

## STATUES FROM THE EASTERN CIRCUS AT CAESAREA MARITIMA

RIVKA GERSHT

Fragments of four statues (Cat. Nos. 1–4) were uncovered during the 2001–2004 excavations conducted in the Eastern Circus at Caesarea (see Porath, this volume). These new finds bring to six the number of sculpted images found till now in the facility (Cat. Nos. 5, 6 have been known since the first half of the twentieth century CE). The discovery spot of each of the four items clearly suggests that they were part of the decoration of the *spina*. Three of the fragments are of human figures (Cat. Nos. 1–3)—two belong to draped female figures (Cat. Nos. 1, 2); the fourth item is a fragment of an animal (Cat. No. 4).<sup>1</sup>

In this paper, an effort has been made to interpret each of the sculpted images regarding the environment of the circus. Although found in the area of the facility, the function—apart from the decorative value—and significance of the images turned out to be hard to decipher. The fragmentary state of preservation, the absence of heads, the lack of inscriptions or any other conclusive evidence, made it difficult to exceed an inductive logical interpretation. The multiplicity of meanings that can be ascribed to each image clearly points to the possibility that the comprehension of at least the bull (Cat. No. 4) and Marsyas/Pan (Cat. No. 6) was consistent with the beholder's experience and faith. The catalogue that follows provides the reader with data (finding spot, material, dimensions) and a brief description of each entry.

### *Draped Female Figures*

Of the two fragments of female statues, the torso is larger and better preserved (Cat. No. 1; Fig. 1). The arrangement of the *palla* worn by the figure enables a classification of the dress as a version that combines elements from both the Large Herculaneum Woman (the original represented Demeter; cf. Bieber 1977:148–157, Figs. 664, 682, 693, 694, 696, 697,

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<sup>1</sup> For a preliminary discussion of the sculpture in the Eastern Circus, see Gersht 2008:523–530. I wish to thank Yosef Porath, the excavator, for the permission to study the sculpture uncovered in the circus, and Avshalom Zemer, former director of the National Maritime Museum, Haifa, for permission to include the statues of Aphrodite (Cat. No. 5) and of Marsyas or Pan (Cat. No. 6) in this study. The photographs in Figs. 1–4 were taken by Peter Gendelman; Figs. 5 and 6 are courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Haifa. The article was edited by Lori Lender.

704, 705, 709, 711, 712)<sup>2</sup> and the Eumachia types (the original represented a priestess; cf. Bieber 1977:200, Figs. 827, 830). Unlike these types, the head of the Caesarea figure seems to have been left uncovered.

The Eumachia and especially the Large Herculaneum Woman were favored types among Roman women. At the Antalya Museum, for example, there are no less than five portrait statues in the guise of the Large Herculaneum Woman—of Sabina, Faustina, Plancia Magna and two unknown Roman women; all were found in Perge (Özgür 1987: Cat. Nos. 33, 37, 43, 46, 47). Was the figure represented in Cat. No. 1 a portrait statue of an empress or a Caesarean *matrona* or *patrona* who was honored, perhaps, with a statue for carrying out a public *beneficium*? As the head is lacking, and there is no inscription identifying the figure and specifying the grounds for sculpting her, one cannot know.

The same obtains for the other female figure (Cat. No. 2; Fig. 2), which could have belonged to a statue of a goddess, a woman in the guise of a goddess or a statue of any other mythological figure. Female statues appear in visual representations of the circus, and were part of the decoration of circuses such as Circus Maximus (Humphrey 1986:267–269), Maxentius' Circus (Calza 1976: Nos. 1, 27, 28, 33, 41, 44) and evidently, the Eastern Circus at Caesarea.

### *Eros(?)*

There is no clue as whether the fragment of the left forearm and hand (Cat. No. 3; Fig. 3) was part of a freestanding figure or of a relief. Likewise, the object held in the hand can be identified as either a staff, a scepter, a spear, a *caduceus*, a *thyrsos*, a palm branch or a torch. The short, thick forearm suggests that the fragment was part of an image of a boy. Whether he was depicted alone or was accompanied by another figure (for example Aphrodite, if part of a freestanding statue) or several figures (such as Dionysus and his retinue or chariot racers, if the fragment is part of a relief) is impossible to say. Considering the context—the circus—and the position of the arm and hand, an image of Eros holding a palm branch is not unlikely.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Bull*

The bull (Cat. No. 4; Fig. 4) is perhaps the most challenging item discovered in the Eastern Circus. While a representation of a bull in a circus is not ordinary, it is not entirely bizarre; fights between bulls and men and between bulls and other animals were commonplace in

<sup>2</sup> About 200 examples of portrait statues in the guise of the Large Herculaneum Woman survived. The type, which was particularly common in the second century CE, is comprehensively dealt with by Trimble, see Trimble 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the position of the arm and the hand of the Victory holding a palm branch on the Ex-Lateran relief, and of the victorious charioteer in the Merida mosaic (Humphrey 1986: Figs. 130, 176).

Roman arenas (Toynbee 1996:149–150).<sup>4</sup> Although mainly performed in amphitheatres, the Thessalian method of bullfighting was also held in Circus Maximus (Suetonius *Claudius* 21.3). In this method, the Thessalian horsemen chased the bulls around the circus, leaped upon them when they were tired out, seized their horns, brought them to the ground and killed them by twisting their necks (Toynbee 1996:149 with references).<sup>5</sup>

It is not clear if the reason for the display of a bull on the barriers of the Gerona mosaic (Humphrey 1986: Fig. 120) and of the Eastern Circus at Caesarea had to do with bullfighting performances in the *arena* or not. In both cases, the bull was positioned between the obelisk and the *meta prima*. While describing the Gerona mosaic, Humphrey refers to the bull displayed between the *tropaeum* and the prisoner at the foot of the obelisk as “a unique statue...the significance of which is obscure” (Humphrey 1986:241). Given the role the bull partook in *arena* performances and the importance accorded him as the sacred animal of certain deities associated with the sun,<sup>6</sup> the significance of a sculpted image of a bull in a circus becomes comprehensible.

It is agreed that the cult of the sun was associated with Circus Maximus (Humphrey 1986:62–63, 91–95), and probably, with many if not all other Roman circuses. The obelisk erected in the Eastern Circus at Caesarea—like those erected in the circuses of Maxentius outside Rome, and at Tyre, Antioch, Constantinople, Arles and Vienne—not only imitated the obelisk in Circus Maximus, but most likely was brought from Egypt as an emblem of the sun.<sup>7</sup>

Like the obelisk, the bull—when associated with certain deities—would have signified the sun. At Caesarea, it could have appeared as the sacred animal of Jupiter Dolichenus<sup>8</sup> and/or of Jupiter Heliopolitanus;<sup>9</sup> both were associated with the sun and identified with each other (Cook 1930:222; Avi-Yonah 1952:121, n. 19; Ferguson 1970:35; Hajjar 1985:249–251; Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: Cat. Nos. 183, 447).

A five-line Greek inscription (first to third centuries CE) on a small block of *kurkar* (23 × 29 × 22 cm) found at Caesarea<sup>10</sup> informs us that Victor, in fulfillment of a vow,

<sup>4</sup> Bull-hunting performances also took place in stadia (Weiss 1999:35 and n. 69 with references therein). Bull-hunting is depicted along with other amphitheater performances in two funerary reliefs from Pompeii (Kockel 1983: Taf. 19c, 20: Fig. III; Jacobelli 2003: Figs. 75, 77).

<sup>5</sup> Bull fighting is shown together with other *arena* activities in a relief found in the Germiyan Village (Tekirdağ Province in the Marmara region), Turkey (Pasinli 1996:116, Cat. No. 107).

<sup>6</sup> On the bull as the sacred animal of certain deities associated with the sun, see Cook 1964:549ff.

<sup>7</sup> On the obelisk, which Augustus brought from Egypt and dedicated to the sun as a gift in Circus Maximus, see Humphrey 1986:269–272.

<sup>8</sup> On Jupiter Dolichenus, associated with the sun and the bull, see Cook 1964:604–633; Speidel 1978:25–37; Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: Cat. No. 5, Taf. II, Cat. No. 6, Taf. III, 201, 202, Taf. XXXIX, 294, Taf. LVII, 295, Taf. LVIII, 347, Taf. LXVI, 386, Taf. LXXXVII, 419, Taf. XCIX, 512, Taf. CVIII. The Hedderheim bronze votive tablet is in the form of an obelisk and not a lance, as suggested by Hörig and Schwertheim (1987: Cat. No. 512, Taf. CVIII).

<sup>9</sup> On the solar character of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the bulls accompanying him, see Cook 1964:549–576; Hajjar 1985:37–61, 205–217.

<sup>10</sup> Housed in the Caesarea Museum of Antiquities in Kibbutz Sedot-Yam.

dedicated and built this (possibly a small altar) to Zeus (Jupiter) Dolichenus (Lifshitz 1966:255–256; Lehmann and Holum 1999:52–53; 2000:121–122, No. 124, PL. LXXXV; *CIIP* II:44–45, No. 1134):

Οὐίκτορ ευζά –  
 μενος ἀνέ –  
 θηκεν κὲ ἦρ –  
 γάσετο τῷ Δι(ι)  
 Δολιχηνῶ

*Viktor, in*  
*fulfillment of a vow,*  
*dedicated and*  
*built this, to Zeus (Jupiter)*  
*Dolichenus*

The provenance of the inscription is unknown, and as it was made from *kurkar*, it was unlikely to have been included among the articles furnishing the *spina* of the Eastern Circus, which are all made of either marble or granite. Nonetheless, the inscription is sufficient evidence that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus existed at Caesarea, thereby justifying the attempt to relate the fragmentary bull with the god who hailed from Doliche in Commagene. In favor of Dolichenus is the pillar impression on the bull's belly. Similar pillars supporting the bull appear in several representations of Dolichenus standing on his sacred animal (e.g., Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: Cat. Nos. 62, 89–92, 206, 207, 242).<sup>11</sup>

If the fragmentary bull from the Caesarea circus signified Dolichenus, he could be represented alone, or with the god standing on his back. If the monument included the image of Dolichenus, it could be twice larger than the bull alone,<sup>12</sup> surpassing a height of 3 m, not including the base. Amid the *metae*, which rose to a height of up to about 8 m, and the obelisk, which probably exceeded a height of 15 m (about 12.5 m preserved; part of the upper pyramid and the base are missing), a monument of more than 3 m is plausible.

While it is true that many of the freestanding Dolichenus groups of this type are rather small, measuring from a few centimeters to approximately 1.6 m in height (Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: Cat. Nos. 18, 62, 66, 78, 85, 89–92, 114, 207, 233, 242, 280, 291, 292, 352, 366, 389, 410, 588, 602), larger examples are also known, for example the bull fragment from Corbridge on Tyne—Corstopitum, which belonged to a two-thirds life-size group (Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: Cat. No. 566, Taf. CXXIII).

In some representations of this type, the god is displayed on the rump of the bull, close to the tail. The absence of this part in the example of the bull from the Eastern Circus makes it impossible to verify whether an image of Dolichenus was in fact included in the monument.

Unlike the evidence connecting Dolichenus with Caesarea, the evidence connecting Heliopolitanus with the city is indirect, including a fragmentary colossal foot in the collection

<sup>11</sup> A bull supported by an inscribed pillar and base was found in Acumincum (Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: Cat. No. 206, Taf. XLI).

<sup>12</sup> In some representations, the god is larger than the bull.

of antiquities of the Stella Maris Carmelite monastery on Mount Carmel.<sup>13</sup> The foot was dedicated to Zeus Heliopolitanus, the god of Mount Carmel, by Gaius Iulius Eutychas, a late second or early third century CE colonist of Caesarea (Avi-Yonah 1952; Hajjar 1977: Cat. No. 227, Pl. LXXXVI). The dedication is inscribed on the front and inner side of the base (or was it a sole of some sort of footwear) supporting the foot:

Διὶ Ἡλιοπολείτῃ Καρμῆλω  
Γ(αίος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Εὐτυχᾶς  
Κόλ(ων) Καισαρεύς

*To Heliopolitan Zeus (god of) Carmel*  
*Gaius Iulius Eutychas*  
*Colonist (of) Caesarea*

We may assume that Gaius Iulius Eutychas was not the only Caesarean who worshipped Zeus Heliopolitanus and that the city could possibly have owned a sculpted image of the god, perhaps even an altar.<sup>14</sup> A fragmentary *naiskos*-shaped marble stele uncovered in the area of the theater (Brusa Gerra 1965:223, No. 9, Fig. 275; Lehmann and Holum 2000: Cat. No. 125; *CIIP* II:43–44, No. 1133),<sup>15</sup> can perhaps be linked with Zeus Heliopolitanus. On the frieze below the pediment are remains of the first half of an inscription: Θεῶι Μεγάλω Δεσ[πότηι – –]; the missing second half could possibly record the name of the deity.

Lehmann and Holum note that “the divine title μέγα was used for nearly all the gods” and that “several Syrian deities had the title Δεσπότης ...;” they also claim that “it is impossible to restore the name of the god” in the inscription and that “the dedicator may have omitted the god’s name and invoked him only through his titles” (Lehmann and Holum 2000:122, Cat. No. 125). In my mind, the name of Jupiter Heliopolitanus could have been recorded in the missing second half of the pediment. The clue to the identification of the god with Heliopolitanus may be in the number of letters that could have been set into the missing part. Apparently, the vertical axis of the *naiskos* passed between the π and the ο of Δεσπότηι. If this is correct, then the space allocated for the rest of the inscription could have contained up to sixteen letters and one dividing dot.

The Θεῶι Μεγάλωι Δεσ[πότηι] formula is repeated with a slight variation on a pedestal of a bronze statue from Syria: Θεῶ Μεγίστῳ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ Δεσπότη... (Hajjar 1977:32–33, Cat. No. 16). Based on the Syrian inscription, which mentions the name of the god

<sup>13</sup> The fragment was found in the 1830s in the garden of the monastery (Friedman 1979:147; Ovadiah and Pierri 2012:36). Avi-Yonah (1952:118) argued that the size of the toes indicates that the fragment belonged to a twice life-size figure whose height when intact was 3–3.5 m. If Avi-Yonah’s interpretation is correct, the foot was broken—as evidenced by the inscription—before the fragment was dedicated to the god. A dedication of a monumental statue is expected to be larger and inscribed on the front of the statue’s plinth. The location of the inscription and the size of the letters indicate that a foot was dedicated rather than a statue. Whether the foot was broken prior or after the dedication is of minor importance.

<sup>14</sup> For evidence regarding additional Oriental deities at Caesarea—Mithras, the Ephesian Artemis, Isis and Serapis, see Gersht 1996a; 2015:147–151, Cat. Nos. 7, 8, 19–22, 24; 2017:73–78.

<sup>15</sup> The fragmentary stele was found in 1962 by the Missione Archaeologica Italiana (MAI 1959–1964), directed by Antonio Frova.

Heliopolitanus, a plausible restoration for the inscription on the stele in Caesarea, which keeps within the framework of sixteen letters and one dividing dot, can be offered: Θεῶι Μεγάλωι Δεσ[πότηι Ἡλιοπολείτη].

If the fragmentary bull from the Eastern Circus at Caesarea did signify Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and was not a solitary image but part of a group, then it was one of two bulls flanking the standing image of the god—the one on the left (cf. the bronze statuette in the Louvre; Hajjar 1977: Cat. No. 232, Pls. LXXXVIII, LXXXIX).

Yet, there is a possibility that, as in the Gerona mosaic (Humphrey 1986, Fig. 120), the Caesarea bull was not accompanied by a deity. The absence of the god allowed each of the arena beholders to interpret the image according to his own belief: as the bull of Dolichenus, as the bull of Heliopolitanus, as Appis in his incarnation as Serapis—if he had the solar disk and *uraeus* between his horns,<sup>16</sup> with regard to Cybele and Attis or simply with connection to the *arena* performances.

The rites related to Cybele, who was credited with astral and cosmic powers, and to Attis, who evolved into a solar deity (Walton and Scheid 1996:416), included the sacrifice of a six-year-old bull, as well as the ceremonies of the *taurobolium* (the sacrifice of a bull) and the *criobolium* (the sacrifice of a ram; Turcan 1996:43–74). In addition, Cybele, whose connection with Circus Maximus is beyond doubt, was honored in ports as a goddess of the waters (Turcan 1996:56–57). Caesarea, the prosperous harbor city, could have commemorated this aspect of Cybele by erecting a bull statue in the circus, whether she was officially revered at Caesarea or not.

Lacking the bull's head, base and pillar, or an inscription, we can only conclude that whoever was the deity identified with the bull in the Eastern Circus at Caesarea, he or she must have been associated with the circus and/or the city.

### *Aphrodite/Venus*

It is not surprising to find a statue of Aphrodite/Venus (Cat. No. 5; Fig. 5) in a circus. In ancient astrology, Venus was considered a beneficent goddess (Barton 1994:96), one among the planets (Cumont 1912:46; Barton 1994:199), and was called *Caelestis* (Adkins and Adkins 1996:232) along with her many other titles and epithets. In Ovid's *Amores* 3.2, Venus is mentioned among the deities carried on *tensae* (special wagons) in the *pompa circensis* that opened the *ludi*:

...Now the procession comes: speak no ill-omened words, but cheer and applaud as the gold goes by. First comes Victory with her wings spread out: goddess, grant that my love be victorious.

<sup>16</sup> A huge black granite sculpture of Apis the bull was found in Alexandria in 1895 at the entrance to the underground galleries below the Serapeum. The inscription carved on the pillar supporting the bull informs us that the sculpture was dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian (Steen 1993:38–40). For the cult of Serapis at Caesarea, see Gersht 2015:147–151; 2017:73–78, 85.

Applaud Neptune, you who trust so much in the waves; I want nothing to do with the sea—I'll stick to the land. Soldier, applaud your Mars; I hate war; peace is pleasanter, and in peace we discover love. May Phoebus stand by his prophets and Phoebe by her hunters, and craftsmen turn their hands to you, Minerva. Stand up as rustic Ceres and soft Bacchus come by. The fighters love Pollux, the riders Castor. I applaud you, gentle Venus, and your boys with powerful bows. Goddess, look with favor on my undertaking and give sense to my new mistress, that she may permit herself to be loved. The goddess nods and gives a sign of approval (Translation: Mahoney 2001:26–27).

In the circus, Venus was also associated with one of the factions (Barton 1994:177). A Byzantine text that probably descends from Suetonius' *Ludicra historia* and Tertulian's *De spectaculis* (Dunbabin 1978:88–89) reveals her role in the outcome of chariot races:

You must know that the Moon aids the Greens, the sun the Reds, Saturn and Venus the Blues. So when the Sun meets Venus, if at that moment the blues are launching out on the course, then they will win. When it meets Mars it is the Greens who win, for Mars is their ally; and Jupiter is found on a cardine, then infallibly the blues will win, above all if the Moon is deprived of light (*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* [CCAG] 5.3.127–128; Translation: Barton 1994:177).

Not only did the Caesarea circus house a statue of Aphrodite/Venus; the *euripus* in the circus of Maxentius, for example, housed two statues of the goddess (Calza 1976:189, Nos. 29, 30; Humphrey 1986:283–284, Fig. 133). The Caesarea piece is rather small, so that it could be placed on top of a column or within a niche or *aedicula*. If the reason for displaying the goddess in the circus was not connected to astrology, it may have been related to her aquatic nature. No doubt the crouching type is a proper decoration for a *euripus* whether it is accompanied by a dolphin spouting water—like the Antioch example—or not.<sup>17</sup>

#### *Marsyas or Pan?*

Who is the figure depicted in Cat. No. 6 (Fig. 6) and why was this figure placed in the circus? It has been suggested, based on the gesture and a reference by Pliny (*NH* 36.35), that the figure was part of a group sculpture representing Pan wrestling with Eros (Gersht 1996b:441). However, the figure can also be interpreted as Pan hitting a tympanum or as Marsyas or some other satyr carrying a wine skin (*ἀσκός*) or a vase.

Pan hitting a tympanum while leaping appears on a few Roman Dionysian sarcophagi (Matz 1968 IV/1:64, Type 111; IV/2:179–180, No. 72, Pls. 81/2, 82/2; 199–201, No. 84, Pl. 100/2; 263–267, No. 129, Pl. 144/1; Kondoleon 1995:205–206, Fig. 131). On these sarcophagi, Pan's upper body is in almost the same posture as in the Caesarea piece, but his right leg is bent and raised; in the Caesarea piece, the thighs seem to be tied.

<sup>17</sup> For the Antioch example, see Campbell 1936:8–9, Fig.13; Kapossy 1969:17; Hill 1981:93.

Klimowsky (1982–3:92–93) identified the figure as a statuette of Marsyas and accordingly argued that “the hippodrome<sup>18</sup> is no place for statuettes of any kind in any original religious or artistic context.” The statue is small but not smaller than that of Aphrodite (Cat. No. 5). Its original height must have been about 70 cm, and if situated on top of a column, it would have appeared to be rather prominent. In addition, statues of Marsyas are known from other circuses, for example, the fragment of the hanging Marsyas, about the same size, from Herod’s Circus (Gersht 2008:522–523; 2015:164–166, No. 10), and an over life-size head of the Phrygian satyr, a copy of an original attributed to Myron, from the circus of Maxentius outside Rome (Calza 1976:193–194, No. 37, Pl. XXI:1, 2).

Evidently, a statue of Marsyas, no matter of what size or type, was considered an appropriate decoration for a circus. As a follower of Cybele<sup>19</sup> and as a victim of Apollo,<sup>20</sup> he could have been associated with the *Ludi Apollinares* in honor of Apollo and/or the *Ludi Megalenses* in honor of Cybele, if these *ludi* were indeed celebrated at Caesarea (both *Ludi* came to include circus performances; see Scullard 1981:97–100, 159–160; Humphrey 1986:275, 281; Golvin 1988:62, n. 210) or else, associated with Cybele, even if the *Megalensia* was not celebrated in the city.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Marsyas, like Cybele, was associated with water; a local tributary of the Meander River was named after him, and his *askos* was displayed in the cave from which the river springs (Herodotus 5.118,

<sup>18</sup> Note that Klimowsky (1982–3) incorrectly referred to the Eastern Circus at Caesarea as a hippodrome. The facility was first identified as a hippodrome by Jeremias (1931), and continued to be so named by scholars until Humphrey, in his book on Roman circuses (1986:477–491), corrected the mistake. From that publication on, the facility is correctly referred to as a circus.

<sup>19</sup> This can be deduced from Diodorus Siculus III.58.3–59.2, “...The man who was associated with her [Cybele] and loved her more than anyone else, they say, was Marsyas the Phrygian, who was admired for his intelligence and chastity; and a proof of his intelligence they find in the fact that he imitated the sounds made by the pipe of many reeds and carried all its notes over into the flute...and Marsyas, out of pity for her plight, voluntarily followed her and accompanied her in her wanderings because of the love which he had formerly borne her. When they came to Dionysus in the city of Nysa they found there Apollo, who was being accorded high favour because of the lyre, ...and when Marsyas strove with Apollo in a contest of skill...” (translation C.H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. 1967); and Pausanias, Description of Greece X.30.9, “The Phrygians in Celaenae hold that the river passing through the city was once this great flute-player, and they also hold that the Song of the Mother [Cybele], an air for the flute, was composed by Marsyas. They say too that they repelled the army of the Gauls by the aid of Marsyas, who defended them against the barbarians by the water from the river and by the music of his flute.” (translation W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, London. 1918). According to Stephanus Byzantinus, the tomb of Marsyas was at Pessinous, the original cult center of Cybele (Strubbe 2005:242 T. 25). As attendant in the contest with Apollo, Cybele is shown next to Marsyas on several Roman sarcophagi (Vermaseren 1977a: Cat. Nos. 278, 286, 293, 335, 338; 1977b:19, 77–78, Pl. 61; 1987: No. 895). In the Via Praenestina hypogeum near Porta Maggiore in Rome, the woman depicted kneeling before Apollo, praying for Marsyas, is “interpreted as Cybele as mother of Marsyas” (Vermaseren 1977a:97–98, Cat. No. 344/3), and on an altar from Bithynia, Marsyas is depicted together with Cybele and Mercury (Vermaseren 1987: No. 241).

<sup>20</sup> Ptolemaeus Chennus [Phot. Bibl. cod. 190 149a] relates that Marsyas was born on Apollo’s festival day, and that his flaying corresponded with the flaying of sacrificed animals on that day (Dowden 1996:930).

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion above on the plausible association of the fragmentary bull with Cybele.

7.26; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.30.9; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.8). It is for this reason that Marsyas was sometimes portrayed as a reclining river deity, sometimes with an overturned flowing vase (Rawson 1987:9) or as a standing fountain figure with an *askos* on one of his shoulders (Kaposy 1969:31, Fig. 18; for other examples of the type, see Weis 1992:375, No. 72a–c). The portrayal of Marsyas with the *askos* copied Marsyas' image in the Forum (Torelli 1982:99–106; Klimowsky 1982–3) and was adopted by provincial cities to demonstrate their relationship with Rome (Salmon 1970:156; Small 1982:69). Caesarea held at least two statues of the hanging Marsyas (Gersht 1996b:443; 1999:15–16, 45; 2015:146–147, 164–166, Cat. No. 10); the possibility that the city also had a statue of the Forum-type Marsyas can be deduced from the depiction of the Phrygian satyr standing in front of the Tyche of Caesarea on a coin of Herennia Etruscilla (249–251 CE; Meshorer 1985:21, 111, Cat. No. 30).

The difficulty in identifying the statue (Fig. 6) with the Forum-type Marsyas lies in the fact that there is no sign of the *askos* on the left shoulder. Besides, the gesture of the arms accords a defensive attitude, the act of hitting a tympanum, or pouring water/wine, more than the act of carrying a wine skin on the shoulder. If the image was of a satyr, and not of Pan, it could have been associated with Marsyas, assuming that the beholder was aware of the multiplicity of meanings ascribed to the Phrygian satyr<sup>22</sup> and ignored the artistic variation in favor of symbolism.

Whatever the Caesarea statue signified, be it Marsyas, or a satyr other than Marsyas, it was undoubtedly considered, like the rest of the statues discussed here, a proper decoration for a circus. In view of the manifestation of Dionysiac imagery in the Western Circus that Herod built at Caesarea (Gersht 2015:151, 155–158, Cat. No. 5, 171–172, Cat. No. 14), Pan, as a companion of Dionysos, was no less applicable for the Eastern Circus decoration.

### *Conclusion*

It appears that although there was no fixed canon for decorating circuses, the sculpted fragments from the Eastern Circus accord well with findings from other circuses and with some of the sculpted images depicted in visual representation of circuses. Clearly, the Eastern Circus was affluently decorated with more sculptures whose fragments may still be buried in the unexcavated areas of the facility; hopefully future excavations will provide us with further insights regarding the significance of the decorative program of the Eastern Circus.

## CATALOGUE

### 1. Torso of a Woman (Fig. 1).

*Findspot*: IAA excavations, discovered on August 21, 2001; Area VIa, Sq 622, B601,093 (5.52–5.20 m msl).

<sup>22</sup> For the multiplicity of meanings ascribed to Marsyas, see Klimowsky 1982–3.



Fig. 1. Draped female, fragment; Cat. No. 1.

*Material and Dimensions:* Marble encrusted with patina; H 45 cm, W 32.5–33.0 cm.

*Description:* Head and lower body—from the navel down—missing. Index and little fingers of right hand and back damaged. A deep dowel hole with remains of metal at the neck indicates that the head was carved independently. The rectangular hole (4.5 × 5.0 cm, depth 3.8 cm) below the right shoulder blade and the schematic rendering of the back suggest that the statue stood against a background, to which it was affixed. Drill holes are visible within the channels separating the uneven drapery folds.

Although the breast is rather flat, the drapery arrangement shows that the torso is that of a woman. The woman is draped with a *palla* over a *stola*. The material of the *stola*, which ends horizontally beneath the neck, appears to be thinner and is fashioned in broad, shallow folds. The material of the *palla* is heavier, with deep, somewhat flattened folds.

The woman has her arms wrapped in the *palla*, which is drawn from back to front, over both her shoulders. The right upper edge of the *palla* is pulled upward and hangs over the left shoulder while enveloping the right arm, which is bent up in front of the chest; the left

arm—broken at about mid-forearm—is placed alongside the body. The rims of the garment are grasped by the woman's right hand in front of the sternum. In doing so, the woman creates a semi-loop around her right wrist and triangle-like folds on the left-hand side of her upper body; both produce a light and shadow interplay and as a result, bestow the dress with additional plasticity.

*Discussion:* Lacking the head, the attempt at dating the torso is based on the style and technique. The combination of deep, drilled channels and rather heavy folds somewhat resembles the rendering of the drapery of the bust of the woman uncovered in the Byzantine complex in Insula W2S3 (Gersht 1996c:109–112).

*Date:* The style and technique lend credence to a date in the late second or third century CE.

*Reference:* Gersht 2008:524, Fig. 6:1.

## 2. Part of Lower Left Side of a Draped Female Figure (Fig. 2).

*Findspot:* IAA excavations, discovered on June 18, 2001; Area VIa, surface find, B601,213.

*Material and Dimensions:* White marble; H 15.5 cm, W 10.5 cm.

*Description and Discussion:* A small fragment of the lower left side of a female figure dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, if a goddess or other mythic figure, or in *stola* and *palla*, if a Roman portrait statue. The lower rim of the *himation* or *palla* and the vertical folds of the *chiton* or *stola* are well-observed at the back. Two heavy folds at the front suggest that one end of the *himation* or *palla* was drawn over the left shoulder and/or held by the left forearm, and that the figure stood with her weight on her left leg (cf. Paribani Rovai 1990: Cat. No. 16, Tav. XL–XLI; Fuchs 2001:33–39, Cat. No. 8).

*Date:* Roman period.

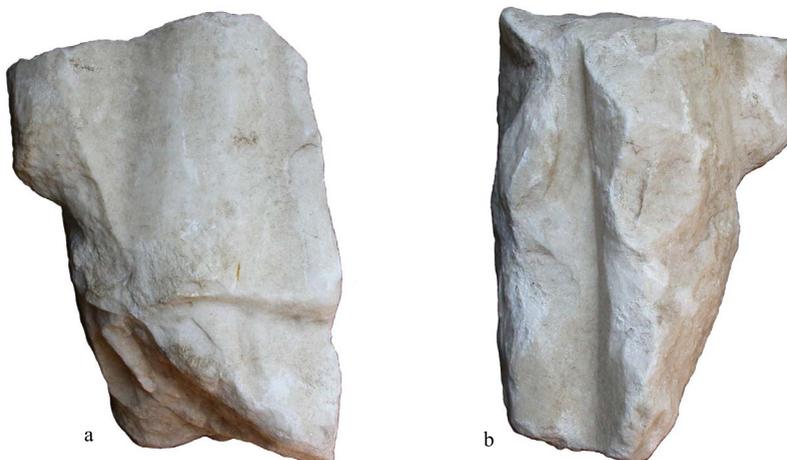


Fig. 2. Draped female, fragment; Cat. No. 2.



Fig. 3. Eros? fragment; Cat. No. 3.

### 3. Left Forearm and Hand (Fig. 3).

*Findspot:* IAA excavations, found on April 29, 2004; Area VIa, Sqs 521/621, B601,302, 5.70–5.30 m msl.

*Material and Dimensions:* Marble; L 8 cm, W 5.2 cm.

*Description and Discussion:* Fragment, surface damaged. The break runs straight across the elbow. The fingers, apart from the thumb, are missing. The object held in the palm is broken at both ends. Remains of drill work are noticeable on the palm and within the channels separating the hand from the cylindrical object.

The break on the inner side of the forearm and the position of the hand, which is slightly twisted at the wrist to the left and inward, indicate that the arm was bent and that the forearm was either raised or stretched downward. The dimensions of the fragment, and especially the fleshiness of the forearm, suggest that the fragment was part of an image of a boy, possibly Eros.

*Date:* Roman period.

### 4. Fragment of a Bull (Fig. 4).

*Findspot:* IAA excavations, found on August 20, 2001; Area VIa, Sq 526, B601,082, 5.33–5.01 m msl.

*Material and Dimensions:* Dark gray marble; H 53 cm, L 71 cm.

*Description:* Upper body preserved. Head, neck, forelegs—from elbow down—and the entire posterior of the bull—from loin to tail—are missing. An almost diagonal break runs from back to belly, starting at the withers and crossing the ribs. Breaks are also visible at the



Fig. 4. Bull, fragment; Cat. No. 4.

brisket and all along the dewlap. Shallow cracks are scattered all over the surface; remains of fresh rust on right shoulder and chest. The rims of the rectangular broken pillar (about three-quarters of the break preserved), which supported the bull at the belly, are accentuated by flat and pointed chisel marks. The bull was the work of a competent hand, as can be seen from the detailed rendering of the bones and muscles.

*Discussion:* The positions of the neck, dewlap and chest indicate that the bull's head turned slightly to the right. The right foreleg, as shown by the preserved part of the forearms, stepped slightly forward. The break at the belly clearly indicates that the bull was supported by a pillar in addition to his own limbs. Based on the measurements of the fragment, we may assume that the bull, originally about life-size, was displayed not far from its findspot.

*Date:* Roman period.

*Reference:* Gersht 2008:524–528, Fig. 6:2.

##### 5. Crouching Aphrodite (Fig. 5).

Haifa Museum, the National Maritime Museum; Inventory No. 2021.

*Findspot:* The southwestern corner of the circus, in secondary use in a stone fence.

*Material and Dimensions:* Marble; H 26 cm.

*Description:* The head, the left breast, shoulder and arm, the right forearm and both legs are missing. That the head was turned to the right is indicated by the remains of the neck and the position of the shoulders and the lock of hair on the right shoulder. The right arm was bent, perhaps raised toward the left breast. The left arm was (a) either raised, (b) or bent while the elbow placed on the knee, (c) or bent toward the lower belly in a *pudica* gesture. Although



Fig. 5. Crouching Aphrodite; Cat. No. 5.

the legs are missing, their position can be reconstructed based on the posture of the torso. The right leg was folded, parallel to the ground, with only the toes touching it, so that the goddess was sitting on her right heel. The left leg was bent—the thigh raised, the calf held perpendicularly and the foot placed fully on the ground (cf. Delivorrias, Berger-Doer and Kossatz-Deissmann 1984:104–105, Nos. 1018–1035; Schmidt 1997:215, Nos. 244–247).

*Date:* Roman period.

*References:* Iliffe 1933:110–112, Pl. XLIII; Rosh 1950:44; Ringel 1975:116, Pl.XIII/1; Gersht 1987:17–18, Cat. No. 7; 1996b:437; 2001:70, Fig. 8; 2011:84–85; 2014:101, figure on p. 37; Zemer 1997:16; Fischer 1998:142, Cat. No. 117.

#### 6. Marsyas or Pan (Fig. 6).

Haifa Museum, the National Maritime Museum; Inventory No. 2054.

*Findspot:* In 1937, on the western edge of the circus.

*Material and Dimensions:* Marble encrusted with patina; H 32 cm.



Fig. 6. Marsyas or Pan; Cat. No. 6.

*Description and Discussion:* The top of the head, forearms and legs from below the buttocks down, are missing.<sup>23</sup> Upper arms are broken above elbows. The break that cut off the top of the head runs diagonally from above the left eye to the stump of the right upper arm. Only the lower eyelid survived of the right eye. The figure has curly hair, beard and pubic-hair; a long moustache and a half-broken goat's tail. The muscular, somewhat hunchbacked, figure is bent slightly forward. The arms—as the position of the stumps indicate—were raised. The drill work used for shaping the hair suggests a date in the Antonine or Severan period.

*Date:* Second–third centuries CE.

*References:* Rosh 1950:17–20; Gersht 1988: Cat. No. 64; 1996b:441, Pl. 15; Zemer 1997:25.

<sup>23</sup> In Rosh 1950, the top of the head—with horns—and the right eye appear to be intact. I have no record regarding a restoration made or damage caused to the statue after its discovery.

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