

Dawid Borowka

<https://doi.org/10.26485/AAL/2022/68/6>

A HEALTHY DONATION.

THE KISSAMOS ASCLEPIUS (Λ 410) – ITS ORIGIN AND POSSIBLE CONTEXT

ABSTRACT This article publishes a previously unpublished artefact, a marble head of a bearded deity, probably that of Asclepius, currently held in the Kissamos Archeological Museum (cat. nr. Λ 410). The object found its way to the museum as a donation of the educational commission of the 1st primary school in Kissamos, where it was held for an indefinite period. The donation was made in April 1996. In this article an attempt to identify the monument, making use of analogies drawn from ancient art is made along with the presentation of the results of field research undertaken in the area of the city of Kissamos in December 2018 and August 2019, aimed at determining the most likely provenance of the artefact. Finally, an attempt will be made to place the object in the historical and social context of Kissamos, one of the most important centres in Crete during the Roman period, which according to A. Kouremenos had the status of *civitas libera*.

Key words: Roman Crete, Asclepius, Asklepios, Kissamos, Roman Sculpture, Roman Baths, Marble Head, Province of Cyrene

ABSTRAKT Artykuł zawiera publikację charakterystycznego zabytku – marmurowej głowy brodatego bóstwa – prawdopodobnie Eskulapa, przechowywanego obecnie w Muzeum Archeologicznym w Kissamos (nr kat. Λ 410). Obiekt trafił do muzeum jako darowizna komisji edukacyjnej I Szkoły Podstawowej w Kissamos, gdzie był przechowywany przez nieokreślony czas. Darowizna została przekazana w kwietniu 1996 roku. W niniejszym artykule podjęto próbę identyfikacji zabytku, wykorzystując analogie zaczerpnięte ze sztuki starożytnej, a także zaprezentowano wyniki kwerend źródłowych podjętych w rejonie miasta Kissamos w grudniu 2018 roku i sierpniu 2019 roku, mających na celu określenie najbardziej prawdopodobnej proveniencji artefaktu. Na zakończenie podjęta została próba umiejscowienia obiektu w historycznym i społecznym kontekście Kissamos – jednego z najważniejszych ośrodków na Krecie w okresie okresu rzymskiego, który według A. Kouremenos posiadał status *civitas libera*.

Introduction

The cult of the god of medicine, Asclepius, in Crete dates back to the 5th¹ or 4th-3rd century BC.²

¹ This date can be only confirmed by one vessel fragment incised with a dedication to the god found during excavations close to Agios Ioannis at Lebena (Melfi 2007: 156, no.2).

² More in Edelstein, Edelstein 1945: II: 249. The sanctuary of Asclepius at ancient Lebena was previously thought to have been built under influence of Cyrene before the 5th century B.C. Excavations at modern Lebena proved, however, that the temple was built in the 3rd century. According to the recent research of Bowsky (2016: 132) the earliest inscriptions coming from Lissian dossier are contemporary with the traditional date for foundation of the temple in the 4th-3rd century BC.

This is best testified by the still visible ruins of *Asclepieia* in ancient Lebena³ (a port town of Gortyn) and Lissos. As N. Lekkas has observed, out of the 750 hundred sources of water in Greece, 100 have been discovered on Crete, and many of them might have been connected with *Asclepieia*.⁴ As has been recently proven, the association of the deity with the healing aspect of water was highly important on the island.⁵ M.W. Baldwin Bowsky mentions 13 sites with known inscriptions connected to Asclepius as well as 4 more possible

³ Gr. *Λέβηνα*, known also as Leben (gr. *Λέβην*) and Lebene (gr. *Λεβήνη*). The archaeological site is located near the coastal village of Lentas.

⁴ Lekkas 1938.

⁵ Manutsoglou 2017.



Fig. 1. Head of a small-scale statue of a bearded man (ht.11.8, w. 9.8), possibly Asclepius (Kissamos Archaeological Museum – Λ 410).

A Roman copy of Classical or Hellenistic Prototype.

(a) front view; (b) back view; (c) top view; (d) right view; (e) $\frac{3}{4}$ of the left profile, showing the sign of blackening/wearing on the cheek. Photos by the author

candidates.⁶ Following the Roman conquest of Crete (67 B.C.) and the incorporation of the island with Cyrene into a single province of Cyrene, the cult of god rose in importance.⁷ This is best proven on the site of ancient Lebena where the *Asclepeion* was renovated and decorated with marble statues and a wonderful floor mosaic with maritime themes. An inscription dating to the 1st century A.D. that was found on the site records a *pean* describing the help that Sosus and Soarchus, father and son, proud citizens of Gortyn, received from the deity and the water from his sanctuary.⁸ Philostratus (Philostr. *V A*, IV, 34) offers further information, informing us about the status that Lebena *Asclepeion* enjoyed in Crete, and the pilgrimages of Libyans coming to the sanctuary.

In contrast to Athens, Epidauros and many other centres of worship of Asclepius, the god did not leave a rich sculptural legacy on Crete. The number of published statues from Gortyn is limited,⁹ and the antiquities from Lissos, including a magnificent statue of the deity held in Chania Archaeological Museum remain unpublished. One addition to this sparse catalogue is most likely to be found in the Archaeological Museum of Kissamos (Δήμος Κισσάμου in the Northwestern Crete) where a peculiar, marble bearded head of the god, preserved from the neck upwards is held. The object found its way to the museum as a donation of the educational commission of the 1st primary school in Kissamos, where it was held for an indefinite period. The donation was made in April 1996. This article is an attempt to identify the monument, making use of analogies drawn from ancient art, and also to present the results of field research undertaken in the area of the city of Kissamos in December 2018 and August 2019, aimed at determining the most likely provenance of the artefact. At the end, an attempt will be made to place the object in the historical and social context

of Kissamos, one of the most important centres in Crete during the Roman period, which according to A. Kouremenos had the status of *civitas libera*.¹⁰

Identification of the sculpture

The sculpture has the shape of a bearded man. Made out of off-white marble, it is 11.8 cm high and 9.8 cm wide and broken off at the neck. The dimensions indicate that it was part of a relatively small figural representation probably about 65-70 cm in total height.¹¹ The face has a badly damaged nose. There is a scratch on the forehead. The hair and beard have been carved in deep relief, and have pronounced curls. The heavy eyelids are slightly sunken under thick eyebrows. The pupils are incised. The contour of the eyelids is delineated, indicating inspiration from a bronze model. The nose is not excessively wide. The mouth is small, and the full lips are slightly parted with a sinuous lip rim. The lower lip is fleshier and the upper one is covered by thick downward-sloping moustache. The beard is moderately thick and short, made up of curly and twisted locks, covering the cheeks and chin. The locks are arranged asymmetrically on both cheeks and descend in parallel rows up to the neck. The cheekbones are slightly pronounced.

The face is framed by hair consisting of long, wavy locks. They divide left and right and bend slightly asymmetrically to shade the face and hide the ears. The back of the head is surrounded by the outline of what seems to be a characteristic headband (Gr: ταυρία), which flattens the asymmetrically arranged hair on the top of the head. The hair on the back of the head appears to be only roughly worked, perhaps because the statute was intended to be placed in a niche of an unspecified building. On the back of the head, on an area with flattened hair, and in the area of the left cheek, there are traces of blackening, probably caused by contact with fire and/or wear of the material.

The lack of the torso of the statue impedes the certain identification of the preserved head. This iconographic type was adopted in Roman times to depict various deities, including Zeus/ Jupiter, Poseidon/ Neptune, Asclepius, Serapis and some other minor water deities. Whenever a head of this type is found it raises doubts as to what deity is

⁶ See Bowsky 2016: 129, Fig. 1. The sites with known inscriptions are Lissos, Aptera, Lasiaia, Lebena, Pyloros, Gortyn, Knossos, Chersonesos, Eronos, Lato, Arkades and Olous.

⁷ Ploeg 2018.

⁸ *Inscriptions Creticae* I, (ed. M. Guarducci): XVII, no.21 includes the measurements of the artefact and translation to Italian. English translation is available in Edelstein, Edelstein 1945: I: 399-400 # 791.

⁹ Including the famous statue of Serapis, held in Heraklion Archaeological Museum, I have noted five examples. See Romeo, Portale 1998: 92-104 #15, Tav. VII a-b, 119-122 #21, Tav. IX b, 155-163 #39, Tav. XIVb, XVa, 163-165 #40, Tav. XVb, 165-169 #41, Tav. XVI.

¹⁰ Kouremenos 2015: 145.

¹¹ According to Vitruvius' scale of proportions, popularized later in the lithography *Le proporzioni del corpo umano secondo Vitruvio* by Leonardo da Vinci.

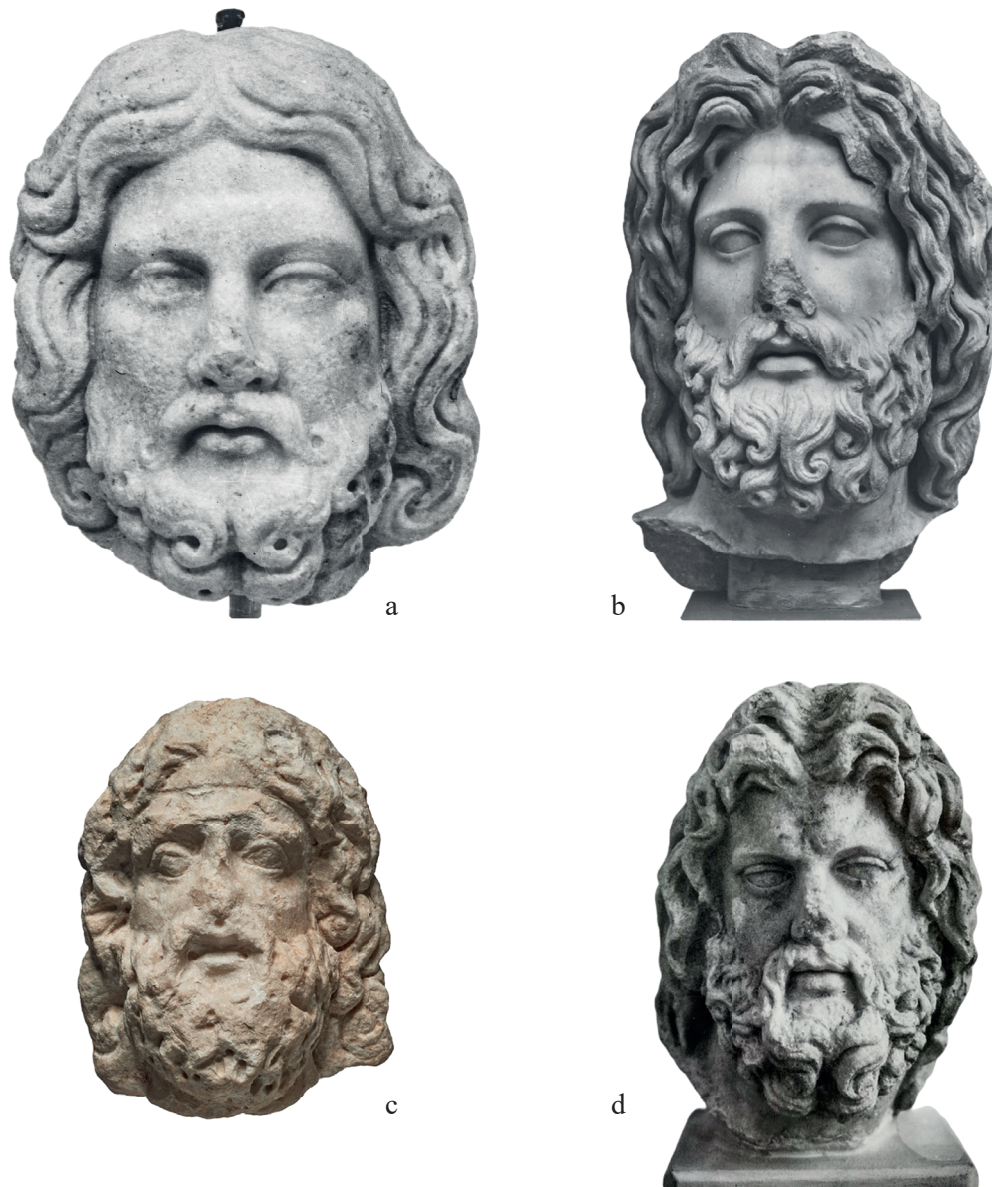


Fig. 2. Examples of sculptural representations of deities from 2nd-3rd century AD.

- (a) Head of Asclepius, dating to 2nd century AD, found in Salamis, Cyprus – after Karageorghis, Vermeule 1964: pp. 36 n°34 pl. 35#3-4 ,
- (b) Head of Asclepius found in Asia Minor dated to the 2nd AD, held in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek – after LIMC II: fig. 348
- (c) Head of a small-scale statue, probably of Asclepius – after Martens 2018: pp. 565, fig.20#32, 570, fig. 23
- (d) Head of the deity, probably Asclepius, dated to 2nd century AD – after Finocchi 2015: pp.93-93, figs. 83-84

being depicted, with the result that it is usually described as the “head of a deity”. A comparable head, dated to the 3rd century AD, was found in the Nymphaeum of Leptis Magna (Fig. 2; d) and rightfully named *Testa di divinità* by P. Finocchi who precludes clear identification of the character being depicted.¹² However, in the case of the

sculpture in question, the manner of depicting the head is typical for statues of Asclepius from around the second century AD, imitating Classical or Hellenistic prototypes, strongly indicating the god of medicine as the most likely candidate.¹³

¹² Finocchi 2015, pp. 93-95#9.

¹³ This was also confirmed by prof. N. Sekunda, with whom I had a private consultation about the sculpture (25.09.2018). Examples can be seen in Bieber 1955, pp. 770-778, Adriani 1961, Tav. 84#49.

The closest analogy from this period is a head of Asclepius (Fig. 2; a) found at Salamis, Cyprus.¹⁴ The head from this site, just like the head from Kissamos, has characteristic drill holes in the lower part of the curls, and the face of the deity itself has been presented in a similar manner, reflecting the protective aspect of the deity, which stands in contrast to the strict faces of the Olympian gods Zeus and Poseidon. The close similarity between the two heads indicates that the head from the Archaeological Museum in Kissamos is likely to qualify as a variant of the so-called *Giustini* type, which can be traced to a Greek original of the 5th century BC.¹⁵ A wide variety of problems associated with the Asclepius *Giustini* type have been much debated. Most scholars now agree that it was derived from an original bronze statue of the early 4th century BC.¹⁶ The image made a great impact on the sculptures of the ancient world, which is proven by the figural representations of god found in abundance in Epidauros¹⁷ and the Athenian *Asklepieion*.¹⁸ Soon the *Giustini* model attained a wide geographical distribution, including Italy, Asia Minor and North Africa¹⁹ and became the most common Asclepius type to be copied. In the Roman period it became the most prevalent type. Therefore that the Kissamos head follows this type should not come as any surprise.

The sculpture from Salamis has been considered to be a second variant of the *Giustini* type, which is distinguished by the symmetrical hairstyle falling in very long, thick curls, which was initially believed to be derived from the iconic statue of the god produced by Pyromachos (LIMC II,1: 894). The 'Kissamos Aesculapius' however, does not have the symmetrical hairstyle, which can relate it more to the so-called *Este* type, which was the

only other model which rivalled the *Giustini* type in its abundance and posterity (LIMC II,1: 895, m. 320-354). A good representative example of this type comes from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Fig. 2; b), where a head of the god found in Asia Minor and dating to the 2nd century AD is stored. In depictions of the god dating to the Roman period, an asymmetrical hairstyle was not uncommon, and can be seen in a number of sculptures found in the Athenian agora²⁰ (example – Fig. 2; c).

The variety of different features which can be found in the sculpture under study here is a mark of the spirit of independence which the artist displayed towards the prototype. The head cannot be, therefore, considered to just be a slavish copy of a Greek prototype, but rather the artist has reworked for his own purposes a model which we could define as "canonical". This type of free interpretation and eclecticism, together with a quality of work and the treatment of the marble, might indicate an Aphrodisian sculptor. Several features in the execution of the sculpture seem to further confirm that the head depicts Asclepius. Although, as Pausanias (Paus. 1,8,4) mentions, the headband (Gr. *ταινία*) was a feature in representations of many deities from the pantheon, it is most commonly found in representations of Asclepius. Depictions with similarly flattened hair on the top of the head appear on the majority of the statues of the deity found in the Athenian Agora,²¹ local representations found in Crete,²² not to mention examples coming from other parts of the Mediterranean, including representations in relief.²³ In conclusion, the sculpture in question, due to the lack of decisive attributes, could have belonged to a statue of Zeus, Poseidon or Asclepius. The absence of the *polos* on the head, certainly excludes Serapis. Taking into consideration the execution, and the closest analogies, the marble head in all probability depicted Asclepius and can be dated to the Roman Period, most likely to the 2nd century AD.

¹⁴ Karageorghis, Vermeule 1964: 36 no 34, pl. 35, 3-4.

¹⁵ LIMC II, 1: 894-895, Asklepios, mr. 154-233.

¹⁶ Negebauer (1921) was the first person who connected this type with the Athenian *Asklepieion*. The resume of information about the type is offered in LIMC II, 894-895.

¹⁷ For the pre- Roman examples see Kaltsas 2002: 261, nos. 545, 544, 267, 268. Martens (2018: 546 ref. 8) mentions two Hellenistic sculptures of god that are exhibited in the Epidauros Archaeological Museum. For the Roman period statues see Katakis 2002: 5-26, nos. 1-23.

¹⁸ The most recent and comprehensive account gathering together statues of Asclepius from Athens is by Martens (2018).

¹⁹ For the account of this type of Asclepius representations with examples see LIMC II, 894-895.

²⁰ Martens 2018: 565, fig. 20#32-33, 38.

²¹ For the examples from Athenian agora see Martens 2018: 550, fig.3, p. 555, fig.1, p. 560, fig. 12:b-d.

²² The closest Cretan analogy for the object analyzed here, is the still unpublished statue of the god found in Lissos, currently on display at the Archaeological Museum in Chania (cat. No. A135). Other examples are the representations of the deity in Gortyn from the 2nd century AD. – Romeo, Portale 1998: 155-163#39, Tav XIVb, tav XVa, 169-171#42, Tav. XVd.

²³ Random examples can be found easily in Calza et al. 1977: 53-28, Moreno 2001, fig.157, *Collectif* 2001: 217-226, 218#227.



Fig. 3. The building (seen from NE) of Primary School No. I in Kissamos (Omogenon Amirikis 40 street), where the sculpture was stored (photo by the author)

Placing Asclepius in the context of Roman Kissamos Historical and Archaeological Considerations

Perhaps equally as interesting as the object itself is its modern history. The sculpture was a donation of the first primary school of Kissamos to the newly established archaeological museum in the year of 1996. Ever since the donation took place, the marble head has lain in a self-defined “twilight zone”. No further information as to its history was available either in the inventory catalogue of the Chania Ephorate of Antiquities or the Archaeological Museum of Kissamos. After receiving permission to publish the object, I decided to investigate the possible archaeological context of the find. Since the very beginning of archaeology, the importance of where an artefact is found (the archaeological context) is profound. In the case of the object under study, it is even more important, since knowing where the object was originally found, could increase the chances of its proper identification, as well as defining its cultural and religious significance.

Approaching the problem of finding out more about the possible archaeological context of the object it was decided to conduct a number of necessary and appropriate actions. Among them the two most important were:

1. Two local queries were conducted in Kissamos (in December 2018 and in August 2019), searching through the archives of the local press and the first primary school, as well as attempting to question the local inhabitants, regarding the provenance of the Asclepius sculpture and how and when it came to be deposited in the modern primary school.
2. A field survey of confirmed and supposed archaeological sites within the Kissamos region, which could have possibly housed a representation of Asclepius dating to the 2nd century AD.

Before entering into a discussion of the outcome of these attempts, certain issues have to be addressed. One basic question that instantly comes to mind after reading the basic information about the sculpture, is how is it possible that the artifact was held for many years in the local school, instead of being placed in a more appropriate location? The answer lies in the recent history of Kissamos. The modern city is located in the very same place as the ancient settlement, which reached its peak and the height of its status during the Roman period²⁴. The city development began in the 1st century AD and expanded to the same size as the modern town. This growth was caused by developing

²⁴ Detorakis 1994: 101-121; Markoulaki 2009; Stefanakis 2010; Kouremenos 2015.



Fig. 4. Map of Kissamos with places mentioned in the text.

1 – ‘Western Baths’, 2 – Saint Nicholas Church, 3 – West Cemetery, 4 – Villa of Phidias, 5 – I-st Primary School of Kissamos, 6 – Southern Bath, 7 – Eastern Roman Baths. Map by the author

trade with other parts of the Mediterranean, the immediate result of the *Pax Romana*. This Roman settlement in the words of A. Koroumenos *survived in more or less fragmentary condition thanks in part to the destructive effects of an earthquake that occurred in the 3rd century AD and, especially, the more well-documented seismic event of AD 365*.²⁵ About fifty excavations within the modern circuit of Kastelli-Kissamou have produced evidence for the urban plan of the city, and helped to preserve and record many antiquities. However, in times past, the local inhabitants were finding artefacts within the boundaries of their properties and gardens. This is most likely how the sculpture in question was found and why it has no provenance. Hypothetically, the blackening/wear of the surface found on the sculpture might have been a consequence of the destruction and/or fire of the building at the time of the AD 365 earthquake.²⁶

²⁵ After Kouremenos 2015: 145.

²⁶ For more about the seismic event see Stiros 2001; 2010, Stiros, Papageorgiou 2001; Stiros, Markoulaki 2004.

As for the original archaeological context of the sculpture, no definite conclusions could be made. The first query (December 2018) in the archives of local newspapers did not bring any results. The finding of the ancient sculpture, although of considerable historical interest, perhaps escaped the interest of the local press. Considerable help came, however, from the generosity of the teachers of the Ist primary school. As I was informed by the current head teacher Ms Mazokopaki, the sculpture was most likely gathered by one of the previous head teachers, who had a passion for ancient history, and before the establishment of the local museum was the main collector of antiquities that were found within the town and the surrounding area. Presumably the sculpture was found in one of the building spaces lying in the proximity of the school building, and had been brought there by an unspecified person. The story, although plausible, finds no confirmation in the school archives which have not preserved any data about the sculpture in question.

During the second visit to Kissamos (August 2019), additional help was given to the enquiries



Fig. 5. This photograph (taken from W) shows the entrance to the Tepidarium of the eastern baths complex in Kissamos. Two figures (Ioannis Papadakis & Effimia Angeli) give an idea about the scale of the building. Photo by the author

by the archaeologist and PhD candidate from Democritus University Ms Effimia Angeli, and Mr Ioannis Papadakis, the keeper at the archaeological museum and creator of a popular internet blog²⁷ about the city of Kissamos. According to new information (gained through questioning the local inhabitants), the sculpture was found in the ruins of one of the Roman buildings, most likely one of the *Thermae*. This information confirms the account of the teachers from Ist Primary School, since there are at least three architectural ruins that can be identified as Roman baths close to the school building. These are (see Fig. 4.):

- The so-called Eastern Roman Baths, located about 240 m NE of the school on Elafonisiou street.
- South Baths, located 180 m SE of the school building.
- Western Baths, located 550 m NW of the school building on Iroon Politechniou street.

Among these architectural remains, only the so-called eastern baths (see Fig. 5) have been partly excavated. The structure was arguably the most impressive construction of this type in the city. The spacious complex includes a cold bath (*Frigidarium*) a tepid bath (*Tepidarium*) and a hot bath (*Caldarium*). Although the body of the Asclepius sculpture hasn't been found as a result of the excavations, the Eastern Bath complex constitutes a possible location for the statue, since other impressive sculptures from the 2nd century AD including figures of a young Pan and Satyr (Λ419 and Λ694 in Kissamos museum) have been found here.

The Eastern Baths are located approximately 240 m from the school building. Even closer lay other architectural remains, which could be identified as the southern baths. The structure has never been excavated and is located on private p[roperty]. No photographs are available, but within the structure, there are few currently visible niches which have become unearthed, and which could perfectly well accommodate statutes of around 65-70 cm

²⁷ <https://sadentrepeze.blogspot.com/>

in height. Also, the last possible candidate, the Western Baths, has yielded a statue of Hygieia who frequently appeared together with sculptures of Asclepius. In conclusion, at the present moment no definite statement as to the archaeological context of the sculpture can be made. Further research has to be conducted, including excavations. It is more than likely, however, that we will never be sure of its provenance. At the present moment, the sculpture in question could possibly come from one of the baths in the southern part of town, alternatively from one of the Roman buildings destroyed by the AD 365 earthquake, as the villa of Phidias, which was also located in the immediate proximity of the school.

The cult of Asclepius employed water for its curative properties and was a recurrent theme in the statuary programmes of Roman baths. Representations of Asclepius should therefore be considered to be visual prompts that associated bathing with the renewal of health. Lucian (Luc. *Hip.*5) writes about statues of Asclepius and Hygieia in his elaborate sketch of a bathing complex, the only divinities which he reports as being present:

καὶ εἰκόνες ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου λευκοῦ τῆς
ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας, ἡ μὲν Ὑγιείας, ἡ δὲ
Ἀσκληπιοῦ

*and there are two statues of white stone in
the ancient work, one of Hygieia, the other
of Asclepius.*

Statues of the god, often accompanied by his daughter, have been found in bath complexes at Argos, Epidauros, Sparta, Neromyloi (Thessaly), Dion, Ephesos, Metropolis, Miletos, Samos, Cyprian Salamis (see Fig. 2; a), and Antioch.²⁸ B. Martens who made an exhaustive analysis of the statuary of god from Athens mentions over-life-size statues of Asclepius and Hygieia that were excavated at the Zappeion Baths in the National Gardens²⁹ as well as small-scale statuary of Asclepius and Hygieia found associated with

the West Baths on the site of the new Acropolis Museum.³⁰ Two small-scale statues of Asclepius probably stood in baths near the Agora.³¹ As B. Martens concludes “Representations of Asclepius were the key element in the creation of visual connections with health and healing also designated the ritual spaces of baths”.³² There is good evidence that Asclepius and his family received cultic worship in some bathing establishments.³³

Assuming that the sculpture in question was placed in a bathing complex, we could argue that in all probability it served a similar purpose. The representation of Asclepius currently under study can therefore be considered to be evidence for the impact of the Roman Empire on the cult of Asclepius, and especially for the adaptation of certain schemes within the less important provinces. As has been recently suggested by G. van der Ploeg, the cult of the god gained a certain level of esteem among segments of Roman society, and can be a good case study for the dynamics of how the religious life in the provinces was affected by the Romans.³⁴ Along with other sculptures found in Kissamos, it reflects the artistic taste of the area. Most of the sculptures are copies of Hellenistic prototypes, which were fashionable at that time. Although a considerable amount of them remain unpublished, fruitful attempts are being made, most recently by M. Milidakis, A. Kouremenos and P. Karanastasi to publish the vast catalogue and reveal the beauty of this significant Cretan settlement of the Roman period.³⁵

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Ephorate of Antiquities of Chania, especially the Ephor, Eleni Papadopoulou, and the archaeologist Michalis Milidakis, for their permission to study and publish the object which is the subject of this article. I would also like to thank Ioannis Fragakis,

²⁸ Marcadé 1980: 135-140, 148-150, figs. 3-6; Katakis 2002: 20-21, no. 18, pls. 21#α-γ, 22#α; Dickens 1905-1906: 435-436, fig. 2, LIMC II, 870, no. 25; Tziaphalias 1990: 217; Pandermalis 1988; Pandermalis 1997: 37-39, 69-70; Manderscheid 1981: 88-89, nos. 175, 176, pl. 27; Freyer-Schauenburg 2010-2011: 135-147, Karageorghis 1964: 15-17, nos. 5, 6, pls. XII, XIV; Fejfer 2006: 92-93, fig. 10; Vermeule 2000: 90, 92, fig. 1.

²⁹ Martens 2018: 568. For the picture depicting see the aforementioned sculpture see LIMC II, 1984: 880.

³⁰ Eleutheratou 2006: 66, no. 155, 68, no. 162, Trianti 2011: 388-390, no. 6, fig. 6.

³¹ Martens 2018: 569, fig. 12, fig. 23.

³² *Ibidem*, 570.

³³ Examples of altars dedicated to the deity were found in bathing complexes north of Olympieon at Athens, Metropolis. Additionally, at Dion a lustral basin was found in a room with statuary of the god (Martens 2018: 569).

³⁴ Ploeg 2018.

³⁵ Milidakis, Papadaki 2014; Kouremenos 2015; Karanastasi 2012; 2016; 2018.

Nektarios Paterakis (Archaeological Museum of Kissamos), Ioannis Papadakis (keeper of the Archaeological Museum of Kissamos) and Effimia Angeli for their invaluable help and support in the preparation of this article.

Literature

- Adriani A. 1961. Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano. Serie A: scultura, vol.II, Palermo.
- Baldwin-Bowsky M.W. 2016. Prelogomena To a Dossier: Inscriptions from Asklepleion at Lissos (Crete), *Electrum* vol. 23, 127-153.
- Bieber M. 1955. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York.
- Calza R. 1977. *Antichità Di Villa Doria Pamphilj*, Roma.
- Collectif 2001. *Les Sculptures Grecques T1: Département Des Antiques Grecques, Etrusques, Et Romaines Du Musée Du Louvre*, Paris.
- Detorakis T.E. 1994. *History of Crete*, Iraklio.
- Dickens G. 1906. Laconia: II. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. 13: Topographical Conclusions, *British School at Athens Annual* 12, 432-439.
- Edelstein E.J., Edelstein L. 1945. *Asclepius: Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Introduction by Gary B. Ferngren), The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Eleutheratou S. 2006. Το Μουσείο και η ανασκαφή: Ευρήματα από το χώρο ανέγερσης του Νέου Μουσείου της Ακρόπολης. *Κατάλογος έκθεσης*, Athens.
- Freyer-Schauenburg B. 2010-2011. Asklepios, die Buchrolle und das Ei: Zu einem Asklepiostorso auf Samos und weiteren Repliken des Typus Amelung, *Il Mar Nero* 8, special issue.
- Finocchi P. 2015. Le sculpture del Ninfeo Maggiore di Leptis Magna dagli appunti di Floriani Squarciapino 2015 – M. Floriani Squarciapino, *Espera – Libreria Archeologica*.
- Guarducci M. 1935-1950. *Inscriptiones Creticae I- IV*, Roma.
- Karageorghis V. 1964. *Sculptures from Salamis (Salamis I)*, Nicosia.
- Katakis S. 2003. Επίδauρος: Τα γλυπτά των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων από το ιερό του Απόλλωνος Μαλεάτα και του Ασκληπιού (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 223), Athens.
- Karanastasi P. 2012. Η πλαστική της Κρήτης στην αυτοκρατορική περίοδο in Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβεριού, Π. Καραναστάση, (eds.) *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας*, Thessaloniki, 433-450.
- Karanastasi P. 2016. Roman imperial sculpture from Crete: a reappraisal in J.E. Francis, A. Kouremenos (eds.), *Roman Crete. New perspectives*, Oxford, 101-118.
- Karanastasi P. 2018. Γυναικεία εικονιστικά αγάλματα στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη. Εικονογραφία και κοινωνικές προβολές in Π. Καραναστάση, Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβεριού, Δ. Δαμάσκος (eds.) *Γλυπτική και κοινωνία στη Ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα: Καλλιτεχνικά προϊόντα, κοινωνικές προβολές, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης. Ρέθυμνο*, 26-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2014, Thessaloniki, 239-256.
- Kouremenos A. 2015. A Tale of Two Cretan Cities: The Building of Roman Kissamos and the Persistence of Polyrrhenia in the Wake of Shifting Identities in S. Scheffer (ed.), *Attitudes toward the past in antiquity: creating identities*, (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis – Stockholm studies in classical archaeology 14), 139-149.
- Lekkas N. 1938. *The Seven Hundred and Fifty Metallic Springs of Greece*; Institute of Geology and Mineral Exploration, Athens.
- Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC) Vol. II: Aphrodisias – Athena, Artemis & Winkler Verlag, Zürich, München, Düsseldorf.
- Marcadé J. 1980. *Sculptures argiennes (III)* in *Études argiennes (BCH Suppl. 6)*, Athens, 133-184.
- Markoulaki S. 2009. Αριστοκρατικές” αστικές επαύλεις στην ελληνορωμαϊκή Κίσαμο in *Ubi dubium ibi libertas. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Νικόλα Φαράκλα*, eds. C. Loukos, N. Xifaras & N. Pateraki, Rethymno.
- Manderscheid H. 1981. *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlage (Monumenta Artis Romanae 15)*, Berlin.
- Manutsoglou E. 2018. The thermal springs of Asklepieions in Crete, Greece In *Proceedings of the 11th Hydrogeological Conference of Greece*, Athens, Greece, 4-6 October 2017; Hellenic Hydrogeology Committee of International Association of Hydrogeologists (IAH): Athens, Greece, 279-290.
- Melfi M. 2007. *Il santuario di Asclepio a Lebena*, Athens.
- Milidakis M., Papadaki C. 2014. Μ. Μαρμάρينو τραπεζοφόρο με αποκαμωμένο Ερωτιδέα από την Κίσαμο, *Creta Antica* 15, 91-98.
- Moreno P. 2001. *Bellezza Classica: Guida Al Piacere Dell'antico*, Torino.
- Mortens B. 2018. The Statuary of Asklepios from the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 87, No. 3, 545-610.

- Neugebauer K.A. 1921. Asklepios. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik römischer Statuenkopien in Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 78, 3-53.
- Pandermalis D. 1988. Αντίγραφα των αυτο-κρατορικών χρόνων στη Μακεδονία in Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας Γ', Αθήνα 4-10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983, Athens, 213-216.
- Pandermalis D. 1998. Dion: The Archaeological Site and the Museum, trans. D. Hardy, Athens.
- Ploeg G. 2018. The Impact of the Roman Empire on the Cult of Asclepius, Leiden; Boston.
- Romeo I., Portale E.C. 1998. Gortina III: Le Sculture (Monografie Della Scuola Archaeologia Di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane In Oriente), Padova.
- Stiros S. 2001. The AD 365 Crete earthquake and possible seismic clustering during the 4-6th centuries AD in the Eastern Mediterranean. A review of historical and archaeological date', *Journal of Structural Geology* 23, 545-562.
- Stiros S. 2010. The 8.5+ magnitude, AD 365 earthquake in Crete. Coastal uplift, topography changes, archaeological and historical signature', *Quaternary International* 216:1-2, 54-63.
- Stiros S., Papageorgiou S. 2001. Seismicity of western Crete and the destruction of the town of Kisamos at AD 365: archaeological evidence, *Journal of Seismology* 5:3, 381-397.
- Stiros S., Papageorgiou S. Markoulaki S. 2004. Καταστροφή των Κρητικών πόλεων το 365 μ.Χ in *Creta romana e protobizantina* II, 427-444.
- Trianti I. 2011. Ανάγλυφο Ασκληπιού από το οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, in *Επαινος Luigi Beschi* (Benaki Museum Suppl. 7), ed. A. Delivorrias, G. Despinis, and A. Zarkadas, Athens, 381-396.
- Tziaphalias A. 1990. Νομός Λάρισας, *Αρχαιολογικόν δελτίον* 45, Β' 1, 214-218.
- Vermeule C. 2000. The Sculptures of Roman Syria in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. C. Kondoleon, Princeton, 90-102.

Dawid Borowka
ORCID 0000-0003-0135-8074
Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology,
University of Gdańsk
davidborowka@gmail.com