

«Dirò anche altri vaticini più recenti, ma concordi con quelli antichi che ho scritto una volta nel bosco dei Selli — i sacerdoti che abitano i monti e dormono per terra — raccogliendo le molte voci della quercia paterna» [tr. G. Paduano].

<sup>102</sup> Vedi anche Ou. *Met.* 7, 622 ss.

*Forte fuit iuxta patulis rarissima ramis  
sacra Ioui quercus de semine Dodoneo  
[...]*

*Intremuit ramisque sonum sine flamine motis  
alta dedit quercus.*

<sup>103</sup> Vedi A. Brelich, *Tre variazioni cit.*, p. 67-68. *L'incubatio* di Latino rientra in una sfera esclusivamente sacrale anche se un antico commentatore come *de la Cerda* così si esprime a proposito delle *uoces*: «*Allusum fortasse ad sacras illas ueterum incantationes, quas Lucanus lib. 6. dat cuiusdam magae, in quibus non una tantum, sed multiplices erant & uariae uoces*». Piuttosto accosterei al passo virgiliano *Luc.* 5, 85, dove sono presenti i *uenti loquaces* oltre che *incubo*:

*Ut uidit Paeon uastos telluris hiatus  
diuinam spirare fidem uentosque loquacis  
exhalare solum, sacriis se condidit antris  
incubuitque adyto uates ibi factus Apollo.*

<sup>104</sup> *Paus.* 1, 34, 5: Credo che Anfiarao si dedicasse particolarmente all'interpretazione dei sogni... «Ed è norma che chi viene a consultare Anfiarao debba in primo luogo purificarsi; la purificazione consiste nei sacrifici al dio e, oltre che a lui, sacrificano a tutte le divinità il cui nome è segnato sull'altare; fatto questo, immolato un ariete, ne stendono la pelle a terra e vi si addormentano sopra, attendendo la rivelazione del sogno» (tr. D. Musti). Per mito, leggenda e sacrifici nella Roma antichissima vedi anche Pennisi G., *Poeti e intellettuali cit.*, p. 259 ss.

<sup>105</sup> *Il.* 11, 514-5:

*Ἰητροῦ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάζιος ἄλλων  
ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνει ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.*

Così viene definito Macaone, ma è anche vero che a *Aen.* 2, 263 Virgilio dice *primusque Machaon* e l'interpretazione più antica, quella serviana del *lessema primus* (comm. *ad. loc.*) è di *princeps, id est, inter primos, aut in sua arte primus*.

<sup>106</sup> Vegetti M., *Nascita dello scienziato cit.*, p. 645.

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Articoli/Articles

TRACES OF MEDICAL ACTIVITY IN EPHEBUS

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SUMMARY

TRACES OF MEDICAL ACTIVITY IN EPHEBUS

*Ephesus was an important city of Asia Minor, existing as an exchange point between Egypt and the Greek-Roman world. As it was the birthplace of famous physicians and situated between Kos- Knidos and Pergamon, it is surprising that no medical buildings have been clearly identified in this area. In the upper old Hellenistic city, two pillars include, on the southern face, a youth with a goat and Hermes, respectively. On the internal faces, reliefs of tripods, an omphalos, a mortar and a twined snake may refer to mantic and/or pharmacy and medicine.*

*Near the pillars, a temple for sacrifices dedicated to Hera and a statue of Apollo manteion in the Prytaneion have been found. Because both the Apollo and Hermes myths are closely related to medicine, the pillars may be a sign of medical activity in that part of the city. This activity may be related to both mantic in the direction of the temple and practice in the direction of a building which has not yet been identified. This interpretation is confirmed by an inscription on the Museion-Church of Virgin Mary: a physician from the Mouseion is referred to as a practitioner near the supreme priest (hieros): thus, the pillars may be an indication of both sacred and medical activities in that part of the city.*

Ephesus was the richest ancient city on the west coast of Asia Minor, in the middle of three valleys (Cayster, Hermus and Maeander). The city was dedicated to Artemis (Greek name of the Asian Cybele), for whom a great temple was built in the 6th century B.C. The temple was subsequently destroyed and rebuilt in the 4th century. In the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, the city grew first as part of the Kingdom of Egypt, then of Pergamon and finally as the capital of the Roman province of

Parole chiave/Key words: Ephesus - mantic - medicine - pharmacy - iatreion

Asia. By this time Ephesus had 200,000 inhabitants, was the residence of the Roman proconsul and played a leading role in commerce and banking affairs<sup>1</sup>. The city was also an active center of cultural life: the Museion, the Celsus Library and the nearby Auditorium (2nd century A.D.) were a forum for professors and rhetoricians. The Library had a reading room and rows of galleries and niches (three-storied) containing manuscripts as volumes or scrolls.

The ruins of the Hellenistic and Roman ancient city date from 17 A.D., at which time the city was rebuilt after a earthquake inside the city wall. The city may be divided in two parts: the commercial sector near the ancient harbor (Fig. 1A) and the public area around the State Agora on a hill in the direction of the Magnesian Gate (east side — Fig. 1B). The two Parts of the city are connected by Curetes Street<sup>2</sup>.

Walking this way up to the Town Hall on the left, after the Fountain of Trajan and before the Gate of Hercules, a memorial statue may be observed: the marble monument is dedicated to a physician, Alexander of Alexander<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 2). Before and after the memorial inscription, two crosses indicate that the monument was erected under Christian influence, which was in the 2nd century.

The dedication to a physician is not surprising, because Ephesus was the birthplace of many famous physicians, such as Rufus and Soranus<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, Ephesus was located about 150 km from Pergamon in the north and Halikarnossos-Knidos-Kos in the south. Physicians from Ephesus were active in the debate between the Hippocratic school (represented by Galen of Pergamon, heir of the school of Kos) and the Methodic school (with Soranus of Ephesus as its most famous affiliated physician). Thus, it is surprising that excavations carried out in Ephesus have failed to provide clear evidence of buildings specifically designed for medical activity.

This thought might also occur to the visitor after having seen the monument of the physician Alexander on the way to the State Agora. At the junction between Curetes and Domitian Streets, two squared pillars appear, facing each the other, decorated with bas-reliefs<sup>5</sup>.

The stone on the right side shows the symbol of Hermes; the

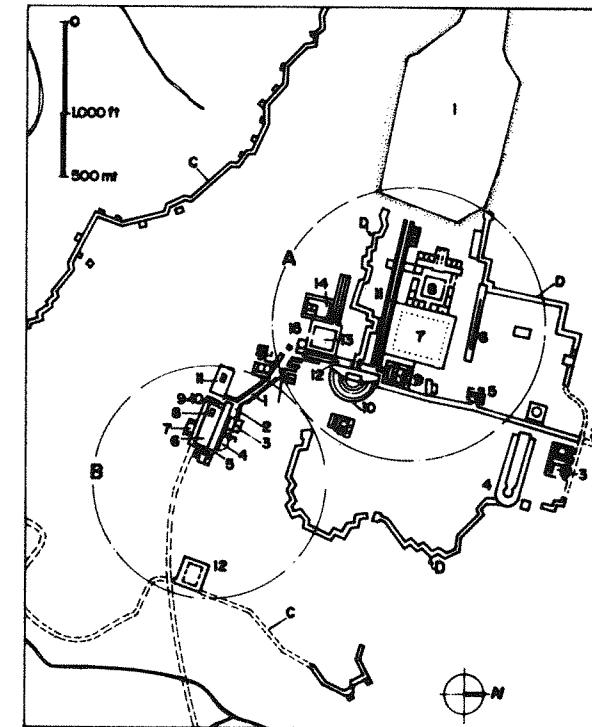


Fig. 1 — Plan of the ancient city of Ephesus

A. commercial city around the harbor

1. Harbor; 2. Way to the Artemision; 3. Vedius Gymnasium; 4. Stadium; 5. Byzantine Baths; 6. Museion-Church of Virgin Mary; 7. Harbor Gymnasium; 8. Harbor Baths; 9. Theater Gymnasium; 10. Theater; 11. Harbor Street (Arkadian way); 12. Marble Road; 13. Commercial Agora; 14. Serapis Temple; 15. Celsus Library

B. upper public city on a hill

1. monument to the physician Alexander on Curetes Street; 2. votive pillars; 3. altar of Hera and statue to Apollo *manteion* in the Prytaneion; 4. Odeion; 5. Basilika; 6. State Agora; 7. Fountain; 8. Temples of Isis; 9. Fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus; 10. Fountain of C. Sextilius Pollio; 11. Temple of Domitian; 12. Magnesian Gate

C. Hellenistic city wall, built by Lysimachus (3rd Century B.C.)

D. Byzantine city wall



Fig. 2 — Monument and inscription to the physician Alexander, son of Alexander, on Curetes Street (2nd Century A.D.)

one on the left, a youth with a goat. On the internal faces, symbols related to mantic, medicine and pharmacy may be observed. May it be supposed that these pillars are indicative of medical activity, since they bear the symbols of medicine and pharmacy?

An accurate analysis of the pillars and of other monuments in the area may help to clarify this question.

A brief description of the pillars and their reliefs has been provided by Franz Miltner, the Austrian Co-Director of excavations after the second World War. Miltner suggests that the pillars were votive stones<sup>6</sup>: however, his analysis is incomplete, leaving open the question of whether the pillars had religious significance only or were also a sign of medical and pharmaceutical activity in Ephesus.

#### *Reliefs of the pillar stones*

The site of the pillars is described by Akurgal:

After the Domitian Street junction, Curetes Street continued as far as the entrance to the State Agora, where it came to an end. Of the gateway that at one time stood here, only two pillars decorated with reliefs have survived. One relief depicts Hermes with a ram, another a youth with a goat and yet another a tripod with an omphalos. The figure of Hermes no doubt indicated the proximity of the State Agora<sup>7</sup>.

This description of the site and pillars is given by Miltner:

The big wall is flanked by two pillars decorated with reliefs... in the internal faces the pillars show with a relatively flat relief a bronze-conceived basin, placed on a base of four legs. Between the legs an omphalos is depicted... and in the southern pillar two snakes are twined toward the upper part. The front of the northern pillar is decorated with a nude youth taking a goat to sacrifice;... in the southern pillar... Hermes... takes a ram to sacrifice, as shown by the corner of an altar with a wreath of leaves and the outer part of an omphalos... These reliefs are significant for a worshipping meaning, in agreement with the thought that the street is directed to the square facing the temple of Hera<sup>8</sup>.

Again, the analysis of the reliefs could be more accurate.

It may be suggested that the pillars give two directional messages, one pointing in the direction of upper Curetes Street, represented by the so-called «frontal faces» (with Hermes and the youth, respectively), the other signal, represented by the view of the «inner faces» with tripods, omphalos, snakes and mortar, directs the observer across the road (Fig. 3A).

The upper faces (following the street in the up-down sense) are without reliefs, thus indicating the absence of messages for travelers.

A detailed description of the pillars may be useful.

They are 106.5 cm high with a base of 26 cm; the width is 59 cm, with an inner area for reliefs of  $41 \times 79.5$  cm inside a frame of 9 cm. The base is 26 cm high and the maximum width is 88 cm (Fig. 3B). A votive inscription is found on the top of the inner face of the right pillar. The height of the letters is 1.8 cm and the form of writing, i.e. the tendency of squaring letters such as the epsilon and the sigma<sup>9</sup>, suggest that they were inscribed in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. It may also be observed that the pillars have been placed before of together with block-paving, as demonstrated by the well-ordered hollows in the stone blocks (Fig. 4A, 4B).

The lower face of the left pillar is a stone slab, distinct from the main stone and showing a youth with a goat. Because the upper part of the slab is broken and details of this section have been lost, the hypothesis of Miltner that it depicts a youth taking an animal for sacrifice may be accepted. Also supporting this theory is the fact that on the same side of the road about 150 mt ahead and altar for sacrifices was dedicated to Hera in the Prytaneion.

Analysis of faces of the pillars according to the sense of view, first the lower faces, then the inner faces, partially disagrees with the description of Miltner.

In the lower face of the right pillar, Hermes is clearly carved with the caduceus in the right hand, and the left hand is placed on the head of a ram. In the upper left corner, a column with a patera (a large cup to carry wine, which was also used to hold healing ointments) and a laurel branch may be observed (Fig. 5A). Miltner's assertion that it is an omphalos instead a patera

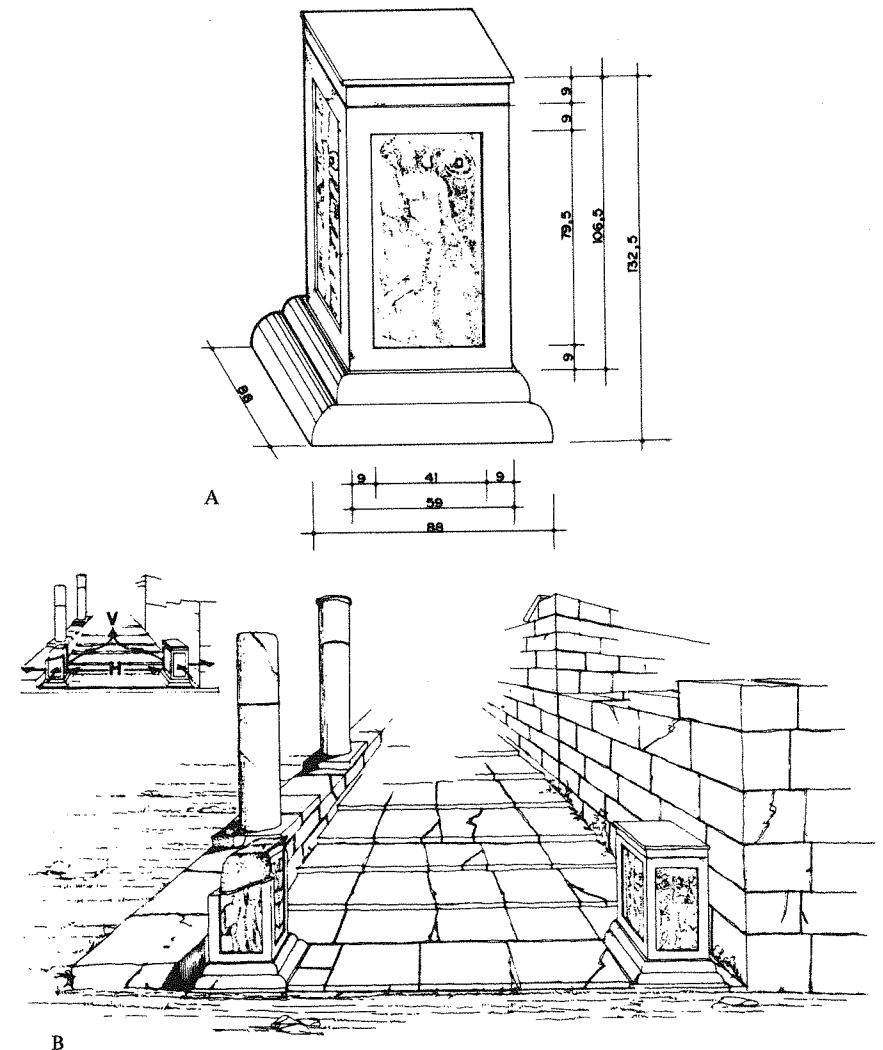


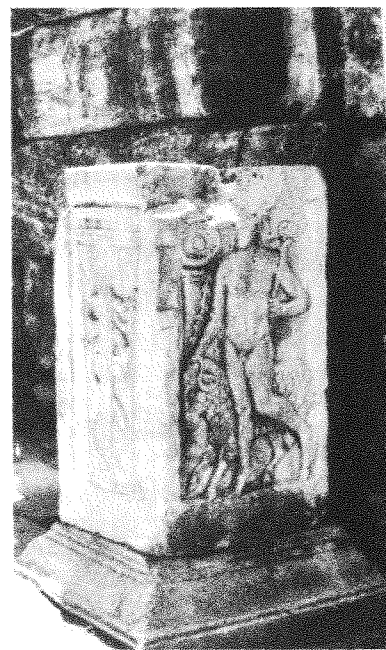
Fig. 3 — Schematic picture of two pillars placed in the cross between Curetes and Domitian Street

A. Size of pillars

B. «message» of the two pillars to a walking man: vertical message (V) of the symbols of Hermes and youth and horizontal message (H) of symbols of tripod-omphalos-snake-mortar.



A



B

Fig. 4 — Pillars in the cross between Curetes and Domitian Street

A. Left pillar  
B. Right pillar

is certainly wrong: the Omphalos-laurel combination is very unusual, whereas the patera together with laurel is very common<sup>10</sup>.

An inscription of capital letters is carved on the top of the inner face of the right pillar (Fig. 5B, 5C):

[Κ]ΑΡΣΙΔΙΟΣ ΚΡΙΣΠΙΝΟΣ ΠΑ[...]  
ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑ

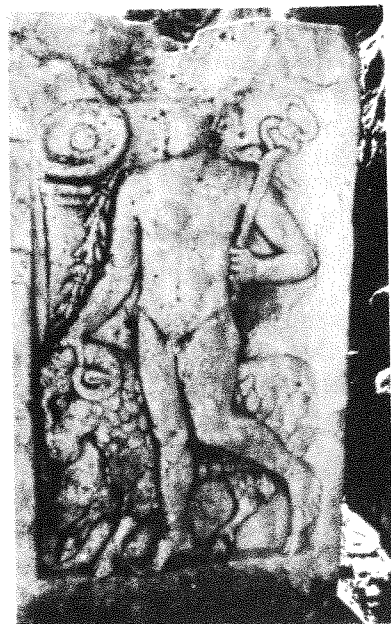
The invocation of Karsidios Krispinos may be to a god (Apollo *manteion*). At the end of the first row the word ΠΑ- has been completed by Miltner as ΠΑ[ΥΛΟΣ]. There is not enough space to add four capitals letters, but only three or four if two of the letters are very thin, such as I: thus, other combinations are also possible, e.g. developing ΠΑ- in the direction of ΠΑΙ-.

As suggested by Guarducci<sup>11</sup>, votive inscriptions have three elements: name of the dedicator, verb of dedication (usually *ἀνέθηκα*) and the name of the god. The latter may be omitted if the god is well known. The cause of the dedication is also sometimes added, most often in a short form. Thus, the word between the dedicator Karsidios Krispinos and the dedication (ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑ) should be completed. Words of maximum four-five letters derived from ΠΑ- may be related to *παίω* (which indirectly means *healer*), suggesting a different interpretation of the inscription toward healing under the patronage of Apollo, thus not excluding the role of medicine<sup>12</sup>.

In fact, in the root *παί-*, mantic and medicine are joined under the patronage of both Hermes and Apollo. Moreover, *παίω* is related to the caduceus and *παίων* is connected with the myth of the healer Apollo, as explained below:

I. from *παίω*, meaning *to hit*, (i.e. *τινὰ σκυτάλοισι*, which translated literally is *for a fault by a rod*) is derived the meaning *to take the rod, the magic caduceus* and in a translated sense *to cure*;

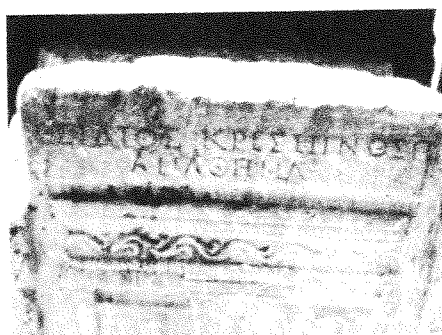
II. from *παίω*, directly meaning *to cure*, (i.e. *φάρμακον παίωνιος* = *healthy drug*), is derived *παίων* = *healer*, *Παιήων* = *Paieon*, physician of gods, *Παίων* or *Παιάν* = *Paion*, nickname of Apollo healer and *παίων* or *παιάν* = *paean*, hymn or invocation to Apollo healer or helper, *ὁ παίωνιος* = *the physician* and *τὸ παίωνιον* = *the hospital*.



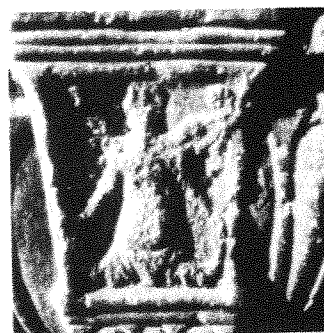
A



B



C



D

Fig. 5 — Particulars of the right pillar

A. Lower face with Hermes

B. Internal face

C. Inscription on the internal face

D. Detail of the upper part of the median leg of the tripod.

Thus, the inscription may be completed as:

[Κ]ΑΡΣΙΔΙΟΣ ΚΡΙΣΠΙΝΟΣ ΠΑ[ΙΩΝΙ] ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑ

which literally is: *Karsidios Krispinos to a healer dedication*, intended to thank Apollo healer or more generally as gratitude to a healer physician (παιώνιος) for recovered health.

The lower part of the face of this pillar is dominated by the relief of a tripod with three legs connected by a double ring. A snake coiled inside the rings and an omphalos complete the bas-relief. Miltner's description of a tripod with four legs and two snakes seems to be an interpretation rather than a finding (Fig. 5B).

A small figure with human features is carved on the upper part of the median leg (Fig. 5D). Unfortunately, this section is not well preserved and the small size (8×10 cm) makes an accurate analysis difficult.

#### *Symbology of relief figures*

In the direction of the Town Hall in the down-up course of Curetes street, figures of Hermes and a youth taking a goat to sacrifice dominate the view.

However, the most important reliefs for interpretation of the function of the two pillars are the figures of Hermes on the lower face and the tripod, snake and omphalos on the inner face. On the left pillar the inner face has a tripod, an omphalos and a mortar with a pestle. In this regard, an analysis of the relationship between these symbols and both mantic and medical practice is of interest.

Hermes, son of Zeus and brother of Apollo, originally was not a god, but the totemistic power of phallic devotion and the object of orgiastic dances on Mount Cyllene in honor of the great Goddess Hera. Messenger of the gods, Hermes was also the god of wealth, trade, travelers, commerce, athletes, manual skill and eloquence<sup>13</sup>.

A few hours after his birth, Hermes stole cows belonging to Apollo and two of them were sacrificed (this was the first sac-

rifice to the gods). After his theft was discovered, he presented a lyre as a gift to Apollo which he had invented using the shell of a tortoise and four cow-guts. Apollo accepted and gave him in return the herd and the caduceus (κηρύκειον), a golden rod with wings at the top, later represented as twined by a snake. This emblem then became the symbol of medical art. Consequently, the two brothers, Apollo and Hermes, are joined together as protectors of shepherds, the arts, music and medicine. Hermes was also protector of commerce and later of roads: his picture is depicted on pillars along roads or in the corner of squares.

The evolution of Hermes from the god of fertility to the god protector of medicine was also influenced by Egyptian beliefs and science: Hermes encompassed both the Egyptian deities Thoth, god of intelligence and physician of gods, and Anubis, conductor of souls to the Underworld<sup>14</sup>.

An amalgamation of Hermes and Thoth was made during the Hellenistic age in Hermes Thrice Greatest (thus named because it was invoked three times during religious ceremonies; in was subsequently called Ἑρμῆς τριμέγιστος = *Hermes Trimegistus*), patron of all arts and especially of alchemy and medicine<sup>15</sup>. This patronage was generic regarding τέχνη, because Hermes was specifically the master of ancient mysteries and of the incarnation of the divine savior<sup>16</sup> more than of a single practice (e.g. medical).

The finding of the image scraped in the pillar, joining sacrifice and mantic (sign for both the altar of Hestia and the statue of Apollo manteion in the Prytaneion) with commerce and traveling is not surprising: Curete's Street was the road leading to the State Agora, with the Basilica, a building used for both public and commercial affairs, located on the embankment above the wall where the right pillar leans. Finally, alchemy and medicine are linked in Hermes with mantic: patera and laurel were used for both offering sacrifices and the preparation of drugs, and caduceus was the symbol of medical art.

A tripod and an omphalos are scraped in both internal faces of the pillars. Tripods were commonly used as seating for religious and civil ceremonies. The tripod itself represents gen-

eral authority; specific authority is denoted by certain characteristics (e.g. the leather of the cover, the proximity of an omphalos, etc.).

In ancient mythology the omphalos was the symbol of the center of the earth and divine knowledge. A sacred stone was swallowed by Cronus, father of Zeus and symbol of the late eternal time origin of the world. When he disgorged the stone, it was placed in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, thus becoming the symbol of the origin of all nourishment derived from the earth. The hypothesis that the omphalos represents the idea of the «center of the world» is confirmed by the fact that «Omphalos» is also the name of an area in Crete sacred to Zeus, where his umbilical cord fell soon after his birth<sup>17</sup>.

The marble omphalos in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi was the place from which the Pythian oracle uttered prophecies in response to the invocation of Apollo as the god of goodness.

The have an oracle, goods or a tax were offered (πελάνορος) and a goat sacrificed<sup>18</sup>. The Pythia could be found in the upper part of the Temple of Apollo (μαντεῖον) in a inner reserved room (ἄδυτον), where she hidden from view pronounced oracles (λοξίας, so called for ambiguity: λοξός means *slant*). In the adyton were placed the monument to Apollo, the tomb of Dionisos (god of ecstasy), the ὀμφαλός (the earth omphalos was an ancient betyle stone) and a python-covered tripod, where the Pythia sat as she delivered the answers of Apollo to the questions formulated by the pilgrims<sup>19</sup>.

In civil life, the omphalos is referred to by Theophrastus as the stone put in the crossroads<sup>20</sup>, thus suggesting a relationship between the symbology of the omphalos and that of ἔρμα-Ἑρμῆς.

The snake is the symbol of life derived from the mother earth, under ground from the Hades as well on the surface of the earth<sup>21</sup>.

The snake is also related to the myth of Apollo and his mother, Leto. The myth of Leto pursued by the Python corresponds to the Egyptian myth of Isis's pursuit by Set, the god of evil: Python is Typhon, the Greek Set<sup>22</sup>. Apollo killed the Python: the tripod on which the Pythoness sat in Apollo's Temple at Delphi

was covered with the skin of the snake and the nearby stone omphalos represented the tomb of the snake, from which the snake came as the spirit of the oracle<sup>23</sup>.

The snake was the bridge between Apollo *manteion* and medicine, such as in the health-temple of Asklepios, son of Apollo, in Epidauros: during the «incubation»-dream, the sacred snake appeared as the symbol of the god-physician and the disease disappeared<sup>24</sup>.

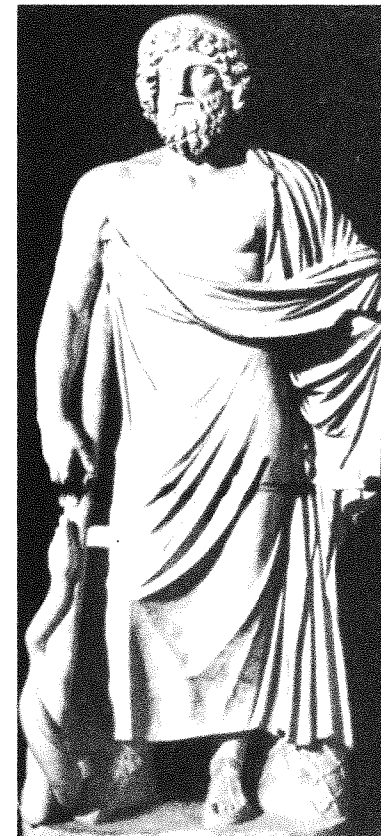
While there are different interpretation as to the significance of the two pillars (i.e. religious or medical) archeologists, including Miltner, agree that these pillars are related to the sacred area of the Prytaneion. Miltner observed that the tripod does not have a seating cover on the top (like the tripod of the Pythoness) but a bronze-basin. Moreover, despite the mortar with the pestle found on the left pillar may be related to pharmacy and the snake is twined on a leg of the tripod as on the caduceus, Miltner believed that taken together the snake and the omphalos were symbols of sacredness.

This thesis is weak, because snake in ancient findings of Ephesus is related to medicine<sup>25</sup>. We have also clear evidence that taken together the snake and the omphalos are associated with that art: a statue of Asklepios from the Tiberine Island in Rome has the caduceus with a twined snake and an omphalos (Fig. 6A). It is worth noting that the Asklepios of the Tiberine Island was founded in the 3rd century B.C. under the patronage of Epidauros, from which the sacred snakes were furnished. And a basin-tripod with s twined snake, a patera and the laurel are associated together with medical art (Fig. 6B).

Thus, the theory that the pillars represent medicine is likely. Archeologists, however, remain unconvinced in this regard, but we may look to other parts of the city for signs of medical activity uptown and to obtain indirect evidence to interpret the meaning of the pillars.

#### Medical inscriptions in Ephesus

The medical inscriptions found in Ephesus have been collected under the auspices of the Austrian Institute of Archae-



A



B

Fig. 6 — Symbols of ancient medicine

A. Statue of Asklepios found on the Asklepieion of Tiberina Island, Rome (National Museum, Naples). An omphalos is associated with caduceus.

B. Roman ceremonial ivory diptych from Rome, 4th Century A.D. (National Museums and Galleries on Mersey). Hygieia is represented with a tripod, snake, patera and laurel.



ology (*Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*). Volume 8 (1905) of the Collection includes all of the medical inscriptions (*Forshungen in Ephesos*) found before the first World War. Many of these inscriptions were stolen during the second World War and excavations since that time have not produced relevant evidence of this kind<sup>26</sup>.

However, regarding our question, a group of inscriptions concerning medicine were found in a building in the lower part of the city, near the harbor, originally built for the Museion and market Basilica (1st-2nd century A.D.), today known as the double Church, Church of the Virgin Mary or Church of the Council, because transformed in a great Church in the 4th century A.D.

An analysis of these findings suggests a relevant medical activity in the city:

I. at the time of the Trajan Emperor (1st Century A.D.) a deliberation of the Council of Ephesus established exemption of taxes for physicians, similar to an edict issued by Augustus Emperor in the year 23 A.D.<sup>27</sup>;

II. a Museion (Μουσεῖον) existed in a building near the harbor, in which teaching was also related to medicine, as suggested quotes from a physician in the rules for administrative and financial reports<sup>28</sup>;

III. in another building in the northern part of the lower city there was a Gymnasium, with rooms for boxing and swimming, a frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium. There are also references to three statues: Asklepios, Hygeia and Hypnos respectively, which may be observed today in the Archaeological Museum of Selkuk<sup>29</sup>;

IV. one passage reports that a physician from the Museion, Apollodus Bassus, was active *in front of the supreme priest (hieros)*:

Ἀπολλόδοτος Βάσσοσ [...] των ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσειοῦ ἰατρῶν ἐπὶ ἱερέωσ Τιβ. Κλαυδίου Δημοστράτου...

that literally is:

Apollodus Bassus [...] from the Museion physician in front of the supreme priest Tib. Claudius Demostratus...

As observed in Note 2 regarding the Curetes, the term ἐπὶ

means *in front of* with a suggestion of movement to. In this case ἀπὸ ... ἐπὶ (ἱερέωσ) means a physician «*from... to*» (the hieros) and in a translated sense indicating that he practised near a sacred area.

Two temples were centers of religious life at this time (1st-2nd Century A.D.) in Ephesus: the Arthemision, which was 2 km out of the city and the temple of Hera (Ἑστία βουλαία, latin *Vesta*) in the Prytaneion in the upper part of the city.

The inscriptions certainly confirm the importance of physicians in Ephesus. Also interesting are suggestions of a medical building in the only part of the city dedicated to public religious ceremonies.

Is it possible that this area can be identified in the proximity of the sacred eternal fire of the altar dedicated in the Assembly of people (βουλή) to Ἑστία βουλαία, the goddess of the hearth (ἑστία)?

Sophocles in *Oedipus the King* speaks about Πυθόμαντις Ἑστία (prophetic hearth), deriving from Apollo all medical knowledge:

From Phoebus (Apollo) physicians learned to delay the death

says Callimachus<sup>30</sup>. It is likely that if travelers going up from the lower city to the Prytaneion through Curetes Street, had been aware of the inscription on the physician Apollodus Bassus, the pillars may have been interpreted as signs of medical activity inspired by both Apollo and Hermes. And — for the people of that time — an offering to the gods was certainly recommended, just in case official medicine failed!

This interpretation is confirmed by the presence in the area of pillars of elements which characterized ancient medicine, e.g. a building for psychodrams and spring waters for bathing and drinking purposes.

In fact, an Odeion was built toward the middle of the 2nd century A.D. adjoining the Prytaneion, and many fountains were located in the State Agora opposite the Odeion on Domitian Street. Water was supplied by the Aqueduct of Marnas, built by Caius Sextilius Pollio between 4 and 14 A.D.; the fountains on Domitian Street were dedicated to C. Laecanius Bassus and C. Sextilius Pollio (built in 80 and 93 A.D., respectively). Finally,

on the embankment behind Domitian Street a temple is dedicated to the healing goddess Isis, pursued by a snake corresponding to the python killed by the healer Apollo.

Near the sacred area the two pillars join mantic and practice, in the proximity of the Odeion, spring waters and the temple of Isis. Taken together and in contrast with the opinion of Alzinger<sup>26</sup>, these elements strongly suggest medical activity in this area.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Further general information regarding symbols of mantic, medicine and pharmacy may be found in the following texts:

- BUSSEL P., *Histoire illustré de la pharmacie*, Guy Le Poat, Paris 1949.  
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GRANT M., *Myths of the Greeks and Romans*, New American Library, New York 1986.  
GRAVES R., *The Greek Myths* (2 vol.), Penguin Books, London 1968.  
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For inscriptions in Ephesus, see:

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Medical inscriptions are include in:

- KEIL J., *Arzteinschriften aus Ephesos*, J.O.A.I. 8 (1905) 128-138.  
For recent findings (*Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos = N.I.E.*) see:  
KNIBBE D., *N.I.E., II-III*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 49 (1968-1971) 1-87.  
KNIBBE D., *N.I.E., IV-VII*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 50 (1972-1975) 1-180.  
KNIBBE D. and IPLIKCIOGLU B., *N.I.E., VIII*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 42 (1981-1982) 87-150. An inscription found in the Church of Virgin Mary quotes «a big Asklepieion» (p. 136, Inscription Inv. No. 4063).  
KNIBBE D. and IPLIKCIOGLU B., *N.I.E. IX*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 55 (1984) 107-135.  
KNIBBE D. and ENGELMANN H., *N.I.E. IX*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 55 (1984) 137-149.

For further discussion on this article and inscriptions found in the building known as the Museion-Church of Council or Church of the Virgin Mary, see: MILTNER F., *Forshungen in Ephesos. IV*, in: J.O.A.I., Bb. 35 (1951) pp. 80-82 e pp. 96-97 and Alzinger W., *Das Regierungsviertel*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 50 (1972-1975), 229-300.

In the paper of Alzinger pillars representing Hermes and caduceus are described (pp. 254-280).

Buildings on Domitian Street and Domitian Square have been recently described by Vettters: VETTTERS H., *Domitianterrasse und Domitiangasse*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 50 (1972-1975) 311-330.

1) Ephesus, the town of the great Mother-Goddess, the Phrygian Cybele (Artemis) was founded by the Carians (2nd millenary B.C.). Ionians occupied the region in the 12th century B.C. At the end of the 5th century the city was conquered by Cyrus the Great. Alexander the Great finally liberated the Asia Minor coast from the Persians and Ephesus became its most important financial and commercial center. Buildings were erected and temples were dedicated to Apollo, Athena and, of course, to Artemis (this temple built in the 4th century named the Artemision was one of the Seven Wonders of the World).

In the Hellenistic Period the city was developed in the plain and a new port was constructed, thus beginning a period of great commercial activity. Dominated by Selucids and then by Lagides, Ephesus was part of the Hellenistic Kingdom of Egypt until 190 B.C. and of the Kingdom of Pergamon until 133 B.C. The city then became the capital of the Roman Province of Asia, with an active port and more than 200,000 inhabitants. Many buildings were erected, including a theater (enlarged to hold 25,000 persons), libraries, gymnasia and baths. After an earthquake in 17 A.D., Ephesus was rebuilt by Tiberius and Hadrian. It is also noteworthy that a Christian community flourished in Ephesus. St. Paul was in Ephesus from 55 to 58, and St. John and the Virgin Mary lived here. It was here that an Ecumenical Council was organized in 431 by the Emperor Theodosius that proclaimed the dogma of the divine maternity of the Virgin Mary and condemned the heresy of Nestorius.

The most important buildings which may be observed today date from the 1st to the 2nd century A.D. Inside the Hellenistic wall and between Mount Corossus and Mount Pion in the plains, the Roman Agora and the Arcadian way connect the old harbor to the city. Marble Street crosses the lower town, with the Theater, the Temple of Serapis, the Library of Celsus Polemaenus, the Hellenistic Agora and Public Baths. Curetes Street rises to the old city, in the direction of the Magnesian Gateway. This part of the city contains ruins of Aqueducts, the State Agora with a covered basilica, and the Prytaneion, Odeion and Isis Temples: this section functioned as the State public district.

Ephesus was destroyed by the Goths in 262 A.D. and it declined thereafter.

2) The Curetes (or Corybantēs) in mythology were semi-gods, with an extensive knowledge of the arts, moving from Mount Ida to Crete, where they reared Zeus. In Ephesus, the Curetes were the priests of Cybeles (Artemis).

The inscriptions found in the southern wall of the Bouleterion quotes Curetes (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XVI, 1959, p. 194, Inscription No. 723). They begin with ἐπι πρυτανείως which is *in front of the Prytaneion* (the supreme head of public affairs) and relative proper names. Then inscriptions report names of Curetes (six) and of their assistant: ἱερούργος (priest), ἱεροσκόπος (viscera examiner), ἱεροφάντης (demonstrator), ἱεροκήρυξ (proclaimer of sacrifice), θυμιάτρου (incensator), σπονδαύλης (flute player).

- Ἐπι πρυτανείως Γαίου Φλαουίου Γίτου υἱοῦ Κυρεΐνα Ἰούστου·  
κούρητες εὐσεβεῖς φιλοσέβαστοι·
- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| (a) Τίτος Φλάουιος Ἄτταλος πατήρ αὐτοῦ, | Μάρκος ἱεροσκόπος,    |
| Γαῖος Ἄντιος Ροῦφος ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ,     | Μηνόδοτος ἱεροκήρυξ,  |
| Γαῖος Ἄντιος Ροῦφος ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ,      | Ἄπικὸς ἐπὶ θυμιάτρου, |
| Ἀπελλῆς Ἀνδρομάχου,                     | Τρόφιμος σπονδαύλης,  |
| Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Διάδοχος,             |                       |
| Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀντιγένου Τεισαμενός,       |                       |

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Ἐπι πρυτανείως Ἀρτεμιδώρου Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου·<br>κούρητες εὐσεβεῖς φιλοσέβαστοι· | ἱερούργοι·   |
| Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φρούγιος, Διονύσιος<br>Διονυσίου,                                      | Πόπλιος Κορνῆλιος<br>Ἀρίστφν   |
| (b) Ἀλέξανδρος Διονυσίου, Ἀρτεμιδώρος Τελεσ-<br>φόρου,                                   | Βουλευ(τῆς) ἱεροσκόπος,  |
| Γναῖος Δομίτιος Μάξιμος, Γαῖος Ἰούλιος<br>Παυλεῖνος.                                     | Μουνδίκιος ἱεροφάντης<br>βουλευτής,<br>Ἐπικράτης ἱεροκήρυξ,<br>Ἄπικὸς ἐπὶ θυμιάτρου,<br>Τρόφιμος σπονδαύλης. |

The two inscriptions indicate that Curetes went for financial report from the Artemision to Prytaneion through a way for this reason called Curetes Street. It is worth noting that the term used (ἐπι) means *in front of* with a sense of *moving to*.

The relevance of the role of Curetes in Ephesus is demonstrated by an inscription found in the wall of the Church of the Council: six names of Curetes and two of νεοψόαι (*neophytes*) are carved on the stone indicating the composition of the Administrative Council of the Artemision, also confirmed by a new list of Curetes recently described by KNIBBE D., *Eine Neue Kuretenliste aus Ephesos*, *J.O.A.I.*, Bb. 54 (1983), 125-127.

It may be presumed that incoming revenues were considerable, as attested to by the fact that Paullus Fabius Persicus, Governor of Asia Minor at the time of Claudius (48 A.D.) issued an edict concerning the administration of Artemision (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* IV, 516).

3) † Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΝ  
ΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝ †

which means:

*The Assembly and people honored the physician Alexander (son) of Alexander.*

The date of the inscription may be as early as the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., when Christianity had developed in Ephesus; on the other hand, the capital sigma carved in the inscription in a round form [C] clearly indicates that the monument was erected before the squaring of this letter, i.e. the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

Similar inscriptions have been found, e.g. in Rhodiapolis in Lycia (*Tituli Asia Minor II*, 910) in which, after an invocation to Asklepios and Hygeia, «the Boule and People of Rodiapolis and its Council of Elders have honored... Herakleitos of Herakleitos... priest of Asklepios and Hygeia...».

About the epigraphs and for further details see:

MILTNER F., *Ephesos*, F. Denticke Verlag, Wien 1958, pp. 108-109.  
MILTNER F., *J.O.A.I.*, 44 (1959) 363; FOSS C., *Ephesus after Antiquity*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1979; SHERK R.K., *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (translated documents of Greece and Rome, vol. 6), Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1988.

COHN-HAST L., *The Public physicians of Ancient Greece*, Dept. History, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., 1956 (here the inscription of the Physician Alexander from Ephesus is not listed).

4) Ephesus was a center of philosophical and naturalistic speculation, from the time of Heraclitus (6th-5th centuries B.C.), to whom as reported by Plato

(*Cratyl.* 402 a) may be attributed the first theory of opposites as the motor of a continuous becoming, in which nothing is motionless, but *all things flow* (πάντα ῥεῖ). Two physicians from Ephesus, Rufus and Soranus, became famous during the Roman Period. Rufus (1st century A.D.) was the author of a *Treatise on pulse and cardiac function*. He observed the favorable influence of fevers due to on abscess (ἀπόστημα) on tumors and was disappointed in this attempt to induce hypertermia as a cure.

Soranus (1st-2nd century A.D.) was one of the most important physicians of the Methodic sect, devoted to treating patients by simple and natural methods. Constriction or relaxation of the «pores» was induced by physical therapy, using baths, thermal rooms, etc.. The Methodic School was founded by Themison of Laodicea (c. 50 B.C.), following the theories of Asclepiades of Bithynia (born 124 B.C.). The school opposed Hippocratic humoralism and postulated the theory that diseases originated by troubled passage of atoms through the body pores. For the Methodics, narrowing or relaxation of internal pores (*status strictus-status laxus*) was the basis of disease and appropriate therapy could restore a balanced state.

Medical inscriptions found in Ephesus indicate the winners of the four medical Agons of a medical school. The Agons were σύνταγμα, πρόβλημα, χειρουργία, and ὄργανον, which are composition, medical problems, manual skill and instruments, respectively. For the discussion of the medical school in Ephesus, see: ILBERG J., *Rufus von Ephesos*, abh. Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Klasse XLI, n. 1, 76, 1924.

5) AKURGAL E., *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, Haset Kitabevi, Istanbul 1985; pp. 142-171: a short story of the city and an explanation of excavations of the ruins of Ephesus are described.

6) MILTNER F., *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 43 (1956), 36-42; see also: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, IV, German Inst. of Archeology, Bonn 1980, p. 144, inscription No. 1248.

7) AKURGAL E., *cit.*, p. 166.

8) MILTNER F., 1956, *cit.*, pp. 38-40; MILTNER F., 1958, *cit.*, pp. 96-97.

9) GUARDUCCI M., *L'epigrafia greca dalle origini al tardo Impero*, Ist. Poligrafico dello Stato, Roma 1987, pp. 82-83.

10) ARMANDRY P., *La Mantique Apollinienne à Delphes*, De Boccard, Paris 1950; a basin found in Vulci (now in Berlin) is reproduced (Fig. 2, p. 66): a woman set on a tripod is giving a patera and a branch of laurel. Hermes near a woman with a patera and laurel is also depicted in Fig. 2, p. 68.

11) GUARDUCCI M., *cit.*, 254-256: the addition of the cause of dedication is made in a short form, with a noun (indicating an inferred sense) or a participle added to the dedicator or a word composed by κατά- and a noun. The form of dedication is derived from ἀνατίθημι and may be in aulic form ἀνέθεικα or ἀνέθηκα (which means *dedicated*) or as substantive (ἀνάθημα).

12) From the root πα[ν]- we infer the first Παιών (*healer*, as defeating not only disease but also evil) and the derived terms Παιών (Paieon, physicians of gods: HOMER, *Iliad* 5, 401 and 5, 899, but also Paeon, hymn to the healer Apollo: HOMER, *Iliad* 1, 473), παιών (paieon, paeon and also nickname of healer Apollo), παιών (healer or helper god, i.e. Apollo: PINDAR, *Pythic* 4, 270; AESCHILUS, *Agamen-*

*non* 99, 147 and 1248). The link between Paieon-Apollo and medicine is indicated by the use of Παιών also for physician (AESCHILUS, *Agamemnon* 99, 1248; SOPHOCLES, *Philoctetes*, 168) and ὁ παιώνιος for physician (SOPHOCLES, *Trachiniai* 1208) and again Παιήνος ... γενέθλης, which means *heirs of paian* to indicate Physicians (HOMER, *Odissey* 4, 232).

13) GRAVES R., *cit.*, p. 63. Hermes was called νόμιος θεός (god of shepherds: ARISTOPHANES, *Thesmophoriazusa*, 977, like Apollo: CALLIMACHUS, *Hymn to Apollo*, 47), δοτήρ ἰάων (*distributor of goods: Homeric Hymn to Hermes*), ἐριούσιος, which is *helper* (HOMER, *Iliad* 24, 360; 24, 400; ARISTOPHANES, *Frogs* 1144), ἀγοραῖος or ἐμπολαῖος (*protector of commerce: Aristophanes, Acharnians* 816).

Also called ἐνόδιος (*protector of roads*) his image was carved in squared pillars along the roads or in the crossroads (STRABO, *Geography* 8, 343; PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece*, 6, 26, 5).

Depicted with a goat under the arm, on the back (PAUSANIAS, *cit.*, 5, 27, 5; 9, 22.1) or beside him (Plate in Athens, National Museum, 4th century B.C.), a column *celata* showing Hermes has been found, when he brought Alcestis back from Hades (PLINIUS, *Natural Hist.* 36, 95). And in a silver plate (*phiale*) found at Bernay (Normandy) Hermes has the caduceus (κηρύκειον) in his hand and near him are depicted a tortoise, a goat and a cock (WALDSTEIN C., *J. Hell. Studies* 3, 1882, 96).

It should be noted that from the root ἐρμ- are derived:

— Ἑρμῆς (Hermes, the god), ἔρμαιον (*profit*), ἐρμηνεύω (*to interpret*);

— ἔρμα (*excrecency, support, piles of stones*); this term was assumed for votive pillars, first for that of Hermes and consequently for those of the gods (there is the famous case of Alcibiad accused in Athens of desecration of pillars, the ἔρμα); this term is also connected with the sanscrit *varsma* and the latin *verruca*, those indicating excrecency.

14) GRAVES R., *cit.*, p. 66; medicine was an established art in Egypt a few centuries before Hippocrates. The beginning of medicine in Egypt is associated with Thoth, personification of a sacerdotal college of specific arts: knowledge was collected in the forty-two volumes of the *Hermetic Collection* (Cumston C.G., *cit.*, p. 33). The last six volumes were dedicated to medicine and, respectively, to anatomy, general diseases, instruments, drugs, opthalmology and gynecology.

Deities were related to health and diseases. Ra was the sun-god and Isis the ancestral earth-mother and healing goddess. Isis was the sister and wife of Osiris, personification of the Nile River, and of Horus, god of light.

Amon-Ra, a god first venerated in Thebes, was the symbol of the power of the Pharaohs and the founder of templar medicine in Egypt.

If Osiris-Nile is goodness, the brother Seth is evil and the bearer of disease to humans, because he destroyed an eye of Horus: but Thoth, physician of gods, healed him. In the balance between good-evil and health-disease, Thoth represents the healing principle.

Other gods were related to medicine (Keket for fertility, Bes, Hathor and Thoeiris for pregnant women). Only Serapis and Isis became popular as goods of healing in the Hellenistic age: an Egyptian cult of Serapis and Isis may also be found in Greece and lands of the Aegean (i.e. Gorthyna and Ephesus).

If Thoth was simply physician of gods, Imhotep (who was son of Ptah, Memphis' god protector of artisans) was a physician deified. Although no writings

have been found (we have only statues of Imhotep, who generally is represented seated as a scribe), the cult of Imhotep, which began in the 3rd millennium B.C. was the most popular in the first millennium, comparable to that of Asklepios in Greece. An identification of the two gods was made in the Hellenistic age. Thus, Hermes was related to the Egyptian Thoth, god of intelligence and to Anubis, conductor of souls to the Underworld.

15) CAMPBELL J., *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton 1968, p. 73.

16) Hermes-Mercury represents a great figure as a guide and teacher, and in Christianity, the Holy Ghost.

17) ZIMMERMAN J.E., *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Harper and Row Pub., New York 1964, p. 183.

18) PLUTARCH, *The Loss of Oracles*, 51; PAUSANIAS, *cit.*, 2, 25, 5: according to Pausanias the sacrifice of goats is used in a few Asklepieions, but not in Epidauros.

19) LUCIAN, *The Double Indictment*, 1: Zeus ironically has Apollo answering to many pilgrims who ask for oracles in his numerous Temples, thus leaving him running between Delphi, Colophon, Xantos, Claros and Branchidid, «everywhere the prophetess, drunk the sacred beverage, chewed the laurel and tossed on the tripod, cries out for his oracle». The Delphi Oracle is associated with the image of Apollo skimming over the sea on a winged basin-tripod (Hydria with Red Pictures, by the «Berlin Painter», 5th century B.C., Vatican Museum). The hydria (jug) was used to carry drinking water from the sacred well.

20) Theophrastus (*Characters*, 16), describing a superstitious man, says that «when he goes in front of those ollar stones which may be seen in the crossroads spills over that one the oil of his cruent and he don't go away before kneeling down...».

21) In Homeric and Orphic mythology, all gods and living creatures originated in the stream of Oceanus, which girdles the world, with Tethys who was the mother of his children (HOMER, *Iliad* 16, 201). The black-winged Night, goddess enemy of Zeus (HOMER, *Iliad* 16, 261), loved the Wind and put down a silver egg in the womb of Darkness. Thus, Eros (also called Phanes, which is *revealer*) was generated as motor of the Universe (*Orphic Fragments* 60, 61 and 70). Eros-Phanes in Orphic creation mythology as *Phaethon Protogenus* (first-born shiner) is the Sun and his four heads correspond to the symbolic beasts of the seasons. According to Macrobio, they are Zeus-ram-spring, Helios-lion-summer, Hades-snake-winter, Dionysus-bull-new year (GRAVES R., *cit.*, p. 31).

Thus, the snake is generated from the Hades, lived underground and on the earth, and like the earth gives health and is the symbol of Asklepios and chthonian divinities.

The snake as a symbol of medicine is also linked to the myth of Hermes. Messenger of the gods (and, therefore, god of wind with the winged sandals and speedy movements), Hermes was the god of wealth, trade, travelers and commerce, manual skill, eloquence and athletes.

On the Cyteron Mount Hermes threw the caduceus over two struggling snakes, which twined themselves on the wings at the top, reaching their settlement from opposition, thus becoming the symbol of health and consequently of medical art.

22) GRAVES R., *cit.*, p. 80 and pp. 131-136: after the revolt of the Giants against Zeus and their defeat (Heracles had given help to the gods), Mother Earth and Tartarus generated Typhon, in the form of a dragon, with serpents coiled around his legs. The gods escaped to Egypt, transforming themselves into animals: Zeus as a ram, Apollo as a crow, Dionysus as a goat, Hera as a white cow, Artemis as a cat, Ares as a boar, Hermes as an ibis or crane and Aphrodite as a fish (LUCIAN, *On Sacrifices*, 14).

Typhon corresponds to Python, as a wicked divinity like Set in Egypt. Other parallels between Egyptian and Greek mythology are: Zeus-Ammon, Hera-Isis, Artemis-Pasht, Hermes-Thoth, Asklepios-Imhotep.

23) See STRABO, *Geography*, 422 and PLUTARCH, *Moralia*, 293; the identification of the snake with the divine oracle is indicated by the double sense of the terminology: if  $\pi\theta\omega\acute{\nu}$  is the snake killed by Apollo,  $\pi\theta\iota\alpha$  is the Pythia or Pythoness,  $\pi\theta\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  is *to be inspired* by Apollo. The victory of Apollo over the Python was celebrated in Delphi every nine years when a representation was given and games were performed. The Pythian Games, established in 586 B.C., at which time were one of the Panhellenic Festivals of Greece, second only in importance and age to the Olympic Games, existing even before the Isthmian (582 B.C.) and Nemean (573 B.C.) Games. Famous winners of the Pythian Games include Pollux (boxing), Castor (horse-racing), Calais (running), Heracles (pancratium-wrestling), Paleus (quoits and discus), Zetes (fighting).

The divine meaning of the Python is also quoted in Christian writings, which describe  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$   $\pi\theta\omega\acute{\nu}$  as the spirit of the prophetic snake (New Testament, *Acta Apostolorum* 16, 16). It is worth noting that the verb  $\pi\theta\omega$  means to corrupt, to be purulent (from the same root of  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu$  = pus): from earthly corruption of living things derives the healing spirit.

24) OBERHELMAN S.M., *The diagnostic dream in ancient medical theory and practice*, Bull. Hist. Med. 61 (1987) 47-60; ROUSSELLE R., *Healing cults in antiquity: the dream of Asclepius of Epidaurus*, J. of Psychohistory 12 (1985) 339-351.

25) Findings from the late Hellenistic and Roman Periods indicate the trust placed on the healing snake in Ephesus. A funerary stele now in the Atrium of the Archaeological Museum of Ephesus (Selcuk) shows a dead man on a horse and a tree with a twined snake behind him (inv. n. 702). An other stele shows a dead woman on a chair and a man (possibly the husband or a physician) with a patera in his right hand. There is a snake near the patera acting as an intermediary between the healing contents of the patera and the woman (inv. n. 409).

26) Miltner (*Forshungen in Ephesus IV*, 1951, *cit.*, Introduction) believes that an Asklepieion could be found in Ephesus. Vettters and Alzinger believe that an Asklepieion was located near the Varius Baths (see *Reports of Archaeological excavations directed by W. Alzinger*, in: VETTERS H., Reports of Excavations in Ephesus 1971, Das Oesterr. Archaeol. Inst., Wien, 1971, 32-62; for Asklepieion see pp. 40-42). Again, Alzinger means that it is erroneous the interpretation of the snake and caduceus as symbols of medicine for indication of a city hospital: this is an idea for a Tourist Office, he sarcastically says [ALZINGER W., *Das Regierungsviertel*, J.O.A.I., Bb. 50 (1972-1975) 229-300]. However, this hasty statement is not accompanied by a least demonstration.

While the search for this Asklepieion has been unsuccessful so far, the goal of archaeologists's work is most likely the discovery of a building complex for medical activity.

It may be less ambitious, but possibly more profitable, to follow an inscription found near the Church of the Virgin Mary, which speaks about medical activity far from the Museion near the supreme priest. May be that there is a sacred area where medicine was practised.

27) The *immunitas* (to be free from taxes) granted by Roman Emperors to physicians has been extensively described by POHL J., *De Graecorum Medicis Publicis*, Thesis, Berlin 1905. According to this report, the first exemption (*immunitas*, in Greek ἀτέλεια) was granted in 23 B.C. by Augustus, who was cured by Antonius Musa, former slave and freedman of Mark Antony (Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars. Augustus*, 59, 81; Dio Cassius 53, 30, 3); Musa used hydrotherapy with cold water to cure an hepatopathy of Augustus. The Emperor thus granted him and all physicians immunity from taxation.

This award to the medical arts is an extension of an immunity from taxes granted in Ephesus at the time of Julius Caesar, who decreed the concession of Roman citizenship to all foreign doctors working in Rome (Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars. Julius Caesar*, 42).

Individual immunity was also granted to a single physician by the Administration Council of the city, e.g. in the case of the Physician of Rhodiapolis, who has been quoted in ref. 3. The inscription (*Tituli Asia Minor II*, 910) lists awards: «honored by the Alexandrians, Rhodians, Athenians... honored with immunity...».

Later on, that immunity was regulated by an Edict of Adrianus, according to a letter of Antoninus Pius (*Digest* 27, 1.6.8), which stated that physicians had immunity from public service (e.g. military service) and taxation in a fixed number for every city.

In Asia Minor, edicts were translated in Greek, such as the marble stone found in Pergamum carved with an Edict of Vespasian for teachers and physicians (74 A.D.):

«...Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus... physicians and medical practitioners... I order that no [taxes] be demanded of them in any way... Imperator have signed this and have ordered [it to be published on] a whitened board...».

The English translation of the inscriptions is reported in: SHERK R.K., *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1988; the Greek text may be found in: HERZOG R., *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse 32 (1935) 967-972 and comment in Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars. Vespasian*, 17-18.

The inscription found in Ephesus is from the time of Trajan, indicating that it may be a translation of the Edict of Augustus or the Governor of the Province.

28) An inscription quotes an Imperial Edict on immunity from taxes: the deliberation (διάταγμα) of the Assembly and people of Ephesus concerns physicians and teachers of the Museion (οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσειῶν παιδευταί: *Forschungen in Ephesus III*, 68), as may be deduced by the last rows.

29) MILTNER F., *Forschungen in Ephesos IV*, J.O.A.I. 3 (1951), p. 96: «ἐν τῶν γυμνασίου ἀνέθηκαν Ἀσκληπιῶν σὺν Ὑγιείᾳ καὶ Ὑπνῶ σὺν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ, καθιέρωσαν (*dedicated*) δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ καὶ ἱερείῳ...» that is: In the Gymnasium (statues) were dedicated to Asklepios with Hygeia and Hypnos with...

The three statues were probably a group, as suggested by a similar inscription quoted on p. 97 of the same paper and which may also be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae III*, 132a.

30) SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus the King*, 965; CALLIMACHUS, *Hymn to Apollo*, 46.

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