sup>

Grimm noticed the egg in Hygieia's hand, and on p. 169 he notes:

Interestingly enough, the fortunate find in Alexandria also produced a statue of Asclepius' consort, Hygieia, with a snake round her right arm and hand and an egg in her left. Being of the same size and comparable technique, the two divine figures may well have belonged together as a pair of cult-statues.

In the following page (170) he writes:

Similar coins of Cos and various other places which are later in date — not earlier than the time of the Emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius — clearly depict an egg in the outstretched left hand of the goddess. In this, they bear a strong resemblance to the aforementioned group in Alexandria.

However, Grimm does not mention the second century CE Koan statue of Hygieia and does not explain the difference between the egg in Hygieia's hand and the one in Asklepios' hand. Obviously, no one would interpret the egg in Hygieia's hand as a sign of Glykon's epiphany; so why would such an interpretation be ascribed to the egg served to the serpent by Asklepios, who was standing next to his daughter in both private residences, at Kos and Alexandria? The findspot of the Koan Asklepios in a private context, like many other images of the god holding an egg, reinforces the hypothesis that Glykon was not in the sculptor's mind while sculpting Asklepios' images.

The claim that there is no solid evidence to support Grimm's interpretation of the egg being a symbol of the epiphany of Asklepios-Glykon, is also established on the basis of portrayals of Glykon in art. The reincarnated Asklepios, later named Glykon, was a

<sup>48</sup> Grimm 1989: 170-171.

<sup>49</sup> Stirling 2008: 122-126, Cat. No. 9, Figs. 23-25.

<sup>50</sup> See above note 11.

<sup>51</sup> Savvopoulos and Bianchi 2012: 154-155, Cat. No. 47E.

<sup>52</sup> There are more depictions of Hygieia feeding the serpent with eggs. One is a 4th or 5th century CE ivory diptych in the Merseyside County Museum. M 1004, Liverpool. It has been suggested that the models for the images of Hygieia and Asklepios on the diptych were their cult statues in their temple in Rome; and that "the occasion for the making of the diptych may have been the celebration of the cult, which in late antiquity had to be paid for by private instead of public funds" (Brilliant 1979: 155, No 133; Croissant 1990: 558, No. 38). In another example, a 2nd century relief from Rome — on display in the Louvre — Hygieia serves eggs to a huge serpent from an egg-phiale; to her right Asklepios feeds another huge serpent (Riethmüller 1996: 108, Pl. 9/1).

snake/serpent god with human head, long hair, and beard, and as a serpent with anthropomorphic features he was shown on the coins of Abonoteichos / Ionopolis and Nicomedia (Bithynia).<sup>53</sup> Similar free-standing images are also known, yet — as far as I know — not from Caesarea Maritima. The one from Tomis/Constanța (H 66 cm; Fig. 6) belongs to a temple treasury of twenty-four pieces, of which one portrays Asklepios.<sup>54</sup> The deposit of Glykon and Asklepios in the same hoard suggests that although Glykon was another aspect of the healing god there was no fusion between the two, and each had his own visual appearance. A gem — probably from Antioch — showing Glykon facing Asklepios (without the egg) supports this interpretation.<sup>55</sup>

Two other examples of Glykon the serpent god, though in bronze and ten times smaller than the Tomis piece, came from the Athenian Agora (Fig. 7).<sup>56</sup> The exact findspot of the one in Boston is unknown, but the other one was found in a cistern together with a marble plinth of a statuette of Asklepios and a number of additional bronze figurines; Martens believes that they were used in household cults.<sup>57</sup> Robert suggested that such figurines were held by devotees as protecting amulets.<sup>58</sup>

A headless bronze serpent, larger than the one from Tomis and differently coiled, was uncovered in Terrace House 2, Insula VII, at Ephesus. It was found together with marble busts of Livia and Tiberius in Room 38 facing the peristyle court and was interpreted as the guardian serpent of the household who, like the serpents (ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες) depicted in the Pompeian *lararia*, guarantee abundance.<sup>59</sup> Pompeian *lararia* serpents are often crested and bearded, facing an altar furnished with eggs and pinecone

<sup>53</sup> Dalaison J., Delrieux F. and Ferrière M-C. 2015 (for Nicomedia, see p. 162-163); Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009: Note 35; Bordenache Battaglia 1988: 281, Nos. 6-17. In *Alex.* 58, Lucian mentions Alexander's request from the Emperor to change the name of Abonoteichos to Ionopolis, and to strike a new coin with the likeness of Glykon on one side and that of himself with the headdress (στέμμα) of his grandfather Asklepios and the sickle (ἄρητη) — not the egg — of his maternal ancestor on the other. Alexander's request was partly granted and the legends ἸΩΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ and ΓΛΥΚΩΝ appeared on coins from Verus' reign onwards.

<sup>54</sup> Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009: 30. Similarly coiled is the second century CE bronze image from the temple of Asklepios in Ptolemais, identified as Asklepios-Glykon (Cairo Museum; Mitropoulou 1977: 196, Fig. 104). The head of this piece, however, is in the form of a serpent with no trace of human features. Similar coiled serpents are familiar from reliefs dating back to the fourth century CE (e.g. Mitropoulou 1977: 139-140, Fig. 64; 178-180, Fig. 92).

<sup>55</sup> Bordenache Battaglia 1988: 281, No. 19. The raven, at Asklepios left shoulder is linked with the myth of Koronis' death and Asklepios' birth (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.10.3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2. 532-633, and Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 28-29, Testimonies 41-44).

<sup>56</sup> Bordenache Battaglia 1988: 280-281, Nos. 2-3; Martens 2018: 579 Fig. 29d. Another unpublished example, presumably from the area of Dorylaeum, is housed in the museum of Eskisehir (Mitchell 1984-1985: 83).

<sup>57</sup> Martens 2018: 579.

<sup>58</sup> Robert 1981: 516.

<sup>59</sup> Robert 1982: 129; Rathmayr 2016: 555-558, 563 Cat. No. S 8, Pl. 471. For the Pompeian *Agathoi Daimones* in the form of serpents, see Dunand 1981: 278, Nos. 8-9.

(Fig. 8).<sup>60</sup> The numerous surviving paintings clearly and unequivocally corroborate that the egg was favored by the guardian serpents of the household; those dating earlier to 79 CE prove that the Romans were familiar with depictions of bearded and crested serpents long before they became acquainted with Glykon. The depiction, on a Boeotian red figured krater, of a reclining bearded man — whether Asklepios or one of the Boeotian demi-gods Amphiaraos or Trophonios — who offers a serpent a *kantharos* to drink and an egg to eat,<sup>61</sup> confirms that the custom of feeding serpents with eggs was centuries old.

### Epilogue

The evidence surveyed makes it possible to conclude (a) that unless new evidence will prove otherwise, Glykon was not venerated at Caesarea, neither alone nor in association with Asklepios, (b) that the egg in the hand of the Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier type Asklepios should be interpreted as the serpent's diet and not as Glykon's epiphany, (c) that the etiological interpretation given to the egg by the author of the Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath was not necessarily in the mind of the sculptor who first put an egg in the hands of Asklepios and Hygieia (d) and that at Caesarea Asklepios was associated with Serapis as Hygieia was associated with Isis.

The religious syncretism between the two couples is well attested by the depiction on the cup in the Louvre (Cat. No. 9, Fig. 16), where the Tyche of Caesarea and Apollo are also included. I have already discussed in previous publications the link between the depiction on the cup and the main deities — Isis, Serapis, and Tyche — who were worshiped within the shrine in Herod's Circus,<sup>62</sup> there is therefore no need to repeat it in detail here. Worth mentioning, though, is the resemblance between the portrayals of Apollo on the cup and that of Asklepios on the oil lamp in the Sdot Yam Museum (Cat. No. 8, Fig. 15). The posture of the two deities is basically the same and they both have a laurel tree with dangling bands to their left. Yet Apollo leans on a tripod whereas Asklepios leans on the arm of his throne, and Apollo is holding a bow whereas

<sup>60</sup> Boyce 1937: Caupona with taberna I, ii, 20/21 (Cat. No. 13); Casa del Criptoportico I, vi, 2 (Cat. No. 36, Pl. 9.3); Domus Corneli Tagetis I, vii, 10-12 (Cat. No. 41); House V, ii, 15 (Cat. No. 94, Pl. 3.4); House V, ii, W, No. 4 (Cat. No. 99, Pl. 17.1); House V, ii, W, side, No. 5 (Cat. No. 101); House V, iii, 9 (Cat. No. 114, Pl. 22.3); Casa di Pansa, Vi, vi, 1 (Cat. No. 156, Pl. 18.1); Casa di Ercole, VI, vii, 6 (Cat. No. 162, Pl. 30.1); House or officina (?), VI, vii, 15 (Cat. No. 165); Taberna with thermopolium VI, x, 1 (Cat. No. 180); House VI, xiv, 39 (Cat. No. 206); Casa degli Scienziati, VI, xiv, 43 (Cat. No. 209, Pl. 8.2-3); Domus Vettiorum, VI, xv, 2 (Cat. No. 211, Pl. 30.2); Taberna, VI, xv, 11 (Ca. No. 217, Pl. 22.2); House, VI, xv, 23 (Cat. No. 219, Pl. 15.1-2); Taberna, VI, xvi, 12 (Cat. No. 223, Pl. 28.1); House, VI, xvi, 15 (Cat. No. 224, Pl. 16.1); Taberna with thermopolium, VI, xvi, 40 (Cat. No. 230, Pl. 27.1); Taberna, officina and dwelling quarters, VII, iii, 11/12 (Cat. No. 263); Taberna with dwelling rooms, VII, iv, 20 (Cat. No. 271, Pl. 18.2); Taberna, VII, xii, 7 (Cat. No. 313); Casa delle Pareti Rosse, VIII, v/vi, 37 (Cat. No. 371, Pl. 31.1-2); House, IX, ii, 16 (Cat. No. 394); Pistrinum, IX, iii, 10-12 (Cat. No. 409, Pl. 26.1); Pistrinum, IX, iii, 20 (Cat. No. 418); House, IX, vi, 3 (Cat. No. 428); House, IX, ix (Cat. No. 468B, Pl. 22.1); Villa of Julia Felix (Cat. No. 470).

<sup>61</sup> About 400 BC, National Archaeological Museum, Athens 1393. Strohmaier 1970: 150, Fig. 30; Holtzman 1984: 871, No. 41.

<sup>62</sup> Gersht 1996a: 306-317, 2015: 147-152, 2017: 79-81.



Asklepios is holding the serpent-entwined staff. Finding Apolline features in representations of Asklepios is not surprising.<sup>63</sup> Asklepios is the son of Apollo from Korōnis, and like his father, he was endowed with healing and oracular skills.<sup>64</sup> According to some fourth and fifth centuries CE testimonies he was equated with Apollo and with the sun, as Hygieia was equated with the moon;<sup>65</sup> likewise were Serapis and Isis equated with the sun and the moon. All of these linkages are woven into the representation on the cup.

Although the cult of Isis, and probably also that of Serapis, preceded the foundation of Caesarea,<sup>66</sup> it was only during the reign of Vespasian — after he returned from Egypt and proclaimed emperor in July, 69 CE (Tacitus, *Historiae* II. 79),<sup>67</sup> and probably also after he raised Caesarea to the rank of a Roman colony (Pliny, *NH*, V. 14. 69)<sup>68</sup> — that Serapis gained a more prominent status among the deities of Caesarea and became syncretized with Asklepios.<sup>69</sup> On the cup the elevated status of the city is commemorated in the presence of Asklepios-Serapis, Hygeia-Isis, and Apollo. The event is manifested in the title *colonia*, inscribed next to the image of Tyche, and is celebrated in front of the shrine of Isis and Serapis in the Western Circus of Caesarea on the occasion of Tyche's birthday and the *Navigium Isidis* which occurred annually on March 5th-7th.<sup>70</sup>

The cup is not the only case in which Asklepios and Hygieia were shown next to each other in Caesarea. The statue of Asklepios, to which the fragmentary serpent (Cat.

<sup>63</sup> The tripod depicted on the Merseyside County Museum diptych (see note 52 above) on which Hygieia “leans, refers” as Brilliant puts it “to Apollo, who was often associated with the cult of Asklepios and Hygieia” (Brilliant 1979: 155).

<sup>64</sup> E.g. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* III. 44; Origines, *Contra Celsum*, III. 3. On Apollo the healer to whom Augustus as healer was metaphorically linked in literature, see Wickkiser 2005.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I. 20. 1-4. For more references, see Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, Testimonies 298 ff., Vol. II, 106.

<sup>66</sup> Isis was the patron deity of Straton's Tower — the settlement that preceded Caesarea— where she was named “... Ἐλλάδα ἀγαθήν” (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XI.1380, Invocation of Isis 94-95), but no evidence exists of Serapis' role in the Hellenistic settlement. Based on the evidence linking Serapis with Isis in other Hellenistic sites, such as Alexandria, Delos, Eretria, Gortyn, Priene, Thera, Thessalonica, and Samaria-Sebaste (Fraser 1972 I: 254, 260-262, 264-267; Wild 1981: 9, 164-166; Magness 2001), we may assume that Serapis was worshiped in Straton's Tower together with Isis.

<sup>67</sup> On the visit of Vespasian to Alexandria and the healing miracles that he performed within the temple of Serapis, see Henrichs 1968.

<sup>68</sup> “inde Apollonia, Stratonis turris, eadem Caesarea, ab Herode rege condita. nunc colonia Prima Flavia a Vespasiano imperatore deducta ...” (“Next Apollonia, and the Tower of Strato, otherwise Caesarea, founded by King Herod, but now the colony called Prima Flavia established by the Emperor Vespasian ...” [Translated by H. Rackham, 1961, The Loeb Classical Library]).

<sup>69</sup> Gersht 2015: 148.

<sup>70</sup> Among the evidences supporting the interpretation that the shrine in the circus was one of the Caesarea temples of Isis and Serapis are the ex-voto feet of the two deities in the form of serpents (ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες) and the serpent-entwined staff (Cat. No. 6) uncovered within the shrine (Gersht 2015: 164, 178-180, Cat. No. 9, 22, 24).

No. 7, Fig. 14) belonged, was accompanied by a statue of Hygieia. The presence of the gods of medicine in a bath that served the Christian community indicates that the two continued to be at service in the city also after the fifth century CE.<sup>71</sup> Another image of Hygieia, a fragmentary statuette in the Sdot Yam Museum, could have been coupled with an Asklepios' statuette, matching in size, of the kind (Cat. No. 3, Fig. 11) placed next to her in the museum.<sup>72</sup> The two also appear on a gem in the Hendler Collection (Cat. No. 11, Fig. 18) where Hygieia — due to her coiffeur and the ears of corn in her hand — is associated with Isis and Demeter. The celestial bodies accompanying the deities point to their cosmic significance; the crescent moon stands for Hygieia-Isis and the star for Asklepios.<sup>73</sup> Only one of the Caesarea images of Hygieia preserved the hand feeding the serpent;<sup>74</sup> in this statue the goddess offers the serpent an egg from a *patera*. The question of what exactly the goddess served to her serpent in her other Caesarea statues will remain unanswered.

For a full comprehension of the contribution of Asklepios' depictions to a better understanding of the aspects of veneration of Asklepios at Caesarea three factors should be taken into consideration: type, size, and original context of display. The catalogue's entries — excluding No. 4 (for precautionary reasons), and the gems (Nos. 10, 11) — offer visual variations of six different types of depiction: the Anzio type (Cat. No. 1, Fig. 9a-c), the Campana type (Cat. No. 2, Fig. 10a-b), the Amelung type (or its related Giustini type; Cat. No. 3, Fig. 11), a combination of the so-called Tunis and Argos types (Cat. No. 5, Fig. 12), an Asklepios-Serapis type (Cat. No. 9, Fig. 16, probably also Cat. No. 6, Fig. 13), and the seated Apollo type (Cat. No. 8, Fig. 15).

The so called Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier type of Asklepios holding an egg well demonstrates how difficult it is to relate a type to a certain cultic center, and even more problematic are the attempts to deduce collective religious practices and beliefs from the distribution of a certain type. In Caesarea only the Asklepios-Serapis and the seated Apollo types hint to additional aspects of Asklepios than that of healing: the chthonian, when associated with Serapis and the oracular, when associated with Apollo.<sup>75</sup> The two amethyst gems (Cat. Nos. 10 and 11, Figs. 17, 18) although bearing no magical signs can be interpreted as amuletic objects with healing powers. "Amethysts" — note Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz — "owing to their colour, which to the ancients was reminiscent of red wine — were believed to be particularly potent against the after-effects of excessive drinking";<sup>76</sup> with the depictions of Asklepios and Hygieia-Demeter-

<sup>71</sup> Gersht 2017: 84-86.

<sup>72</sup> The Hygieia statuette (ca. 24 cm high) was found within the range of Kibbutz Sdot Yam 1n 1967 (Gersht 1987: 26-27, Cat. No. 18; 1996b: 436, Fig. 3; 1999: 22-23, Fig. 12), the findspot of Asklepios' statuette (Cat. No. 3) is unknown.

<sup>73</sup> On the circumstances of the raise of Asklepios to the stars, see Ps. Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, I, 6; Hyginus, *Astronomica* II, 14; Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. I, 58-59, Testimonies 121, 121a.

<sup>74</sup> Gersht 1987: 27, Cat. No. 19; 1996b: 436, Fig. 4.

<sup>75</sup> On Asklepios' ability to revive the dead, see the above references in note 73. On chthonic sacrifices to Asklepios, see Petropoulou, 1991: 30-31; Riethmüller 1996: 97-108; 2005, 270-273.

<sup>76</sup> Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz, 2015: 79.

Isis (Cat. No. 11, Fig. 18) the amulet powers must have exceeded the ability to avert the effect of unrestrained drinking.

Apart from the serpent-entwined staff uncovered in the shrine of Isis and Serapis (Cat. No. 6, Fig. 13) — which could have belonged to a statue of Asklepios-Serapis similar to those in the Bardo and Leptis Magna museums<sup>77</sup> — and the serpent-entwined staff uncovered in the bath within insula W2S3 (Cat. No. 7, Fig. 14), not one of the Asklepios' images was found in situ. The dimensions of the lost statue of Asklepios which the serpent (Cat. No. 7) belonged to are not known, yet the thickness of the serpent's body suggests that the statue was less than one meter high; such an estimation is supported by the height of the statue of Hygieia — ca. 80 cm when intact without the base — that stood next to Asklepios in the bath. The images of these two deities were put on display at the Caesarea bath, which served the Christian community between the fifth and the seventh century CE, because they exemplified the functional, hygienic, and medicinal merits of bathing. These pagan deities were made appropriate to the setting by a colonnette decorated with a Latin cross and the ICXC Christogram, which was found together with the serpent.<sup>78</sup>

The largest statue of Asklepios at Caesarea reached the height of about 1.50 m when intact (Cat. No. 1, Fig. 9a-c). Unfortunately, the dimensions provide no hint as for its context of display. The statue was not much larger than the statue from Kos (H. 1.27 m) which was held in a private mansion. It does not, however, exclude the option that the Caesarea image was housed within a temple or a *temenos*. The same holds true for the other image on display in the theater (Cat. No. 2, Fig. 10a-b), whose intact height was less than one meter. Cat. No. 5 (Fig. 12), could have belonged with the circus, perhaps even with the shrine of Isis and Serapis within the circus. In Caesarea, as in other Roman and Byzantine cities, small-scale images were put on display outdoors and indoors, in the public and in the private spheres. Statuettes smaller than 60 cm (Cat. Nos. 3-4, and Fig. 2) were either held by private individuals who regarded the god as protector of the household<sup>79</sup> or by those involved in healing.<sup>80</sup> Likewise could each of the statuettes be a votive to the god in his place of reverence, either a domestic *lararium* or a sanctuary.

<sup>77</sup> Tran Tam Tinh 1983: Cat. No. V 4, Fig. 262 (Bardo Museum), Cat. No. IA 5, Fig. 6 (Leptis Magna Museum).

<sup>78</sup> For a more comprehensive discussion, see Gersht 2017: 84-87.

<sup>79</sup> On this aspect of Asklepios, see Edelstein and Edelstein 1998: Vol. II, 104.

<sup>80</sup> One doctor, Alexandros, son of Heleinos, is memorialized on a Caesarean limestone sarcophagus' lid: μημόριον Ἀλεξά[νδρ]οῦ ἰατροῦ Ἑλείνου (Lehmann and Holum 2000: 136, No. 152, Pl. C; *CIIP* II: 395-396, No. 1446). See, also, note 35 above.

**Supplement: Catalogue of Depictions of the Caesarea Asklepios  
Uncovered till 2015**

**Marble Images**

1. Headless Statue (Fig. 9a-c):

Found in 1986, east of the eastern gate of the Crusader city. Semi-transparent white marble; small to medium glittering crystals. H 1.30 m. On display at the entrance to the Roman theater. Gersht 1987: 12-13, Cat. No. 1; 1996b: 434, Fig. 1.

The head, right arm, forearm, and hand, right foot, the serpent entwined staff, and part of the base are missing; left foot is partly broken. The figure is posed on a rounded base (H. 6 cm); the weight of the body is borne by the left leg, while the right leg is bent with the thigh pushed slightly forwards and the shin backwards. The footwear — as indicated by the encased left heel, the sole and the remains of the upper part of a *lingula* — was a combination of *trochas* and a *lingula* sandal.<sup>81</sup> The *himation* is worn with an overfold, whose upper ridge is rolled into a thick band. One end of the overfold is laid on the left shoulder, concealing the upper-arm and part of the forearm, which is laid on the left buttock, fastening the voluminous side folds to the hip. The drapery then envelops the body by crossing the front below the breast and the back from the right hip to the left shoulder, which from it hangs down to the knee. The corner is broken but the weight, like the two other weights sewn into the drapery's corners — to help in holding it in place — preserved. The folds, at the polished front and sides, vary from shallow to considerably deep (5.5 cm) having clear remnants of drill work; the back is schematic, sculpted in significantly less attention, and only smoothed. Remnants of the strut (4x5 cm), which supported Asklepios' serpent-entwined staff, are seen at the right hip joint.

This image of Asklepios is almost identical to the statue of Asklepios found in Porto d'Anzio (Antium; Fig. 9d).<sup>82</sup> Both wear *lingula* sandals; in both the mantle is worn exactly the same, with a wide over-fold at front, and the left forearm is laid against the buttock. The folds and even the position of the strut and of the piece of stone left behind the left leg as supporting background, are similar. The similarities allow the assumption that the missing head and serpent-entwined staff of the Caesarea Asklepios also shared affinities with the Porto d'Anzio Asklepios. A poorer example of the Anzio type was found in Ephesos.<sup>83</sup>

2. Headless Statue (Fig. 10a-b):

White marble; small to medium glittering crystals. H 0.79.5 m. On display at the entrance to the Roman theater, Inv. 69.1019. Gersht 1987:13-14, Cat. No. 3.

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<sup>81</sup> On the *trochades* and the *lingula* types, see Morrow 1985: 114-121; Goldman 2001: 109, 114, Figs. 6.11, 6.18.

<sup>82</sup> Stuart Jones 1912: 278, Salone 5, Pl. 67; The statue (H 1.445 m, made of *bigio morato* stone), partly restored, was found during the excavations carried on by Cardinal Albani from 1711 onwards; Holtzmann 1984: 878 No. 136.

<sup>83</sup> Aurenhammer 1990: 50-51, Cat. No. 27, Pl. 20a-b. For other examples of the Anzio type, see Holtzmann 1984: 878, Nos. 137-144.

The head, right hand from armpit down, and left forearm are missing. The feet and the frontal face and right side of base are broken;<sup>84</sup> body and dress worn and chipped. The figure is posed on a base (H 5.7-7 cm; remaining length 26.5 cm, left side 26.5 cm) with a back support (H 14 cm; W: upper 12 cm, lower 13.5 cm; thickness 5 cm). The weight of the body is borne by the right leg; the left leg is bent as its thigh pushed slightly forwards and the shin backwards. Like in Cat. No. 1, the *himation* covers the left upper arm and shoulder and most of the back, apart from the right shoulder blade. The folds, however, are less elaborate, and the drapery — along with its overfold and rolled ridge — crosses the body front more loosely from left hip joint to the right, while exposing the abdomen. A 5x6 cm protuberance on the right thigh is probably part of the serpent-entwined staff; another protuberance on the rolled ridge covering the right hip is probably the remains of Asklepios' right hand.

This image of Asklepios corresponds with a large group of copies, known as the Campana type, of which the Hermitage,<sup>85</sup> the Palazzo Altemps,<sup>86</sup> and the Kassel<sup>87</sup> are the best pieces. In spite of the poor state of preservation of the Caesarea image the resemblance to these statues, and especially to the one in the Kassel Museum (Fig. 10 c-d), in posture and apparel, is unquestionable.

### 3. Torso of a Statuette (Fig. 11):

Found in 1951, white marble, H 26.5 cm. On display at the Sdot Yam Museum. Inv. CM.51.2. Gersht 1987: 13, Cat. No. 2; 1996a: 315, Fig. 12; 1999: 21, Fig. 11.

The head, right arm from above the elbow down, shins, and feet, are missing; surface is almost entirely encrusted. The weight of the body was borne by the left leg; the right thigh is pushed slightly forwards as the shin was pushed backwards. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip and is entirely covered by the *himation*. The *himation* — having a rolled upper ridge — is draped over the left shoulder and arm, covering most of the back except for the right shoulder blade, then enfolding the rest of the body from under the right armpit to over the elbow of the concealed left arm, leaving the right arm and the breast free. The folds are rather deep, and except for the wavy vertical ones at the figure's left side, they are rather schematic and V shaped at front. Comparatives are known from many sites, among them Athens, Aquileia, Rome, Ephesos, and Side.<sup>88</sup>

### 4. Statuette:

Private Collection. I saw this statuette many years ago, and as far as I remember it is similar to No. 3 above.

<sup>84</sup> It seems that the right face of the base was straightened after being damaged or was intentionally reshaped to fit it to a new location.

<sup>85</sup> Holtzmann 1984: 884, No. 261; 2.07 m, Inv. No. GP-4178.

<sup>86</sup> Holtzmann 1984: 884, No. 266.

<sup>87</sup> Bieber 1957: 77, Fig. 13; Holtzmann 1984: 884, No. 272.

<sup>88</sup> Neugebauer 1921; Martens 2018: Figs. 2, 6-8, 12, 16 (Athens); Scrinari 1972: 6, Cat. No. 11 (Aquileia, Italy); Candilio 1981 (Rome); Aurenhammer 1990: 43-44, 49-50, Cat. Nos. 18, 25, 26, Pls. 16c, 19a,c (Ephesos); Inan 1975: 58-61, Cat. Nos. 15-16, Pls. XXV-XXVI (Side, Turkey).

### 5. Headless Statue (Fig. 12):

Found in 1994, in a drainage channel above the eastern cavea of Herod's Circus. White marble, H 55 cm. On display in the Sdot Yam Museum. Gersht 2015: 155-156, Cat. No. 4.

The head, neck, right arm from below the shoulder, left forearm, and feet are missing; legs broken above the ankles. The staff is damaged and the serpent's existence is manifested only by a few stumps where its body touched the staff. The young Asklepios is shown leaning on a serpent-entwined staff; the weight of his body is borne by the right leg as the left one is pushed forward and slightly bent. The right arm was supported on the right hip, as evinced by the remnants of the palm and fingers. The mantle enfolds the body, leaving the chest — from left shoulder to above the right hip — and the right shoulder and shoulder blade exposed.

This image of Asklepios shares features with two types: the so-called Tunis type as demonstrated by a variant from Miletus, in the Istanbul Museum,<sup>89</sup> and the Argos type as demonstrated by Asklepios' images in the Museums at Argos and Venice.<sup>90</sup> However, unlike these variants whose left shoulder is entirely covered, the Caesarea Asklepios has its left shoulder partially exposed. There is also a difference in the fashion the mantle is enveloped; in the Argos type the garment covers the front and then the back, whereas in the Caesarea piece, as in the Miletus Asklepios in Istanbul, the *himation* covers the back before it is drawn over the chest and left shoulder.

### 6. Serpent-entwined Staff (Fig. 13):

Found in July 1993 in Byzantine fill within the Isis and Serapis shrine, which was combined into the eastern cavea of Herod's Circus. White marble. H 22.6 cm, W 10 cm max. Gersht 2015:164, Cat. No. 9.

Two joining fragments broken at both ends. The piece, probably from a statue of Asklepios, represents a section of a tree-trunk staff with a serpent coiling around it. It was likely placed to the figure's right,<sup>91</sup> although examples of Asklepios images with the serpent-entwined staff placed to his left, also exist.<sup>92</sup>

### 7. Serpent-entwined Staff (Fig. 14):

Found in February 1993 within a fountain of the Large Bath Nymphaeum in Insula W2S3. White marble. H 9.9 cm, W 8.3 cm. Gersht 2017: 85-86, Fig. 6:15

Both ends of the tree-trunk-like staff are broken. The skin of the fragmentary serpent is covered in scales, but only in the areas exposed to the viewer. The way in which the serpent is coiled recalls the serpents accompanying the images of Asklepios in the Lateran Museum and in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican, Rome.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Bieber 1957: 87, n. 69; Holtzmann 1984: 885, No. 294.

<sup>90</sup> Marcadé 1980: 148-150, No. 180, Fig. 19; Holtzmann 1984: 870, Nos. 31-32.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. Karageorghis and Vermeule 1964: 15, Cat. No. 5, Pl. XIII (From Salamis, Cyprus); Bieber 1957: Figs. 5-8, 14-16, 30-31, 34.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. Bieber 1957: Figs. 20, 26-27, 29, and Cat. No. 5 above.

<sup>93</sup> Bieber 1957: Figs. 7, 31.

**Other media**

## 8. Oil Lamp (Fig. 15):

Fragment of an early imperial oil lamp. Terracotta, 6X8.7 cm. On display in the Sdot Yam Museum, Inv. No. 98-6945 (CML.70.1). Sussman 1999: 122-123, Fig. 12; Beeri 2017: 25-26, 80-84, Cat. No. D33.

Asklepios is shown on the left side of the fragment; his head and legs, from below the knees down, and the seat on which he is reclining, are missing. Facing Asklepios is a laurel (?) tree, of which only two branches and twigs remain; a bird (perhaps a raven<sup>94</sup>) with spread wings rests upon one of its branches, and a bit behind a drapery is dangling from the same branch. Asklepios is nude apart from the left shoulder and thigh; the rest of his cloak covers the seat on which he reclines; to his left are the staff and the upper body of a serpent.

Beeri traced other lamps with similar depiction, though without the tree and bird, and an almost identical depiction on a silver medallion in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples. Beeri suggested that like the Asklepios on the medallion, Asklepios on the Caesarea lamp was beardless and reclining on a throne. She considered the possibility, based on literary sources, that the depiction on the lamp had to do with Augustan propaganda, associating divine healing powers to Augustus, who like Apollo (hinted by the laurel tree and raven) and Asklepios cured Rome of all diseases.

## 9. The cup in the Louvre (Fig. 16):

Purchased by the Louvre in 1964. Bronze, silver and enamel decoration. H 8.2 cm, D 20.2 cm. 340-360 CE. Will 1983.

Asklepios — identified by inscription — is shown in a three-quarter view, shaking hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) with a male named Straton; Hygieia is portrayed to Asklepios' left. Asklepios is depicted as a mature man, with curly hair and wavy beard. He is fully dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and a cloak, which envelops his lower body, and his most common attribute — the serpent-entwined staff — is excluded. This iconography is far from being conventional, and without the inscription the identification of the god would have not been possible. The clothing and the small *kalathos/modius* on the crown of Asklepios' head recall some of the fully dressed portrayals of Serapis, as those on the stele in the Museo di Antichità, Turin,<sup>95</sup> on the Iuppiter Dolichenus' relief in the Capitoline Museum, Rome,<sup>96</sup> and in the statues housed in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva,<sup>97</sup> the Bardo Museum, Tunis,<sup>98</sup> and the Leptis Magna Museum;<sup>99</sup> the Bardo and Leptis Magna examples are accompanied by a serpent each.

<sup>94</sup> For the raven, see above note 55.

<sup>95</sup> Hornbostel 1973: Pl. XXII, Fig. 33; Tran Tam Tinh 1983: Cat. No. IVA 4, Fig. 121a.

<sup>96</sup> Hornbostel 1973: Pl. CCI, Fig. 330; Tran Tam Tinh 1983: Cat. No. IVB 1, Fig. 130.

<sup>97</sup> Hornbostel 1973: Pl. CC, Fig. 329.

<sup>98</sup> Tran Tam Tinh 1983: Cat. No. V 4, Fig. 262.

<sup>99</sup> Tran Tam Tinh 1983: Cat. No. IA 5, Fig. 6.

## 10. Oval Gem (Fig. 17):

Fragment of an amethyst gem, light to dark purple, translucent and transparent, 10x14x6 mm. On display in the Sdot Yam Museum, Inv. No. CMG.71.6. Amoraï-Stark 1999: 88, 98, Fig. 3.

Asklepios is shown standing frontally with the head in right profile. The weight of his body is borne by the left leg as the right one is slightly bent. The *himation* envelops the body, leaving the chest — from left shoulder to above the right hip — exposed. One end of the *himation* is thrown over the left shoulder down to the knee. The right hand holds the serpent-entwined staff, and the left one an unidentified object. Amoraï-Stark claim that Asklepios was accompanied by Hygieia, it seems however that Asklepios is occupying the central part of the gem, leaving no room for another image.

## 11. Oval Gem (Fig. 18):

The Hendler Collection. Amethyst, light to dark purple, translucent and transparent, 11x8x4.3 mm. Amoraï-Stark and Hershkovitz 2015: 78-79, Cat. No. 56.

Asklepios, at the left, is shown standing frontally; the weight of his body is borne by the left leg as the right one is bent. The head, in right profile, turns towards Hygieia, who stands to his left. The bearded god is dressed in *himation* which envelops the lower body, leaving the upper body nude; one end of the *himation* is thrown over the right shoulder down to the hip, another end enfolds the left forearm. Asklepios' right arm is slightly bent, holding the serpent-entwined staff, his left arm is stretched along the upper body.



### Abbreviations

<i>ArchCl</i>	Archeologia Classica.
<i>BABesch</i>	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving, Leiden.
<i>BHM</i>	Bulletin of the History of Medicine.
<i>CIIP II</i>	Ameling, W. et al. (2011). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae / Palaestina II: Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121-2160</i> , Berlin, Boston.
<i>CRAI</i>	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
<i>LIMC</i>	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.
<i>MAAR</i>	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
<i>MEFRA</i>	Mélanges de L'école Française de Rome Antiquité.
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
<i>SIRIS</i>	Vidamn, L. (1969). <i>Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae</i> , Berlin.

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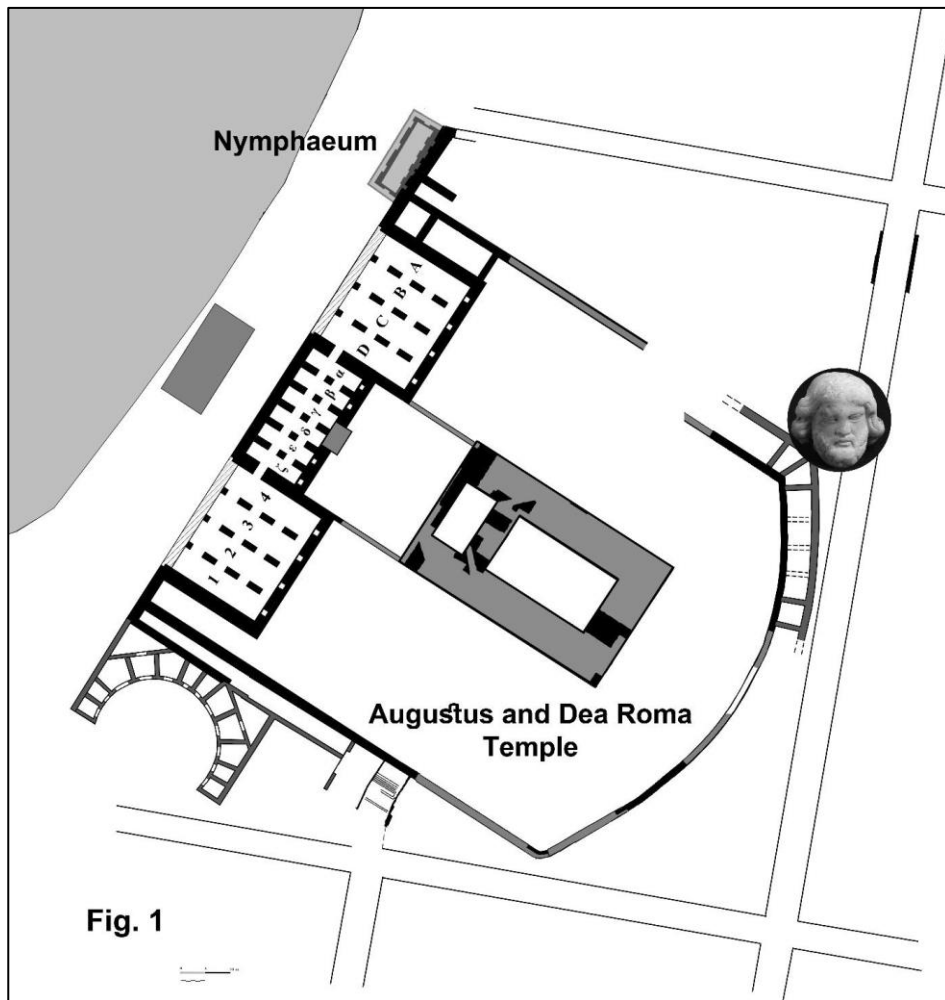
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### List of Figures

- Fig. 1 Finding spot of Asklepios' head, Caesarea Maritima [Courtesy of Peter Gendelman].
- Fig. 2 (a-b) Marble head of Asklepios. Caesarea Maritima [Photo by Clara Amit. Courtesy of the IAA]. (c) The Nea Paphos Asklepios [Paphos District Museum. From Grimm 1989: Fig. 1].
- Fig. 3 Asklepios with Telesphoros and Hygieia, statuette [Private collection. After Mazzuca 2014: Pl. I:4].
- Fig. 4 Asklepios with Telesphoros and Hygieia, reliefs from Glava Panega, Bulgaria, [After: (4a) Koleva 2017: Fig. 1. (4b) Gočeva 1984: No. 17].
- Fig. 5 Aurelios Hermogenes' epitaph, Caesarea [After *CIIP* II: No. 1457].
- Fig. 6 Glykon from Tomis/Constanța [After Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009, Fig. 11].
- Fig. 7 Glykon from Athens, MFA Boston [After Bordenache Battaglia 1988: No. 3].
- Fig. 8 Pompeii, *lararium*, Pistrinum IX, iii [After Boyce 1937: Pl. 26:1].
- Fig. 9 (a-c) Anzio type Asklepios, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 1 [Photos 9a, 9c Peter Gendelman]. (d) Asklepios from Porto d'Anzio [After Stuart Jones 1912: Pl. 67].
- Fig. 10 (a-b) Campana Type Asklepios, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 2 [Photo Peter Gendelman]. (c-d) Asklepios in the Kassel Museum [After [http://antikeskulptur.museum-kassel.de/show.html?bild1=035\\_1&nr=34&gruppe=1](http://antikeskulptur.museum-kassel.de/show.html?bild1=035_1&nr=34&gruppe=1)].
- Fig. 11 Torso of Asklepios, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 3 [Photos Israel Zafrir]
- Fig. 12 Asklepios from Herod's Circus, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 5 [Photo Peter Gendelman].
- Fig. 13 Serpent-entwined staff from Isis and Serapis shrine, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 6 [Photo Peter Gendelman].
- Fig. 14 Serpent-entwined staff from the Large Bath Nymphaeum in Insula W2S3, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 7 [Photo Peter Gendelman].
- Fig. 15 Oil lamp, fragment, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 8 [Photo Israel Zafrir].
- Fig. 16 The Louvre cup, detail, Cat. No. 9 [After Will 1983: Fig. 13].
- Fig. 17 Amethyst gem, Asklepios, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 10 [Photo Israel Zafrir].
- Fig. 18 Amethyst gem, Asklepios and Hygieia, Caesarea Maritima, Cat. No. 11 [After Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz 2015: Cat. No. 56].





**a**



**b**



**c**

**Fig. 2**



Fig. 3

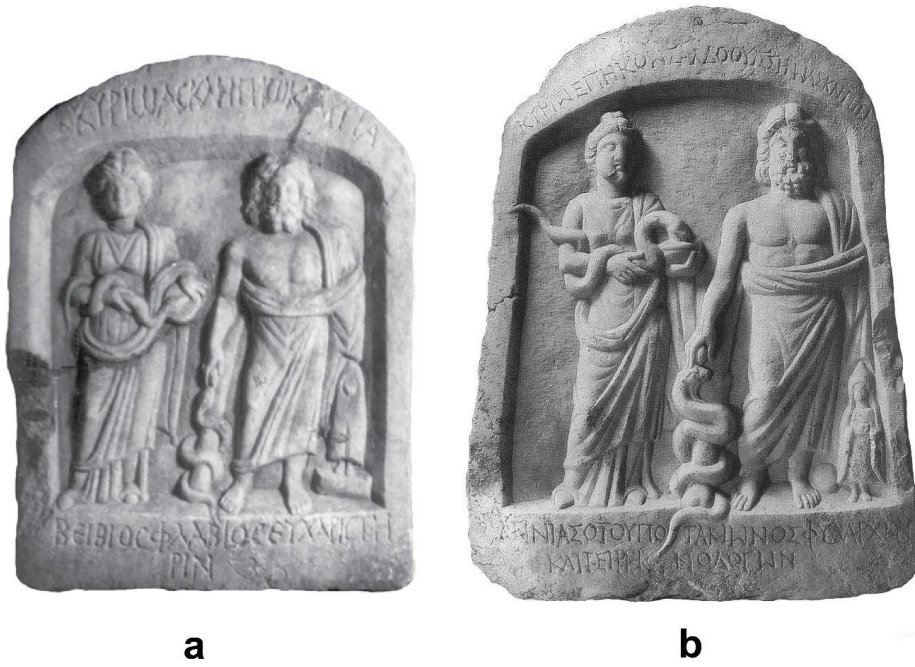
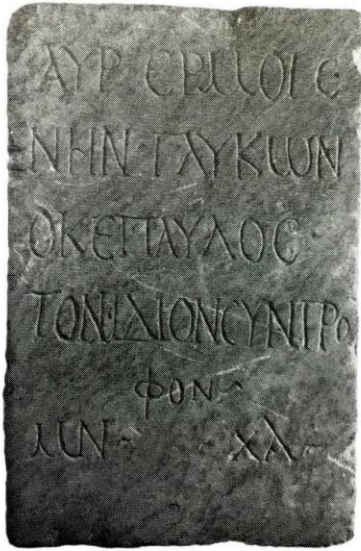


Fig. 4





**Fig. 5**



**Fig. 6**



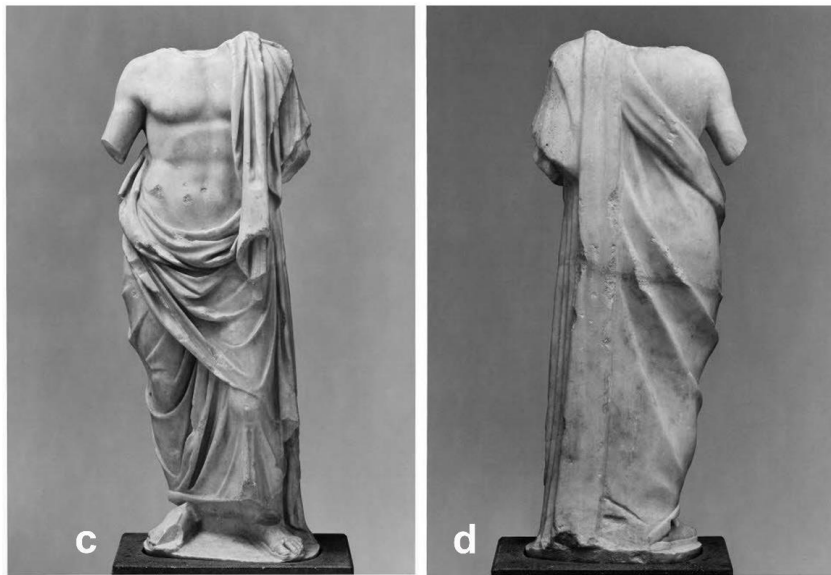
**Fig. 7**



**Fig. 8**



Fig. 9



**Fig. 10**



**Fig. 11**



**Fig. 12**



**Fig. 13**



**Fig. 14**



**Fig. 15**



**Fig. 16**



**Fig. 17**



**Fig. 18**