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Evidence for the Cults and Mythology of Marseilles from Its Foundation to the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West from Ancient Literary, Epigraphical, Numismatic, and Archaeological Testimonia

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EVIDENCE FOR THE CULTS AND MYTHOLOGY OF MARSEILLES FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST FROM ANCIENT LITERARY, EPIGRAPHICAL, NUMISMATIC, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTIMONIA

by

Paul J. Properzio

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 1981
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Most of all, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my wife, Deborah, who has stood by me and supported me selflessly, to my parents, my sister and her husband, and to the rest of my family, who have encouraged me to persevere in my studies.
The author, Paul Joseph Properzio, was born on May 20, 1947, in Keene, New Hampshire, the son of Virginia Theresa Properzio and the late Joseph Mary Properzio.

He attended Keene High School, Keene, New Hampshire, where he was a member of the National Honor Society and was graduated in June, 1965. In September, 1965, he was the recipient of the Edna O. Brown and 1898 Scholarships and entered the University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire, where he majored in Greek and Latin, and minored in Russian. While at that university, he was a member of Acacia Fraternity. In his senior year, he was elected to Senior Key, the University of New Hampshire Men's Honorary Society, was awarded the S. Morris Locke Prize in Classics, and was named a Fulbright Scholar to Italy. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree *cum laude* in Greek and Latin from the University of New Hampshire in June, 1969.

In September, 1969, he was awarded an NDEA Title IV Fellowship in the Department of Classical Studies at Loyola University of Chicago. After receiving the Master of Arts degree in Classical Studies from Loyola in July, 1973, he was granted a University Dissertation Fellowship from the same university. In the summer of 1974, he was chosen as the recipient of a John and Helen Condon Fellowship to participate in the Loyola University Archaeological Expedition to Antibes, France. In the spring of 1975, an article, "Rhodian Colonization in Iberia: The Colony Rhode and the Townlet Rhodos," was published in *Antipolis: A Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1.2 (1975): 82-96.

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In September, 1975, he began teaching at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, and has been Chairman of the Department of Classics at that university since September, 1976. In 1979 he was named to the Executive Committee of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States for a three-year term. In 1981 he was elected as the CAAS Delegate to the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and was also chosen to serve on the CAAS Search Committee for a new editor of *Classical World*. He has been a member of the American Philological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America (Northern New Jersey Society).
ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED IN THIS STUDY

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<td>AJA-</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology.</td>
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<td>BCF-</td>
<td>Musée Borely, cérámiques grecques de Marseille: Figurines de terre cuite. Marseille, no date.</td>
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<td>BCH-</td>
<td>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</td>
</tr>
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<td>CRAI-</td>
<td>Comptes rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</td>
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<td>EC-</td>
<td>Études Classiques.</td>
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<td>EPRO-</td>
<td>M. J. Vermaseren, ed. Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l' empire romain. Leiden, 1960-.</td>
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<td>REL-</td>
<td>Revue des Etudes Ligures.</td>
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Marseilles has been called "la cité antique sans antiquité." 1 Whatever truth there may be in describing the modern city in that way, this study will show what evidence there still exists for that city's past cults and mythology from its beginnings until the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. 2

Some of this evidence for the cults and mythology has already been published; some will be presented for the first time in this study. No complete compilation of even all the published evidence for Marseilles' past in cults and mythology has up to this point been made. This study will bring together all the previously published evidence into one place. It will also add new evidence presented here for the first time. The purpose of this dissertation then is to present in one study all the presently known extant evidence for Marseilles' ancient cults and mythology.

In this study cult means the worship of a deity. That worship may be public, such as is offered in a temple or sacred precinct or with official ceremonies like processions or sacrifices presided over by priests or priestesses. The worship may also be private, such as is offered in a home or with private prayers.

1A.G. Woodhead, The Greeks in the West (London, 1962), p. 68. 2The ancient city was called Massalia by the Greeks, Massilia by the Romans. Marseilles will be used in this study for the ancient city. If reference is made to the modern city, that will be clearly noted. The citizen will be called "Massaliote."
Mythology in this study refers to the body of traditional stories about a divinity or a hero or heroine.

The dissertation will have three chapters. The first chapter will put the topic of this study in perspective of time and place. To do this, Phokaia, the mother-city of Marseilles, will first be discussed, then ancient Marseilles itself. The chapter will end with a discussion of what scholarly work touches on the subject of this study.

The second chapter will present the evidence for the cults and mythology of Marseilles. This evidence is literary, epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological. The deities will be arranged in alphabetical order. Wherever there are extant testimonia for the deity, the ancient literary evidence will be first presented followed by the epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological in that order. The single exception to this order will be found in the case of Gorgo-Medusa where the author thinks that a clear presentation requires that the archaeological evidence be presented before the numismatic. The source, date, and, where pertinent, bibliographical data of each testimonium will be given. The author's discussion of the significance of a testimonium will be presented at that point in the text where the writer thinks it will be most helpful. At the end of the second chapter a summary of the contributions of this study will be given.

The third and final chapter of the dissertation will discuss aspects of Marseilles' religious history upon which the testimonia have cast light. The chapter will treat the interaction between Ionian (Massaliote) and native religion, religious syncretism found in Marseilles, and the circumstances which produced the distinctive religious character of the colony.
Some works are frequently referred to in this study. A list of abbreviations for these works has been placed on page v. The first reference to one of these works in the study gives the complete bibliographical reference. After that the abbreviation is used.

In this study ancient objects will be described from the perspective of the piece itself not that of the viewer. For instance, "the left side" means an object's own left side.
Phokaia

Ancient Phokaia (modern Eski Foça, Turkey), northwest of Smyrna and located in Aiolian territory, was an Ionian city. Because the harbor at Eski Foça is one of the best on the coast, Phokaia became a place of importance in the history of Greek colonization (plates I, II, nos. 1-3).¹

Ancient authors (Herodotus, I, 146; Strabo, XIV, 1, 3; Pausanias, VII, 3, 10) report that Phokaia was settled around the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century B.C. by colonists from Phokis in central Greece led by two Athenians who obtained a site for their new city from the people of Kyme (on the coast northeast of Phokaia). After accepting Ionian settlers from Erythrai (modern Ildiri) and Teos (modern Siğacik) to reinforce the new Ionian settlement, Phokaia was admitted into the Panionion (Herodotus, I, 141-143, 148, 151-152), the political league of Ionian cities founded in the ninth century B.C.²

The name Phokaia may be connected with Phokis. It is more likely, however, that the city received its name from the Greek word phōkē meaning seal because the nearby islets have the appearance of seals swimming

in the sea (plate II, no. 3). The obverses of Phokaian coins from around 600 B.C. or earlier commonly bear the image of a seal.¹

The thalassokracy of Phokaia is usually dated from about 602-560 B.C. After the destruction of Smyrna by Alyattes of Lydia around the end of the seventh century, it was by way of Phokaia that products of the interior were transported to the West (Herodotus, I, 163). Celebrated navigators, the Phokaians traded with Naukratis in Egypt around 570 B.C. and settled there during the reign of the philhellenic Pharaoh Amasis of the Saite Dynasty. They erected there jointly with other Ionian cities a sanctuary known as the Hellenion (Herodotus, II, 178-179). There were at Naukratis many Ionian sanctuaries administered by officials called timouchoi appointed by their mother-cities. The position of these officials may have been an early Naukratite institution or this office may originally have been borrowed from one of the several cities active at Naukratis in the archaic period, such as Teos, Miletos, and possibly Phokaia. A Phokaian dedication is among the inscriptions from the Naukratite sanctuary of the Dioskouroi who, along with Isis and Sarapis, have been identified on the Imperial coinage of Phokaia.² Although Phokaia, with Miletos, founded Lampsakos (Lampseki, at the north entrance to the Dardanelles) and Amisos (Samsun) on the Black Sea, its principal colonies

¹Phokaia is considered to have been one of the first Ionian coastal towns to use coinage. See B.V. Head, Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics (London, 1911; revised and enlarged ed., London, 1963), pp. 587-588. For the use of the seal on early Phokaian coins, see Bean, Aegean Turkey, p. 119, and pl. 60, no. 6; J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 117-118; G.F. Hill, Ancient Greek and Roman Coins, ed. (Chicago, 1964), pp. 8, 256, and pl. 1.2.

²On the commercial, political, and religious ties between Eastern Greece and Egypt during the archaic period, see Roebuck, "The Grain Trade between Greece and Egypt," "The Organization of Naukratis," Economy and Society, pp. 30-52; also Boardman, ibid., pp. 127-174.
were founded in the Western Mediterranean, notably Elea (Velia) on the west coast of Lucania in Southern Italy, Alalia (later Aleria) in Corsica, Emporion (Ampurias) in Northeastern Spain, and Massalia (Marseilles) in Southern France which was settled about 600 B.C.¹

The early interaction between Phokaia and Naukratis in the early sixth century may account for the later appearance of the Egyptian cults and the cult of the Dioskouroi in Marseilles (test. 78-89, 51-52) where the office of the timouchoi existed from the second century B.C. (Strabo, IV, 1, 5).

Because of its fine site and the enterprise of its citizens, Phokaia gained a reputation as a commercial city. Venturing West, the Phokaians may have been the first to explore the Adriatic and the Western Mediterranean as far as Tartessos near Cadiz in Southern Spain. At Tartessos they were befriended by King Argonthonios (ca. 670-550 B.C.) who invited them to settle in his country (Herodotus, I, 163-165). Since he could not persuade them to leave Ionia, he gave them money to wall their city against the Persians who were threatening their city as well as the entire Ionian coast. About 544 B.C. the Persians under Harpagos, having captured Sardis a few years earlier, destroyed most of the Ionian


Although Phokaia took part in the Ionian revolt against the Persians in the fifth century B.C., it could send only three ships to the battle of Lade (Herodotus, VI, 11-12, 17) in which the Persian fleet defeated the Ionian Greeks in 494 B.C. During the fifth century Phokaia was a member of the Delian League, although its tribute was considerably less than most other Ionian cities. During the same century Phokaia issued many electrum coins, apparently containing so little gold that the coinage failed to inspire confidence. The status of Phokaia further diminished in the fourth and third centuries, indeed, during the entire Hellenistic period. In the early second century B.C. Phokaia sided with the Seleucid King, Antiochus III of Syria, against the Romans. Antiochus did not, however, lend his support in return when Phokaia was besieged in 190 B.C. by the Roman commander Aemilius. The city was later restored,
along with its territory and independence, to the Phokaians. In 132 B.C. the Phokaians made the mistake of supporting the Attalid King, Aristonikos of Pergamon, in his uprising against the Romans who had inherited the kingdom of Attalos III. Phokaia was, however, saved from destruction by the efforts of its loyal colony Marseilles which won a pardon from the Senate.¹ In the third Mithridatic War (74-63 B.C.) during which King Mithridates VI of Pontos finally was defeated by Pompey, the Roman general gave the Phokaians their independence. Nothing is known about the Phokaian involvement in this conflict.

Phokaia produced the sculptor Telephanes who, according to the Elder Pliny (Natural History, XXXIV, 68), was judged among the greatest of Greek sculptors. Telephanes, who spent most of his career working for Dareios and Xerxes in the late sixth and early fifth century B.C., may be responsible for the magnificent Persepolis friezes. Another Phokaian, Theodoros, not only wrote about the early fourth-century B.C. tholos at Delphi (in the Marmaria, or 'marble,' sector consecrated primarily to Athena) but probably designed and built that round building.² Whether Theodoros travelled to Marseilles in the fourth century to supervise the construction of another temple which he may possibly also have designed is not known. A temple of Athena in Marseilles in spoken of though it has not yet been found. (See test. 32,35-36.) The reputation of these two great Phokaian masters, Telephanes and Theodoros, must have been known in Marseilles, and it is certainly possible that they or their

¹Bean, Aegean Turkey, p. 121.
phokaian artistic successors made religious monuments dedicated to deities worshipped at Marseilles.

Recent archaeological investigations at Phokaia have located what may have been the archaic temple of Athena. (See test. 31, and bibliography.) That goddess is portrayed on coins minted there around the late sixth and fifth century B.C. Other deities who have been identified on Phokaian coinage from late archaic to Roman Imperial times are Apollo, Artemis, Asklepios, Demeter, Dionysos, the Dioskouroi, Hera, Herakles, Hermes, Homonia (personification of agreement or concord), Isis, Kybele, Pan, Phokaia (deified city-goddess or city-nymph), Poseidon, Serapis, Silenos, and Smardos (local river-god).\(^1\) Apollo and Artemis were, in addition to Athena, prominent divinities at Phokaia where they were worshipped under their Ionian epithets Delphinios and Ephesia. The cult of Apollo Delphinios, the principal god of Miletos, appears both in Miletos and in Phokaia in the sixth century B.C. when Phokaia had close commercial ties with Miletos. The Delphinian cult of Apollo, connected with Delphi, probably originated in Crete. (See test. 4-12.) Artemis Ephesia, whose archaic temple (the Artemision) was one of the most famous monuments in antiquity, never became completely Hellenized. Although in Roman times the worship of this goddess underwent certain changes, it still remained essentially Eastern in character.\(^2\) (See test. 19-23.) With the exception of Homonia, Pan, Phokaia, Silenos, and Smardos, all of

\(^1\)For the evidence of Athena and the other deities found represented on the coins of Phokaia, see Head, Historia Numorum, p. 588ff.; idem, A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Greek Coins of Ionia (Bologna, 1964), pp. 203-227.

\(^2\)On the cult of Artemis of Ephesos, see Bean, Aegean Turkey, pp. 161-170.
the above-mentioned deities whose mythology or cults were associated with Phokaia were also represented in Marseilles. As we shall see, other deities not connected with Phokaia were represented in Marseilles.
Marseilles

Marseilles (Bouches-du-Rhône, France) is situated on the coast east of the Rhône delta (map, plate III, no. 4). Founded around 600 B.C. by Phokaian settlers from Ionia, Marseilles profited from its centralized location in the Western Mediterranean and excellent harbor of Lakydon (Vieux-Port; plate IV, nos. 5-6).

When the Phokaians first set foot on the site that was to become their city, they encountered native tribes of Kelto-Ligurians.¹ Most of what is known about these tribes prior to the Roman conquest of Gaul is archaeological.²

¹Justin (XLIII, 3, 4-4, 2) in his epitome of Pompeius Trogus furnishes the following account of the founding of Marseilles by Phokaians around 600 B.C. The area in which the Phokaians wished to settle was in possession of Nannos, a local chieftain. Nannos was presiding over a feast during which his daughter, Gyptis (Glyptis?), was to select a husband from among the local suitors by offering in accordance with native custom a cup of wine mixed with water to the one she chose. Surprisingly she passed over the suitors and gave the cup to the Phokaian oikistês, Protis (Phokis? Euxenos? Eumenes?), who had been invited by Nannos to attend the ceremony. Nannos received the Phokaian as his son-in-law and gave him the land on which to establish Marseilles. On the various names of the Phokaian oikistês and the native princess, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 115-131; C. Lenthéric, The Riviera: Ancient and Modern--An Introduction to the Archaeology, History and Topography of the Southern Coast of France (London, 1895; reprint ed., Chicago, 1976), p. 106; Woodhead, Greeks in the West, p. 67; F. Salviat, "Massalia," Princeton Encyclopedia, 557.

²A short distance northwest of Marseilles are two important Kelto-Ligurian sanctuaries, Entremont and Roquepertuse (map, plate XII, no. 26). The finds of Roquepertuse, known since 1873, are now in the Museum Borély in Marseilles. The architecture and sculpture found in these and other similar native sanctuaries was done by local artisans and probably imitated the Greek style. On Roquepertuse and Entremont, see Benoît, Entremont: Capitale celto-ligure des Salyens de Provence (Gap, 1963), facing page 7 (map), and passim; Clerc, Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence, 1916; reprint ed., Marseille, 1973), pp. 57-110; P. MacKendrick, Roman France (New York, 1972), pp. 29-31, and Ills. 1.14, 1.15. Some of the archaeological evidence for
The native inhabitants of Gaul at this time were involved in the continental sequence of development from Bronze-Age Hallstatt to the Iron-Age La Tène culture. The transition from Bronze to Iron-Age in Western Europe occurred four to five hundred years after the same sequence in Greece and the East, and is generally dated around 600 B.C. A proper study of the Iron-Age period in Southern France must therefore begin with the arrival of the Phokaian Greeks in Marseilles. The Massaliotes were not the first to explore this area, but were preceded in the eighth and seventh centuries by Phoenicians and Rhodians. Marseilles, however, was the first to develop this territory into a prosperous commercial empire lasting several centuries. This was not realized without difficulty. From the early sixth century Marseilles' successes in the West vacillated because of regular conflicts with Carthaginians (test. 9, 33) and Etruscans which kept it considerably isolated in the Gulf of Lyons for almost three centuries (plate III, no. 4). Despite this isolation and the constant threats of native tribes (test. 32, 39), Marseilles was able to survive. Its relations with rest of the Greek World at this time are


2 M. Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille in the Light of Recent Excavations," AJA 84.2 (1980): 133-140, and plates 22-24, argues that early and recent excavations at Marseilles seem to dispel the notion that the city experienced a severe recession in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and rather point to a period of prosperity. Euzennat gives the most thorough and up-to-date report on the excavations conducted at Marseilles. Further information on the subject of the early prosperity of Marseilles is found in M. Clavel-Lévêque, Marseille grecque, la dynamique d'un impérialisme marchand (Marseille, 1977), pp. 15-35, and passim.
evidenced by the rich and elegant Aiolic treasury which it dedicated around 525 B.C. at Delphi (plate VII, nos. 9-10, and test. 5-9, 17). \(^1\)

The Massaliotes also dedicated a statue of Apollo at Delphi after one of their early naval victories over the Carthaginians (test. 9, 17). Just as Phokaia had become the port of exchange of goods from East to West at the end of the seventh century B.C., Marseilles, its principal colony, became the port through which products of Greek manufacture—like the remarkable bronze krater found at Vix—from the sixth century on passed into the interior of France (plate VIII, no. 11). \(^2\) In the fourth century, when the Etrusco-Carthaginian supremacy was no longer threatening, Marseilles grew strong economically and commercially and was able to extend its influence along the coasts of France and Spain.

Marseilles, which supported Rome against Carthage in the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.), began to rely upon Rome as an ally as the Roman power increased. In the second century it appealed to Rome for help against the Kelto-Ligurians who were intent on destroying it. In 123 B.C. the natives were defeated by Massaliote and Roman forces near Aix-en-Provence (plate XII, no. 26). Rome annexed the coastal strip of Southern France, including the Rhône valley, to form a new province. This annexed region of France, now known as Provence, reveals in its name its Roman status. C. Sextius Calvinus, commander of the Roman army in 123 B.C.,

\(^{1}\) G. Daux, "Les deux trésors," Fouilles de Delphes 2, Fasc. 3 (Paris, 1923): 43-109 (50-78 on Treasury of Marseilles), Pl. 12, Fig. 48; J. Jannoray, Ensérune (Paris, 1955), pp. 472-473. On the relations between Marseilles and Delphi in the sixth century, see Clerc, Massalia, l: 184-197, and figs. 31-36.

founded Aquae Sextiae,¹ which bears his own name, as a Roman garrison post (Strabo, IV, 1, 5). After the annexation, although the actual political and economic power belonged to Rome, Marseilles continued to be an autonomous Greek city. Marius, who arrived in Gaul with an army and defeated the Teutoni and ambrones near Aix in 102 B.C.,² handed over to Marseilles the Fossae Marianae (Fos-sur-Mer, northwest of Marseilles), a canal dug by his troops to facilitate navigation through the Rhône delta. Grateful to the Massaliotes for their help in defeating these invading tribes, he presented them as a reward for their valor in the battle the Fossae Marianae. The Massaliotes soon after dedicated a temple to Ephesian Artemis (Strabo, IV, 1, 8). The actual size of the temple in antiquity is not known, but it may have been located between Fos-sur-Mer and les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (in la Camargue, a marshy island in the Rhône delta, now known as Île de la Camargue.) Maritime religious ceremonies held in la Camargue may be related to the ancient cult of Artemis, or they may be a survival of the ancient launching of the 'Ship of Isis' in the spring. (See test. 81.) In 49 B.C., after siding with Pompey, Marseilles was besieged and forced to concede to Julius Caesar and his lieutenant Trebonius. Nevertheless, the Romans allowed the Massaliotes to remain relatively independent, governed by a body of six hundred councillors and observing strict laws in the Ionian

¹On the foundation of Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence), see Clerc, Aquae Sextiae, pp. 129-163.
tradition, until the first century A.D.¹ The Massaliotes preserved their Greek language until the fifth century A.D.

Recent excavations conducted in Marseilles, north of the Vieux-port, have furnished the most comprehensive picture to date of the importance of the Greco-Roman city (plates V, VI, IX, nos. 7, 8, 12). Earlier archaeological investigations, between 1914 and 1967, provided incomplete and inconclusive information about the urban and economic development of Marseilles. Preliminary excavations were begun by G. Vasseur in 1914, while in the mid-1940's the tearing down of all of the old buildings on the north shore of the Vieux-Port permitted a more systematic analysis of this area. The excavations between 1943 and 1967 were conducted mainly by F. Benoît and H. Rolland. There is still much work to be done.²

¹Clerc, Massalia, 1: 424-434, 2: 65-156; and Hall, ibid., pp. 132-148, discuss the government of the Massaliotes and their hostilities with Caesar.
The urban development of Marseilles to the seventeenth century can be traced to the layout of the city in Greco-Roman times. The harbor, originally called Lakydon, extended further inland and at its northeastern-most edge terminated in a swamp (plate IV, nos. 5-6). The Greek city was built on the rocky mass from Butte St. Laurent to Butte des Carmes (behind Butte des Moulins), nearly all of which projected into the sea (plate IV, nos. 5-6). The same configuration was found in Roman times (Caesar, Bellum Civile, II, 1). The swamp in the northeastern part of the harbor was able to be crossed by a protrusion in the clay bedrock (plates IV, V, VI, nos. 5, 7-8).

The discoveries made during the excavations, northwest of the Vieux-Port, have pointed out important aspects of the urban development of Marseilles from early Greek to late Roman times. From the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. are a sizeable pit, fortification walls, numerous sherds indicating early occupation of this area, and amphorae stratified below the causeway (plates V, IX, nos. 7, 13, 14). North of this feature a fourth-century B.C. nekropolis has been located (plates V, IX, X, nos. 7, 15, 17). Dating from the third century B.C. are a wharf south of the causeway near the spring known as Lakydon, the ancient name of the port (plates IV-V, nos. 6-7), and an extensive Hellenistic wall west of the port which survived into Roman times (plates IV-VI, IX-XI, nos. 6-8, 16, 18-23, 25). The hull of a Roman ship has been recovered nearly intact from the northeastern dock which fell into disuse sometime during the second and third centuries A.D. (plates VI, XI, nos. 8, 24). From this time the area beyond the city's fortifications was no longer being used. Toward the end of the fifth century A.D., however, workshops and dwellings were being constructed there.
In addition to the archaeological finds mentioned above, a small number of inscriptions and a miscellany of other artifacts (mostly Rhodian, Massaliote, and Gallic pottery) have been recovered which provide some insight into the commercial growth of the city. No sculpture, however, has been found. On the other hand, the excavations of the area north of the Vieux-Port have at least begun to corroborate the rapid growth of the ancient city. It had long been thought that the original Greeks settled in Fort Saint-Jean at the southwest tip of the rocky promontory (plate IV, nos. 5-6), while evidence of nearly contemporary settlements has been discovered further east (plate V, no. 7). It appears then that Marseilles was quite sizeable by the fifth century B.C. and, as the finds of the nekropolis support, had become a thriving metropolis by the fourth century. That the city's fortification walls (plate V, no. 7) can now reasonably be dated from at least the fifth century to approximately the end of the second century B.C., the apparent period of Marseilles' hegemony, is further testimony of its stability during this period. The city continued to prosper economically and commercially under Roman rule and its harbor remained active (plate VI, no. 8). In fact, recent pottery and numismatic finds attest that grain was still being transported through Marseilles around the third century A.D.

Additional documentation may well be expected from future finds to

1 Concerning Attic Black and Red Figure, Etruscan, and Ionian pottery also found in and around Marseilles, see Villard, Céramique grecque, passim; Piggott, Daniel, and McBurney, France before the Romans, pp. 158-159; H. Gallet de Santerre, "La diffusion de la céramique attique aux 5e et 4e siècles avant J.-C. sur les rivages de la Méditerranée," Revue Archéologique de la Narbonnaise 10 (1977): 41-43, 51-52; and Ch. LaGrand, "La céramique pseudo-ionienne dans la vallée du Rhône," Cahiers Rhodaniens 10 (1963): 56.
support a view expressed by Justin (XLIII, 4, 1-2) who says that under the civilizing influence of Marseilles Greece seemed not to have gone to Gaul, but rather Gaul to be transferred to Greece:

Ab his igitur Galli et usum vitae cultioris deposita ac mansuefacta barbaria et agrorum cultus et urbes moenibus cingere didicerunt. Tunc et legibus, non armis vivere, tunc et vitem putare, tunc olivam serere consuerunt, adeoque magnus et hominibus et rebus inpositus est nitor, ut non Graecia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Graeciam translata videretur.
There is no extant major ancient written source exclusively about Marseilles. There are only scattered references in Strabo, Pausanias, and a few other classical authors.¹

Already published material on the Western Greek colonies has scarcely illuminated the cultic and mythic history of Marseilles.² Clerc devotes only two chapters of his monumental work on Marseilles to the cults of the city.³ In other chapters he cites literary, epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological evidence relative to the overall history of the ancient city. The evidence he presents may or may not pertain to


² For instance, A.J. Graham, Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece (New York and Manchester, 1964), p. 22, emphasizes the important relations between colonies and mother-cities from the start of the great colonizing movement. He admits, however, that beyond the fifth century B.C. sources merely provide occasional and very general information about such relationships. Other reference works about the Western Greeks which, moreover, do not contribute much to our knowledge about Marseilles' cults and mythology are T.J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C. (Oxford, 1948); Boardman, Greeks Overseas; J.M. Cook, Greeks in Ionia; Woodhead, Greeks in the West; Roebuck, Economy and Society in the Early Greek World; idem, Ionian Trade and Colonization (New York, 1959).

its cults and mythology. Clerc's study is considerably dated and additional relevant information has been gained since the publication of his second volume in 1929.

The writer has often cited in this study the work of J.B. Grosson,¹ published almost two hundred years before Clerc's Massalia and perhaps the most complete treatment of Marseilles' religious monuments at the time of its publication. The data compiled by Grosson, however, are also dated and not reliable. Some of his drawings and their descriptions are interpretations of objects which he may not have actually seen. Another work often cited in this study is that of H. Ternaux,² whose history of Marseilles was published about fifty years after Grosson's Recueil. Ternaux devotes only one chapter to the religious antiquities of the city and relies heavily on Grosson's work to support the evidence he presents for Marseilles' religious history. Ternaux's work, moreover, is likewise dated and unreliable.

The work of Cougny and Lebègue,³ although furnishing important citations from ancient authors relative to the history and geography of the Gauls, provides little information about the religious antiquities of Marseilles. Not even the recent important work of Benoît dealing with the gods of Gaul furnishes much information about the religion of Marseilles.⁴

¹Recueil des antiquités et monumens marseillois qui peuvent intéresser l'histoire et les arts (Marseille, 1773).
²Historia Reipublicae Massiliensium (Goettingen, 1826; reprint ed., Chicago, 1974).
³Gallikon Syngrapheīs Hellenikoi.
The ancient epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological documentation pertinent to this subject has been gathered by the author from various publications. He was able to go to Southern France to study the coastal topography as well as examine and evaluate the collection of museums in the area, notably the important collection of the Museum Borély in Marseilles. He also located an unpublished statuette of Artemis in the Borély Collection which will be reported in this study.

Some information about the religious history of Marseilles comes also from the sparse published material on cities known or alleged to have been Massaliote colonies and other places which may have belonged to its commonwealth. The published material on Emporion (Ampurias) in Spain, a known colony of Marseilles, especially the volumes of the

1G. Kaibel and A. Lebèque, eds., Inscriptiones Graecae: Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Graecis Galliae, Hispaniae, Brittanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus, 14 (Berlin, 1890), and O. Hirschfeld, ed., Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis, 12 (Berlin, 1888), are the major epigraphical sources. Inscriptions discovered since the publication of these two volumes have been entered in the appropriate places in this study. For a complete numismatic bibliography, see G.B. Rogers, "A Bibliography of the Coinage of Massalia and the Related Gallo-Greek and Greco-Gallic Coinages," Antipolis 1.2 (1975): 118-122; Cl. Brenot, "Rapport préliminaire sur les monnaies des fouilles de Marseille," Actes du 8ème Congrès international de Numismatique, 1973 (1976): 217-226, and plates 25-26; A.E. Furtwangler, Monnaies grecques en Gaule: Le Trésor d'Auriol et le monneyage de Massalia 525/520-460 av. J.C. (Fribourg, 1978). In addition to the archaeological bibliography found in note 2, p. 15 above, see also M. Clerc and G. d'Agnel, Découvertes archéologiques à Marseille (Marseille, 1904); Benoit, L'art primitif méditerranéen de la vallée du Rhône (Aix-en-Provence, 1955); idem, Recherches sur l' hellénisation du midi de la Gaule (Aix-en-Provence, 1965). Later discoveries have been reported and published mainly in four journals: Revue des Etudes Ligures (Bordighera, since 1934); Gallia (Paris, since 1947); Etudes Classiques (Aix-en-Provence); American Journal of Archaeology (New York, primarily vols. 53 [1949] and 84 [1980]).

2Test. 27.
Monografia ampuritana, the important work of Garcia y Bellido, and the special articles in the journal Ampurias, have provided valuable information about this city. The published monographs of J. Clerques, and the articles by R.V. Schoder, Al. N. Oikonomides, and others, on Massaliote Antipolis (Antibes) have been especially helpful. The work of G. Reymond and J. Dugand on the colony Monoikos (Monaco) has furnished some relevant material. The discoveries at Olbia have added to our

1M. Almagro, Las fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias (Barcelona, 1951); idem, Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas (Barcelona, 1952); idem, Las necrópolis griegas de Ampurias (Barcelona, 1953); idem, Las necrópolis romanas (Barcelona, 1955).

2Hispania Graeca.


8Monaco antique (Nice, 1970).

knowledge of this city, about which practically nothing was known until 1947.\(^1\) The finds at Glanum,\(^2\) another site connected with Marseilles, have expanded our knowledge of the area around Marseilles. There is insufficient and inconclusive information about the religious history of other cities connected with Marseilles: Agathe, Artemision, Athenopolis, Kitharista, Hemeroskopeion, Heraklea, Mainake, Nikaia, Rhoda, Rhode, Tauroenteion, and Troezen (map, plate III, no. 4).

For this study the author has adopted the system used by the majority of the authors in the series edited by M.J. Vermaseren.\(^3\) The different authors, however, have amended it to fit their specific purposes. The closest approximation of the author's system with theirs is with that of A. Garcia y Bellido\(^4\) and G.F. Kater-Sibbes\(^5\) whose work is limited to archaeological material.

\(^{1}\)For the different theories about the location of Olbia until its discovery, see Benoît, Recherches, passim.

\(^{2}\)H. Rolland, Fouilles de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence) (Paris, 1946); idem, Glanum: Notice archéologique (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, 1952); idem, Fouilles de Glanum (1947-1956), Gallia, Suppl. 11 (Paris, 1958); idem, Glanum (Paris, 1960); and also the numerous articles on the excavations at Glanum by the same author in Gallia since 1946.

\(^{3}\)Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain (Leiden, 1960-).


CHAPTER II

TESTIMONIA

APHRODITE

1. Head of Aphrodite. 6th c. B.C.

Rhodian alabaster in the shape of the head of Aphrodite. Found in Marseilles, Fort Saint-Jean. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 10508.

Bibl.: BCF, case 1, no. 5, inv. no. 10508.

2. Diademed head of Aphrodite. Roman period.

Marble head of Venus (Aphrodite) with the hair wavy and tied in a braided bun (H. 0.17). Roman copy of a fourth century B.C. Greek original. Provenance unknown. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1744.

Bibl.: GAB, room 1, no. 92, inv. no. 1744; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 98, no. 244.


Archaic marble statue of Aphrodite (?) holding a dove (?) (H. 0.62 m.). The entire lower portion of the torso, along with the left side of the back and left arm, is missing. The rest of the statue appears to be intact with the exception of some breaks at the nose. The head of the bird is entirely lost. She wears a chiton and a pleated himation. On her head there is a kalathos or polos. The hair falls over each ear in three braids to the shoulders and breast. The ears are adorned with pearl earrings. There are some traces of polychrome.
decoration. Found in Marseilles, near Place Vivaux and Rue des Consuls at the ancient port of Lakydon, before 1719. The upper part of the statue is in the Museum of Lyons, the lower part is in the Akropolis Museum in Athens, and a plaster cast is in the Museum Borély, Marseilles, inv. no. 3968.


The provenance and identification of this statue were uncertain for some time. It was generally thought to have come from somewhere in Asia Minor and to be related to the earliest colonization of Marseilles by the Phokaians. A positive identification was first made by Humfry Payne who determined that the upper part (in Lyons since 1810) and lower part (from the Akropolis), and two pieces of the left arm, belonged together. Payne identified it as a 'kore' statue originally from the Athenian Akropolis which probably found its way to Marseilles in later times. This identification has not been acknowledged in any work about Marseilles since its
3. Aphrodite (?) with the dove (cont.)

Although Payne's discovery has weakened the documentation of Aphrodite's cult in Marseilles from the sixth century B.C., her cult is attested there from this period by an alabaster head (test. 1) and by a Roman marble head (test. 2) copied from a Greek original. The two heads may have belonged to cult statues of Aphrodite venerated in Marseilles as an oriental goddess of fertility and the sea. Her epithet Εὐκλοὺα expresses her connection with the sea and navigation.

Additional evidence possibly supporting her worship in Marseilles is a fourth-century B.C. terracotta statuette found in a tomb at Espeyran in Camargue, a Greco-Roman coastal site west of Marseilles. Since the piece was not found in Marseilles itself, it is not reported here as a separate testimonium. According to Benoît, the statuette (plate XVI, no. 40) is funerary and represents Aphrodite 'anadyomēné' ('rising from the sea'). The goddess is turning up her hair with the left hand and is placing the right hand upon a Priapic Hermes. The statuette is an apotropaic and fertility symbol of the afterlife. (For Benoît's identification of this statuette, see Art et dieux, pp. 134, 176, and fig. 276; idem, Entremont, p. 84, and fig. 69.)

A famous painting of 'Aphrodite anadyomēné' by Apelles is mentioned by Strabo (XIV, 2, 19) and the Elder Pliny (XXXV, 87 and 91). In the picture the goddess was represented wringing her hair with both hands, a pose also adapted to statuary. This author wishes to call attention to the similarity of the Espeyran Aphrodite to Apelles' work. (Apelles' painting of the goddess is discussed in K. Jex-Blake and
3. Aphrodite (?) with the dove (cont.)

4. Strabo. IV, 1, 4.  1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.

'Εν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὸ 'Εφέσιον ὤδρυται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου 'Απόλλωνος ἕρόν· τούτο μὲν κωμῶν 'Ἰώνων ἄπαντων, τὸ δὲ 'Εφέσιον τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἐστὶ νεῶς τῆς 'Εφεσίας.

For the complete citation of this passage from Strabo, see the section devoted to the cult of Artemis in Marseilles where the literary and other evidence for this goddess is presented.

The main cult of Apollo in Marseilles appears to be the old and venerated one of Apollo Delphinios of the Ionian Greeks. The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, 25-26, names Phokaia, the mother-city of Marseilles, as one of the Ionian cities and islands which venerated Apollo. (On the Phokaian and Massaliote worship of Apollo Delphinios, see Chapter I, p. 9, and test. 5-12, 17.)

Other literary evidence supporting the existence of the cult of Apollo Delphinios in antiquity comes from The Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo, 486-496, and from the Etymologicum Magnum (s.v. Delphinios), an anonymous lexicon of around the twelfth century A.D. or earlier. Both works describe how Apollo in the form of a dolphin intercepted a Cretan ship near Delphi, leaped aboard, and guided the vessel to shore. After he revealed himself to the Cretan sailors, Apollo told them they were to become his priests. He instructed them to build an altar and worship him as Apollo Delphinios.

The dolphin is an important feature in Apollo's Delphian cult. A dolphin appears in a first century B.C. pediment of a sepulchral
4. Strabo, IV, 1, 4 (cont.)

monument found in Marseilles and in a third century A.D. mosaic also discovered there. (See test. 47, where the dolphin figures in Dionysiac ritual as a funerary symbol escorting souls of the dead to the other world.) The dolphin also symbolizes the close cult connection between Apollo and Poseidon which has been transmitted to numismatic art (test. 11, 105).

5. Diodorus Siculus, XIV, 93, 3-5. 1st c. B.C.

The evidence adduced from Diodorus and from three other ancient authors (test. 6–8) connects the Massaliote cult of Apollo Delphinios with his Panhellenic worship at Delphi. This cult appears to have been established early at Delphi and probably originated in Crete. Although some modern scholars doubt the etymological connection of Delphoi with Delphis, ancient authors seem to take it for granted as in the passages here cited.
5. Diodorus Siculus, XIV, 93, 3-5 (cont.)

All four accounts concern a dedication made in the early fourth century B.C. to Apollo at Delphi in the Treasury of Marseilles, which the city built around 525 B.C. (See Chapter I, pp. 12-13, and plate VII, nos. 9-10.) According to Diodorus, the dedication of a gold krater was made by the Romans after the victory of Camillus over Veii around 396 B.C.

6. Appian, II, 8, 1.

Appian points out that the golden bowl stood on a bronze pedestal in the Treasury of Marseilles which had become a "Treasury of the Romans and Massaliotes," probably after the capture of the Etruscan city. Rome's dedication in the Massaliote Treasury, moreover, indicates that relations had already been established between these two cities.

Camillus, meliore multo laude quam cum triumphantem albi per urbem vexerant equi insignis, iustitia fideque hostibus victis cum in urbem redisset, taciti eius verecundiam non tuli senatus quin sine mora voti liberaretur; crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius L. Sergius A. Manlius, missi longa una nave haur procul freto Siculo a piratis Liparesium excepti deve-
3 huntur Liparas.

Livy names those Romans who were sent as ambassadors to carry the krater to Delphi: Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, and Aulus Manlius.


Plutarch adds that, because of a scarcity of gold in Rome at the time, the metal to make the krater was obtained from eight talents worth of gold jewelry donated by the Roman women.
Pausanias says that the Massaliotes dedicated a statue of Apollo at Delphi after one of their naval victories (in the sixth or fifth century B.C.) over the Carthaginians. (See test. 33.) The Massaliote Apollo stood very near to a bronze lion which the Phokians of Elateia dedicated around the end of the fourth century B.C.

It is not known whether the Massaliote dedication to Apollo at Delphi mentioned by Pausanias was a statue of Apollo Delphinios. This statue and his cult-statue in Marseilles have not been found. Perhaps the portrait of Apollo which appears on Massaliote bronze coins is a representation of his cult-statue (test. 10-11). It is likely, however, that the Massaliotes kept votive statues of their Delphinian god in their Treasury and dedicated one of these to Pythian Apollo in the sixth or fifth century B.C. Apollo's Delphinian cult, moreover, was probably supported at Delphi chiefly by Marseilles and other Ionian cities. (On the Massaliote statue of Apollo at Delphi, see Jannoray, Ensérune, pp. 472-473. Details of the Treasury of Marseilles there are found in Daux, "Les deux trésors," pp. 50-78; idem, "Le trésor de Marseille," BCH 82 [1958]: 360-364; Jannoray, ibid.; Cook, Greeks in Ionia, pp. 84-85.)

Massaliote large and small bronzes ca. 4th-2nd c. B.C. Head of Apollo, to l. laureate (nos. 41-42, 44-46); similar head of Apollo to r. laureate (no. 43). Reverse with ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΗΣΣΟΝ in exergue, and bull rushing to r. (nos. 42, 44-46); similar reverse type with ΜΑΣΣΑ (above) and II in exergue (no. 43).

Bibl.: The drawings of original Massaliote coins of the Apollo-type are from H. de la Tour, Atlas de monnaies gauloises (Paris, 1892; reprint ed., Chicago, 1976), p. 1, and Pl. 4, nos. 1495, 1481, 1515, 1476, Musée de Marseille E., 1673; see also Clerc Massalia, 1: 370-376.

Apollo (Athena, and possibly Ares, Massalia, and Poseidon, as will be shown) is represented on the obverses of the presently known large and small bronzes of Marseilles, while Artemis (Gorgo-Medusa, and possibly Herakles) appears on the obverses of the silver drachmas.

Perhaps the portrait of Apollo wearing the laurel crown and the long curly hair over the neck in Ionian fashion on these bronzes represents the cult-statue of Apollo Delphinios in Marseilles. In antiquity representations of cult-statues were frequently reproduced on coins. Pausanias, X, 18, 7 (test. 9) mentions a statue of Apollo dedicated by the Massaliotes at Delphi. It is likely that their dedication was similar to the cult-statue of Apollo Delphinios from Marseilles not yet found, the bust of which has been reproduced on these bronzes.

The obverse and reverse of another Massaliote bronze (test. 11) furnish additional evidence for this identification. (On numismatic
10. Bronze coins of the Apollo-type cont.)


Massaliote small bronze ca. 4th c. B.C. Head of Apollo, to r. laureate. Reverse with rear portion of a dolphin to l.; above, a trident.

Bibl.: Drawing from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, p. 1, and Pl. 4, no. 2086.

The obverse of this bronze coin, with Apollo facing right, is noticeably the same as the obverse of the coin in plate XVI (no. 43). He is facing left on the other coins of that series (nos. 41-42, 44-46). It is the reverse of this coin which allows for a more valid interpretation of the Apollo-type represented on the extant bronze coins of Marseilles. The dolphin appearing on the reverse is an important attribute of Apollo Delphinios connected with his early worship. (See pp. 28-29 above.) It points directly to his epithet Delphinios which identifies him as the dolphin-god. It also indicates that in Marseilles he was worshipped primarily as a maritime deity. The trident is the usual symbol of Poseidon as god of the sea. The dolphin is also sacred to Poseidon. The dolphin and the trident on the reverse of the Massaliote bronze seem to signify a common maritime cult of Apollo
11. Bronze coin of the Apollo-type (cont.)

Delphinios and Poseidon in Marseilles. (See test. 105.)

The identification of Apollo's portrait on the obverses of the bronzes with the cult-statue of Apollo Delphinios in Marseilles has been discussed above in test. 10. It would have been natural for Marseilles to use its coinage to advertise its maritime prestige, art treasures, and local marvels. The trident and the dolphin would call attention to the city's renown as a sea power. The reproduction of the cult-statue of Apollo Delphinios would publicize Marseilles' devotion to this prominent Ionian divinity. (On the significance of Apollo as a seafaring god, see Farnell, Cults, 4: 145-151.)

12. Ionic capital. Ca. second half of the 6th c. B.C. (plate XVII, nos. 48-50)

Archaic Ionic limestone capital (H. 0.55 m.; L. 1.80 m.). The limestone is from la Couronne. The capital probably is from the archaic temple of Apollo in Marseilles. (See test. 23, where the same Ionic capital is discussed for the cult of Artemis.) Found in 1952 at Marseilles, Butte Saint-Laurent. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 8368.

Bibl.: TMB, inv. no. 8368 and photo; Benoît, L'art primitif, p. 15, fig. 2; idem, Recherches, pp. 40, 218, 220, and fig. 16; first seen in Gallia 11 (1953): 102, fig. 2, and first official publication by Benoît, "Le chapiteau ionique de Marseille," Revue Archéologique 43 (1954): 17-43; idem, Art et dieux, p. 78 and fig. 121; see also the discussion of Jannoray, Ensérune, p. 128, note 1; Villard, Céramique grecque, p. 92, note 2;
12. Ionic capital (cont.)

C. Trezin, "Marseille et l' économie méditerranéenne antique," Musees d' archéologie de la ville de Marseille--Borely, Docks Romains et Vieille Charité (1974), photo; the preface by S. Bourlard-Collin in GAB. Conjectures as to the probable locations of the Apollo and Artemis temples are found in Benoît, Docks romains, pp. 7, 16-17 (map); Grosson, Recueil, p. 12, note 20; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 198-204, along with insert in vol. 1; E. Baratier, Histoire de Marseille (Toulouse, 1973), p. 41, fig. 3, comments on the temple sites in question with a good plan of Marseilles from Roman times. The introductory chapters are devoted to the development of the ancient city. A bibliography is found at the end of each chapter.

Strabo, IV, 1, 4 (test. 4) locates the temple (shrine) of Apollo Delphinios on the akropolis of Marseilles and emphasizes its significance as an Ionian cult center. Archaeological and topographical evidence has verified Strabo's statement, although the exact site of the temple has never been located. Clerc (Massalia, 2: 198-204) summarizes all previous theories until 1927. He also expresses some of his own views as to its possible location but with no conclusive evidence. In 1952 the archaic Ionic capital discussed here was discovered in the excavations at Marseilles. Benoît has argued that it came from the temple of Apollo. The evidence does not permit positive identification of this architectural element, since the capital could well have come from the temple of Artemis. (For a possible location of this temple, see plate XXXV, no. 109.)
This is my tentative restoration of the text. The inscription was found at Marseilles on a marble pedestal. Its present location is not known.

The dedication is assumed to be from a lady (?) whose father's or husband's name would appear in the genitive (line 1). The revised text sees the dedication to be to Apollo Apotropaios, 'Averter of evil' (lines 2-3). It is tempting to restore after a χατ the name of another 'Apotropaic' deity (lines 3-4), since there remain the four letters οξατ which could conceivably form the same epithet of another god or goddess who performed the same function. Since the number of 'Apotropaic' deities from antiquity is still indeterminable, such a restoration is not here attempted. Another possible restoration for lines 3-4 after Apollo's epithet is [χατ So and So] ὃ ἔνεθημαν. This would allow the inscription tentatively to read: 'So and So (a lady), daughter or wife of So and So, and So and So, (her) son, made the dedication to Apollo Apotropaio.'

Apotropaio is a frequent cult-epithet of Apollo (Aristophanes, Knights, 1307, Birds, 61, Plutus, 359; A. Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum [Berlin, 1828-1877], 464). He is so invoked in a fourth century
B.C. Attic inscription. (See Farnell, Cults, 4: 255.) Apollo Apotropaioς continued to be worshipped according to Greek ritual in Roman times.

The tentative restoration of the inscription assumes that both sides of the marble pedestal have been broken off. Although the fourth letter in line 2 is printed as a iota in the I.G., this writer supposes from the context of the revised text that it might have been a lambda and has placed a dot under it (λ) indicating that the letter has not been entirely restored and what remains of it supports the proposed reading. (For this common epigraphic editorial practice, see A.G. Woodhead, The Study of Greek Inscriptions [Cambridge, 1969], p. 9.)

No specific date has been assigned to the inscription. The shape of the letters (plate XVIII, no. 51), particularly the rounded omega, seems to indicate the first centuries A.D. (See Woodhead, ibid., pp. 41, 63-65, 91-92.)

Certain rites of purification and human sacrifice, related to an early Ionian festival of Apollo known as the Thargelia, are connected with his Apotropaic cult. The festival of Thargelia, or a similar expiatory ritual, is known to have been celebrated in Gaul, chiefly in Marseilles. Whether this practice had its origins in some particular vegetation or agrarian rite is not ascertainable.

Silius Italicus, Punica, XV, 168-172, refers to certain savage rites in existence in Southern France near Marseilles:

\[
\text{ocurrunt moenia Graiis condita Massiliae: populis haec cincta superbis, barbarus immani cum territet accola ritu, antiquae morem patriae cultumque habitumque Phocaïs armiferas inter tenet hospita gentes.}
\]
The author seems to indicate that the Massaliotes did not partake of the barbaric rituals of their uncivilized neighbors who may have been sacrificing human victims to their gods. It would appear that this was a Gallic rite only, not one practiced at Marseilles.

A later source, Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Thebaid*, X, 793, gives more information about this Gallic rite of purification and human sacrifice:

*Lustrare civitatem humana hostia gallicus mos est.*
*Nam aliquis de egentissimis proliciebatur praemiiis, ut se ad hoc venderet. Qui anno toto publicis sumptibus alebatur purioribus cibis, denique certo et solenni die per totam civitatem ductus, extra pomeria saxis occidebatur a populo.*

According to the passage, it was a Gallic custom to purify the city by sacrificing a human victim who had been sustained for a year at the public expense. The victim was stoned to death by the citizens.

Servius, *Ad Aeneid*, III, 57, connects such an expiatory rite directly with Marseilles:

*nam Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborabant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis (sumptibus) et purioribus cibis. hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacrís circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum exsecrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic proiciébatur. hoc autem in Petronio lectum est.*

Servius relates that in a time of pestilence at Marseilles, one of the poorest citizens offered himself to be fed for a year at the public expense. Then dressed for sacrifice, he was led around the entire city and cursed so that he might absorb all evils. Finally he was driven out of the city, or maybe even thrown down a cliff to his death.
It is evident from the above literary sources that there existed at Marseilles a rite, or more likely a symbolic ritualistic re-enactment, which closely resembled the Attic (originally Ionian) Thargelia in honor of Apollo. During this agrarian and sacrificial festival a citizen was chosen as a scapegoat (φαρμακός), absorbed all evil, and was then removed.

That the Ionian cult of Apollo Delphinios at Marseilles had an agrarian and piacular connection is not discernible. It is, however, probable in view of knowledge about the nature of primitive ritual in the East. The existence of such a rite in Marseilles would point directly to an observance in honor of Apollo worshipped as Apotropaios, Delphinios, or possibly even Thargelios. (On this ritual and others related to it, see Farnell, Cults, 4: 145, 255, 267-284; A. Mommsen, Heortologie: Antiquarische Untersuchungen Über die Städtischen Feste der Athener [Leipzig, 1864; reprint ed., Chicago, 1969], pp. 414-425; J. Frazer, The Golden Bough [New York, 1931], pp. 578-583. Clerc, Massalia, 1: 454-457, 2: 259-261, discusses the Thargelia, its connection with Marseilles, and Petronius' knowledge of the festival in Massaliote tradition; H. Ternaux, Historia Reipublicae Massiliensium [Goettingen, 1826; reprint ed., Chicago, 1969], pp. 65 [and note 161]-66 [and note 163], comments on the Thargelia in Marseilles.)
APOLLO

Belenos (?)

14. C.I.L., 12, 401. (plate XVIII, no. 52) Ca. 3rd-4th c. A.D.

BELLI[NO]
T.ATIL.SERV[VA]
TVS
V. S.L. M

Otto Hirschfeld's restored text in C.I.L. here represented has been accepted by Clerc (Massalia, 2: 371, fig. 67). The inscription was found at St. Just, near Marseilles (northeast of the city), in the garden of M. Clément. Avignon, Museum Calvet.

Clerc considered the inscription to be a dedication to Apollo Belenos, a Romanized Gallic divinity. C. Jullian restored an E as the fifth letter in line 1: BELLE . . . (See C.I.L., 12, 401 and add. p. 811.) The cult of Belenos is known to have existed in Illyria, Northern Italy, and also in Gaul. (For this evidence, see P.-M. Duval, Les dieux de la Gaule [Paris, 1957], pp. 77-78; Clerc, Aquae Sextiae, pp. 278-279; J.E. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy [London, 1927; reprint ed., Chicago, 1974], p. 90.)

15. EC, 3 (1968-70): 5-6. (plate XVIII, no. 53) Roman Imperial period.

[---]AEN
0Y

Restoration of G. Rougemont ("Inscriptions trouvées a Marseille,"
15. EC, 3: 5-6 (cont.)

Rougemont, ibid., cites Lejeune's proposed restoration of the inscription which reads $[B\epsilon] \lambda \epsilon \nu / o\nu$. (See M. Lejeune, *Etudes Celtiques* 12 [1968-1969]: 70-72.) Lejeune's restoration, as well as Rougemont's reading, seems possible although one or two additional letters may have existed in line 2 on the broken left side of the stone. (See plate XVIII, no. 53.)

There is also a votive altar, dating from the Gallo-Roman period, which has been considered to be a dedication to Belenos. The altar was found at Gréasque, about fifteen miles northeast of Marseilles. (See *GAB*, room 1, no. 110, inv. no. 8316; also H. Dontenville, *Histoire et géographie mythiques de la France* [Paris, 1973], p. 65.) The Gréasque dedication has little value for establishing this cult at Marseilles, until further archaeological finds allow more positive conclusions to be drawn about Belenos. For this reason it is not reported here as a separate testimonium.
APOLLO

Unspecified Epithet

16. C.I.L., 12, 400. 

Roman Imperial period.

DEO APOLLINI
L. [A]EL NYMPH[I]

Restoration of A. Ruffi in C.I.L. The inscription was found at Marseilles. The stone has been lost.

The dedication is to the god Apollo with no specified epithet (line 1). The dedicant, according to the revised text, was L. Aelius Nymphicus (lines 2-3). This Nymphicus was a Sevir Augustalis corporatus, i.e., he was one of the six (IIIIII) members of this important guild (collegium), known collectively as Seviri Augustales corporati (lines 3-4). They were freedmen charged with the duty of celebrating the Imperial cult in many municipalities and some provincial towns from the time of Augustus. (See test. 76, 95-97.) They were usually referred to merely by the epithet Augustales or corporati.

There is no evidence connecting the dedication with the cult of Apollo Delphinios at Marseilles, although his was a significant cult in the city. Nor is there any reason to suppose that it was a votive offering to Apollo Belenos, since evidence for his cult is not substantial. It does not appear then to be a dedication to a specific aspect of Apollo. (For an examination of this inscription and the Imperial cult of the corporati, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 453 [note 1], 2: 370 [notes 2-3], 297-298 [notes 2-3]; idem, Aquae Sextiae, pp. 300-305.)
16. C.I.L., 12, 400 (cont.)

This inscription will be referred to again as evidence for the Imperial cult.


Ca. second half of the 6th c. B.C.

(plate XVIII, nos. 54-55)

The text of the inscription is that found in Clerc (Massalia, 1: 184, note 3). It was found in 1894 inscribed in archaic letters on a limestone grave monument in the nekropolis at Delphi. Plaster cast in the Museum Borely, Marseilles.

The Ionic lettering and dialect of this funerary monument support the early date first proposed by M. Perdrizet (Revue des Universités du Midi 3 [1897]: 129). Clerc observes that the death of the Massaliote Apellis (lines 1-5) at Delphi must have occurred either while he had gone on a personal pilgrimage or while engaged in a state mission from Marseilles.

Was Apellis the one who dedicated the statue of Apollo (? Delphinos) at Delphi, mentioned by Pausanias (test. 9), in behalf of the Massaliotes? Apellis' presence in Delphi at this early date points to very early cult relations between Marseilles and Delphi, apparently connected with the cult of Apollo Delphinos and the Treasury of the Massaliotes. (On this inscription, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 184-185; on Massaliote and other Ionian 'proxenoi' at Delphi, see ibid., pp. 291-293, 296; Jannoray, Ensérune, pp. 472-473.)
18. Bronze coin of the Ares-type. (plate XIX, no. 56) Ca. 4th c. B.C.

Massaliote small bronze coin ca. 4th B.C. Helmed head of Ares, to r.; in front, ΜΑΣ. Trophy on the reverse.

Bibl.: Drawing from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, p. 1, Pl. 4, no. 2053.

The author here proposes that the head on the obverse of the Massaliote bronze coin represents Ares and not Athena as formerly thought.

E. Muret and M.A. Chabouillet (Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale [Paris, 1889], p. 39, no. 2053) identify a helmeted Minerva (Athena) on the obverse, while on the reverse they see a Minerva standing to the left armed with a spear and shield. Such a representation of Athena, with her shield raised to her side and holding a spear, is not uncommon in Greek numismatic art. (See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Ancient Coins, plates A 11, M 5, N 13, P 7, Q 15, S 10, V 21, Y 10-11, 15-16, Z 1-2, 13, 23, AA 8-9, 12-13, 15, FF 3, GG 24; Lacroix, Reproductions de statues, plates 8-10.) An artistic portrayal of the goddess with the shield covering the entire body is, however, not usually found, except for some Minoan-Mycenaean representations of a figure-of-eight shield covering nearly the entire body of a deity who may be Athena. (See R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art [London, 1967], pp. 186-187, and ill. 240.) One can see by carefully analyzing this reverse-type in de la Tour that, although the figure could be mistaken for Athena, there is reason to believe that a trophy (of war booty--helmet, spear, and shield on a tripod) can be distinguished, thereby indicating
18. Bronze coin of the Ares-type (cont.)

that the helmeted figure on the obverse is possibly the god of war, Ares.

A passage from Strabo (IV, 1, 5) lends support to the identification of this reverse-type as a trophy. Strabo states that there were set up in Marseilles many spoils (trophies) of war (ἄκροθύνα), which the Massaliotes took in naval battles:

'Ανάχειται δ' ἐν πόλει συχνὰ τῶν ἄκροθύνων, ἀ πραξάν
καταναλωμαχοῦντες ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀμφιβολουντας τῆς θαλατής
ἄνασας.

Pausanias (X, 18, 7; test. 9) relates that the Massaliotes defeated the Carthaginians at sea and dedicated a statue of Apollo at Delphi. It seems that Strabo is also referring to a Massaliote naval victory over the Carthaginians, which occurred sometime in the sixth or fifth century B.C. In the fourth century, when Carthaginian supremacy in the Western Mediterranean had been allayed, Marseilles probably minted coins to advertise its growing prestige and earlier successes over the once-formidable Carthaginians. Bronze coins of the Ares-type, whose reverses displayed important booty taken in war, would call attention to the Massaliote devotion to the god who had helped them defeat the Carthaginians.

A stone base of statue dedicated to Mars Giarinus which came into the Béraly Collection was found sometime between 1832 and 1835 near St. Zacharie, northeast of Marseilles, in the ruins of an altar from the old chapel of Notre Dame de Nazareth. (See C.I.L., 12, 332 and add. p. 809; GAB, room 3, no. 23, inv. no. 1591.) Although this monument supports the existence of this cult of Ares in Southern France, there is no other
18. Bronze coin of the Ares-type (cont.)

information indicating that such a cult was ever established in Marseilles itself. Therefore, it is not listed here as a separate testimonium. (On the Gallo-Roman cult of Mars in Gaul, see Duval, *Dieux de la Gaule*, pp. 70-72.)
This is Strabo's statement regarding the existence at Marseilles of the cults of both Apollo Delphinios (test. 4) and Artemis Ephesia. Strabo locates the temples of these Ionian deities on the akropolis of Marseilles. He adds that Artemis Ephesia was honored among the first in all the Massaliote colonies which preserved the same artistic form of her cult-statue and other rites as they existed in the mother-city. His testimony is interesting for the anecdote it contains about Aristarche, the Ephesian woman who was apparently responsible for bringing the Phokaian Greeks and the cult of the goddess of Ephesos to Marseilles. An aetiological basis may be responsible for the story since ancient folklore, especially that of Greece and Rome, is replete with tales which attempt
19. Strabo, IV, 1, 4 (cont.)

to explain how and why certain phenomena came into existence. Some of
the details of Strabo's account, however, have been interpreted with an
eye towards more fact than fiction. (See Clerc, Massalia, l: 125-127,
2: 262 [note 3], 475-476; A. d' Arnaud, Evocation du vieux Marseille
[Paris, 1961], pp. 11-12, 350-351.)

Plutarch (Greek Questions, 47) relates that at Elis, in the north-
west Peloponnesos, there was a shrine of Artemis which was called "the
Aristarcheion."

Δέγεται τινα Σάμβικον Ἡλεῖον ἔχοντα πολλοὺς
ὕψ' ἐνυπτ' συνεργοὺς πολλὰ περικόψων τῶν ἐν
Ὀλυμπίᾳ χαλκῶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἀποδόθαι,
τέλος δὲ συλήσας τὸ τῆς ἐπισκόπου Ἀρτέμιδος
ζερὸν τούτο δ' ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν "Ἡλῖδι, καλεῖται δ' Ἀριστάρχειον.

The account of Plutarch may be of archaeological importance. It
would not be unlikely for the Massaliotes to have had a shrine at Olympia,
one of the greatest Panhellenic sanctuaries. We know that the Massaliotes
were present both at Delphi (test. 5-9, 17, 33) and at Delos. (See I.G.,
11, 687; Clerc, Massalia, l: 293-296.) If such a shrine existed at
Olympia, it may have been built to honor the Massaliote goddess, Artemis
Ephesia, and her priestess, Aristarche, who was responsible for intro-
ducing the cult of the goddess into Marseilles. The epithet Episkopos
probably indicates that Artemis Ephesia was venerated as a tutelary
goddess at Olympia.

Although Clerc and others consider the shrine of Artemis Episkopos
to be in the city of Elis, from what Plutarch says we may assume that it
was in Olympia. Plutarch may have used the word Elis in the generally
19. Strabo, IV, 1, 4 (cont.)

common way meaning of the area of the Western Peloponnesos which included
Olympia. (See books V-VI of Pausanias in which Eleia, including Olympia,
is described; on this passage of Plutarch, see Clerc, Massalia, p. 126.)

20. Strabo, IV, 1, 5. 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.

This passage of Strabo is testimony that the Massaliote cult of
Artemis Ephesia had found its way to Rome. It also shows that Marseilles
and Rome had begun to have relations with each other at an early date,
probably towards the middle of the sixth century B.C. (See test. 6.)

The following account, attributed to Aurelius Victor, verifies
this chronology and gives valuable information about the establishment
of the Massaliote cult of Ephesian Artemis at Rome.


That both the statue (test. 20 above) and temple of Artemis at
Rome date before the classical period is likely from the evidence at
hand. The impetus to establish both on the Aventine may have come during
the archaic period from Ephesos or, more probably, directly from
Marseilles. (See Clerc, Massalia, p. 181-183 and note 2, who discusses
the Massaliote influence on the cult of the Aventine Artemis and the
21. [Aurelius Victor], De Viris Illustribus, VII, 9-13 (cont.)
discovery on the Aventine of an alabaster statue of the Ephesian-type;
also Lasserre, Strabon, 2: 129 [note 1]. One of the best and most
critical treatments of the Italian Artemis is found in the recent article
by M.J.P. Gimeno, "Artemis-Diana y algunas cuestiones en relación con su
iconografía y su culto en Occident," Ampurias 35 [1973]: 109-134. Much
has been written on this subject, but the following five studies are of
special importance for the ancient literary and archaeological testimonia:
A. Merlin, L'Aventin dans l'antiquité [Paris, 1906], pp. 99-103; M. Saglio,
"Sur un denier d'Hostilius Saserna et sur le culte primitif de Diane en
Italie," Revue Numismatique 9 [1891]: 7ff.; G. Nenci, "Le relazioni con
Marsiglia nella politica estera romana dalle origini alla prima guerra
puna," Rivista di Studi Liguri 24 [1958]: 24-97 [especially 69-71];
G. Colonna, "Sull'origine del culto di Diana Aventinensis," La Parola
del Passato 87 [1962]: 57-60 [particularly 57]; and C. Ampolo,
"L'Artemide di Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino," La Parola del Passato
130-133 [1970]: 200-210. On this subject, see also Farnell, Cults, 2:
529-530.)

22. Artemis of Ephesos. (plate XIX, no. 57) Early 6th c. B.C.

Archaic marble statuette of the Ephesian Artemis making the
gesture of benediction (H. 30 cm.). She is adorned with a garland
of flowers suspended above a triple row of ostrich eggs. The body
is clothed in a sheath-like foundation garment (ependytes) arranged
no. 1741.
22. Artemis of Ephesos (cont.)

Bibl.: TMB, inv. no. 1741 and photo; GAB, room 1, no. 55, inv. no. 1741. About this statuette, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 450-452 (fig. 103, p. 451) and add. p. 479; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 97-98, no. 241. For an excellent treatment on the subject of how Artemis of Ephesos was represented in sculpture and in art, see Bean, Aegean Turkey, p. 167; Lacroix, Reproductions de statues, pp. 176-192; also Gimeno, "Artemis-Diana en Occident," pp. 109-134. For an exhaustive study of the statuary of Artemis Ephesia, see H. Thiersch, Artemis Ephesia, 1, Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler (Göttingen, 1935), pp. 55ff; and R. Fleischer, Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien, EPRO 35 (Leiden, 1973), pp. 137-139 (on Artemis of Marseilles). The evidence from the ancient texts concerning this subject has been compiled by R.-C. Kukula, Forschungen in Ephesos, 1 (Vienne, 1906), pp. 237ff.

This evidence from Strabo (test. 19-20) and Aurelius Victor (test. 21) corroborates the artistic form and date of the statuette of Artemis Ephesia from Marseilles.

23. Ionic capital. (plate XVII, nos. 48-50) Ca. second half of the 6th c. B.C.

For the description of this architectural element found in Marseilles and the related bibliography, see test. 12.

The positive location of the temple of Artemis has not been established nor has the site of the Apollo temple (test. 12). The archaic Ionic capital which is thought to have come from his temple could
be from the temple of Artemis. Benoît (Docks romains, pp. 7, 16-17) indicates that both temples were probably located in the vicinity of Butte des Moulins (Hôtel Dieu) and Butte Saint-Laurent which made up the highest part (akropolis) of Marseilles (plates IV, XXXV, nos. 4-5, 109). Benoît (Recherches, pp. 40, 218, 220) believes that the capital actually came from the Apollo temple which he locates on Butte Saint-Laurent. Clerc (Massalia, 2: 188-208), describing the topography of the city in the second half of the first century B.C., speculates that another location, Butte des Carmes (behind Butte des Moulins), also comprised part of the ancient city. Clerc and others, however, feel that since important archaeological finds were discovered on Butte des Moulins, the religious quarter of the city and the temples were located there. Clerc also believes that the discovery in Rue Négrel of the chapel-like monuments with the seated figure (test. 103) points to the possibility that the temples were located in this quarter. Investigations at Rue Négrel (which flanks Butte des Moulins on the east) have shown that it was occupied since the foundation of Marseilles. Without much likelihood the site of Église de la Major (northwest of the city) has also been proposed as a possible site of the temples.

These locations are probable since we possess nothing more certain than the chapel-like monuments and the Ionic column capital.

(For more discussion on this subject, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 125-126, 335-336, 445, 2: 158, 188-208, 465-473. MacKendrick, Roman France, p. 13, says that a temple belonging to Artemis has been discovered in Marseilles under the Old Cathedral. It is not possible, however, to conclude from
23. Ionic capital (cont.)

MacKendrick's statement whether it is the main temple of the goddess at Marseilles spoken of in test. 19, since he provides no direct information about the edifice.)

Regrettably, apart from the Ionic capital, we do not possess any ancient artistic pieces from the temples of Apollo Delphinios and Artemis Ephesia at Marseilles. Fortunately, however, there are numismatic representations of the great Artemision (temple of Artemis) and her cult-statue at Ephesos from the Roman period which can be used for comparison. On the reverse of a silver medal struck during the reign of Claudius appears a tetrastyle Ionic building which T.L. Donaldson (Architectura Numismatica: Ancient Architecture on Greek and Roman Coins and Medals [Chicago, 1965], pp. 88-90, pl. 24; and plate XX, no. 58) considers to represent not the actual temple of Artemis at Ephesos (which was octastyle, according to Vitruvius), but rather a tabernacle or baldaquin in a temple of Artemis. He suggests that, if it were a temple, it must have been quite small and existed in Rome or some provincial town. Lacroix (Reproductions de statues, p. 182) says that reproductions of this temple as tetrastyle are common on coin: minted during the reigns of Claudius and later Roman emperors. On the reverse of a bronze coin of Hadrian is a representation of the octastyle Ionic Artemision at Ephesos. (See Lacroix, ibid., pp. 180-183, pl. 16, no. 1; and plate XX, no. 59.) On the reverse of a large bronze medal of Gordian III appears the same octastyle Ionic temple of the Ephesian Artemis in which is seen the mummy-like image of the goddess as she was venerated by the Ephesians. (See Donaldson, ibid., pp. 22-32 and pl. 6; and plate XX, no. 60.)
23. Ionic capital (cont.)

Lacroix (ibid., pp. 180-192, and plates 15-16) also cites several numismatic examples from the reign of Augustus to that of Gallienus (253-268 A.D.) where Artemis is represented on the coins of Ephesos and other cities. Some of the best of these coins were minted under the following emperors: Augustus, Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Commodus, Caracalla and Geta, Alexander Severus, Gordian III, and Gallienus (plate XXI, nos. 61-69). These numismatic representations of Artemis corroborate the iconographical evidence presented in this study for the cult of Artemis Ephesia in Marseilles. (See test. 22 and plate XIX, no. 57.)
Author's restoration. The inscription was found at Marseilles, sent to Paris, and never recovered by the Museum Borély.

The dedication is to the goddess Diktya (Diktynna), a Cretan goddess also called Britomartis, who is identified with Artemis (line 1). A certain Massaliote whose name ends in -δήμος made the dedication.

Until now this inscription has been repudiated as having no significance for Marseilles because it was considered to have been dedicated by the δήμος Μασσαλίων. (See Farnell, Cults, 2: 476, 589, note 131; Cougny and Lebequè, Gallikon, 6: 164-165; also Kaibel and Lebequè in I.G., 14, 357*; and Clerc, Massalia, 1: 451, note 1.) The δήμος (the people, hence δημοκρατία, the popular government/democracy) would not have figured in such an offering since we know from Strabo, IV, 1, 5, that a democracy did not exist at Marseilles.

Διοικούσιν δ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς οἱ Μασσαλιώται πάντων εὐνομώτατα, . . .

The new restoration, which supposes a Massaliote to have made the dedication, is plausible. The late dating for the inscription has been given for the following two reasons. First, the use of the lunar sigma (line 2), as well as the 'tetraskles' sigma (lines 1-2), points to the
24. I.G., 14, 357* (cont.)

last centuries B.C. when both were being used. The late date is assumed also from the absence of the iota in the two dedicatory datives.

Who is this goddess referred to as Dikytnna and how does she reckon in the cults of Marseilles? According to Farnell (Cults, 2: 476-478), there are close connections between the eastern Cretan goddess Britomartis, also called Diktynna by the western Cretans and the rest of the Greeks, and Artemis. Britomartis is sometimes also compared to the Asiatic Kybele, but as Dikytnna she is most often associated with Artemis. (On this Cretan goddess, see R. Graves, The Greek Myths, 2 vols. [Baltimore, 1955], 1: 299 [89.b], 301-302 [89.2], 2: 74 [116.c]; Nilsson, Greek Religion, p. 29.)

Like Artemis, Britomartis (from a Cretan word meaning 'sweet maid') had the name Diktynna from the legend that she, when Minos was amorously pursuing her, leaped from a cliff into the sea and was saved by Artemis in fishermen's nets. Another version contends that Minos pursued Britomartis as far as Aegina where she escaped with the help of Artemis and came to be worshipped as Aphaia, the patron of that island. The word Diktynna may well originate from δίκτυον, a net. Hence, Diktytnna is an epithet of Artemis as goddess of the chase. Farnell (Cults, 2: 478) contends that the name may be also connected with Δικτή (Dikte), the mountain in eastern Crete where Zeus is said to have been hidden as an infant. According to the Cretans the bee, sacred to Zeus Diktaios, also has a special religious significance in the cult of Ephesian Artemis and often is shown on her statues.
24. I.G., 14, 357* (cont.)

What is known about the relations between Crete and Ephesos casts light on the goddess who was worshipped at Marseilles as the Ephesian Artemis. Minoan Crete was spreading its culture all over the Mediterranean at a very early date. Evidences of this widespread exchange of ideas and goods have been discovered almost everywhere the Cretans voyaged, including the Ionian coast. It is, therefore, not unlikely that an exchange of religious ideas occurred between the Cretans and the Ionians of Ephesos. The marble statuette of Ephesian Artemis in the Museum Borély (test. 22) dates from nearly the same period as the great Artemision at Ephesos (Strabo, XIV, 1, 22-23) built about 560 B.C. by the Cretan architects Chersiphron and Metagenses. (Details of the Artemision at Ephesos are found in V. Mitsopoulou-Leon, "Ephesos," Princeton Encyclopedia, 306; Bean, Aegean Turkey, pp. 161-167; W. Smith, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, 2 vols. [Boston, 1854, 1857], 1: 834-835).

The Goddess who was venerated in Marseilles was the Ephesian Artemis who, we know from Strabo (test. 19), was honored in that city along with Apollo Delphinios. According to Farnell (Cults, 2: 477, note 131i and add. p. 589), a definite cult connection between Artemis Diktynna and Apollo Delphinios is verified by Plutarch (de Sollertia Animalium, p. 984 B):

'Αρτέμιδος γε Δυστύνυς Δέλφινιου τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰ καὶ βωμῷ παρὰ πολλοῖς Ἑλλήνων εἶσὺν.

Farnell (ibid., 4: 146-147) supposes that Apollo Delphinios, worshipped at Aegina, came from Crete as the cult-brother of Aphaia known at Aegina as Diktynna-Britomartis. He adds that the cult of Apollo Delphinios
was popular at Aegina and it is likely that the Aeginetan Delphinios was linked with the Cretan Aphaia-Diktynna. Because at Athens a certain Artemis Delphinia was connected with Apollo Delphinios, it has been suspected that Artemis as Delphinia was another form of the Cretan Diktynna. (For the literary evidence on Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis, see ibid., 2: 588-590, notes 131a-n.)

On Cretan coins of the Imperial period Diktynna appears exactly as Artemis. The Greeks must have been familiar with Diktynna as the divine huntress and also with the Cretan myth about Minos' pursuit of her. It seems that both Artemis and Diktynna had the same significance in both Cretan and Greek cult and myth. Diktynna is also said to have been called Limnaia by the Spartans and it is probable that she, as well as Artemis, was associated with water. (On this association, see ibid., p. 477.)

From the evidence here presented it appears that the goddess Diktynna of the dedicatory inscription can be identified with Artemis Ephesia in Marseilles. The Cretan Diktynna-Britomartis had early connections with Artemis in Ionian worship. Among the Greeks Apollo Delphinios, whose cult was also supported in Marseilles, was venerated along with Artemis Diktynna. Artemis Delphinia has been linked with Apollo Delphinios at Athens and possibly elsewhere in the Mediterranean. It is then likely that in Massaliote worship Artemis was recognized in more than one form, i.e., she was called not only Ephesia but also Diktynna, Britomartis, Delphinia, Limnaia, etc. The identification of a deity by more than one epithet was a common Greek practice, since any one deity
24. I.G., 14, 357* (cont.)

was seen to have many diverse functions under various names in different places.

In conclusion, at Marseilles Artemis and Apollo seem to have been closely related as Delphinian divinities whose cults probably originated in Crete. The fact that Artemis was known to the Massaliotes as Ephesia, and not exclusively as Delphinia or Diktynna, is not surprising because Crete and Ephesos were in contact with each other before the Phokaians transmitted the cult to Marseilles. (For another inscription of the Roman period dedicated at Marseilles to Diana cum libertis et alumnis [H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (Berlin, 1892-1916), 3263], see Clerc, Massalia, 2: 342 [note 2] and add. pp. 479-480.)


Massaliote silver drachmas ca. 4th c. B.C.-3rd c. B.C. Head of Artemis, to r. wreathed (nos. 70-73), wearing pearl necklace and earrings; head of Artemis, to r. wreathed (nos. 74-76) and diademed (nos. 77-78), wearing a tunic fastened at r. shoulder with bow and quiver behind neck at shoulder. Reverse with ΜΑΞΣΑ above a lion, to r. halted with back arched and fore-paws to the ground (nos. 70-75); reverse with ΜΑΞΣΑΑΙΗΤΩΝ half above and half below the lion in the exergue (nos. 76-78).

Bibl.: Drawings of Massaliote coins of the Artemis-type from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, p. 1, Plates 2 (nos. 785, 786, 794), 3 (nos. 851, 864, 916, 944, 1274), 4 (no. 992); Head, Historia
25. Silver drachmas of the Artemis-type (cont.)

Clerc, Massalia, 1: 359-369.

The head of Artemis does not appear on the bronze coins of Marseilles, while that of Apollo is not portrayed on the silver drachmas (test. 10-11; Clerc, ibid., 1: 370).

Artemis does not appear on the silver drachmas as Ephesia, reminiscent of her cult statue (test. 22), but as Diktynna, the Cretan huntress-goddess with whom she is often identified. The Artemis-type on the Massaliote drachmas is a later portrayal of the goddess often represented as the huntress-maiden wearing Cretan hunting-shoes (endromides) with her garment tucked up for speed. On her back hangs a quiver and in her hand she carries a bow or a hunting-spear. (See H.A. Seaby, Greek Coins and their Values, 2nd rev. ed. [London, 1975], pp. 13, 107, and no. 1293, where Artemis is also shown carrying a torch and attended by a dog on a silver tetradrachm of Crete dating 200-67 B.C. D.R. Sear, Roman Coins and their Values, rev. ed. [London, 1970], p. 17 and un-numbered figure, refers to the reverse-type of a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius with Artemis, her bow at the ready, attended by a hound. Concerning two grottoes near Marseilles associated with Artemis the huntress, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 457. Artemis the huntress is represented on a Roman sigillata vase found at Marseilles along with Athena [test. 37].)

As pointed out above (test. 24), Artemis was worshipped by the Cretans and the Ephesians as a huntress-and nature-goddess. She is commonly found represented both as the huntress and, in association with
25. Silver drachmas of the Artemis-type (cont.)

Kybele, as pótnia therōn, 'mistress of wild animals,' in Cretan art. The goddess is titled 'the Ephesian' when she is covered with ostrich eggs and the heads of animals, although her dual nature is evident when she appears as the huntress attended by animals. The worship of Artemis Tauropolos ('she who hunts bulls') at Brauron, Phokaia, and in other Greek and Ionian cities most likely points to this double aspect of the goddess. As the Cretan 'mistress of wild animals' has been associated with Artemis, the parallel Cretan god, 'master of wild beasts,' has been identified with Apollo whose cult is also said to have come from Crete. (On the various ways Artemis was worshipped and represented in art, see Farnell, Cults, 2: 451-454, 529-530, and plates 29a, 31a; R. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete [Great Britain, 1962; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1968]; pp. 206-208; P. Themelis, Brauron: Guide to the Site and Museum, Apollo Edition [Athens, 1971], pp. 21, 31, 72-73, 76-77, 80-83, and unnumbered plates. For a discussion on why the lion, one of the animals most often depicted on statues of the Ephesian goddess, may have been chosen for the reverse-type of the Massaliote drachmas, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 368.)

The evidence presented here suggests that Artemis was known to the ancient Greeks of the East and West as both huntress and mother-goddess of fertility who held mastery over the earth and its wild creatures. In this mixture she is represented both standing and seated. She is closely associated with the Asiatic Kybele and with the Cretan Diktynna-Britomartis. This would indicate that Artemis was worshipped by the Massaliotes in more than one form. The standing figure is commonly that of the Ephesian Artemis (test. 22, and plate XIX, no. 57), while the seated figure usually
25. Silver drachmas of the Artemis-type (cont.)

represents the Cretan Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis, the bust of whom has been reproduced on these drachmas. (See test. 27, where a seated statuette of Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis is reported.)

26. Lamp with Diana (Artemis).  

Light red clay lamp with Diana in a biga drawn by stags, dating from the Roman period, found in Marseilles (Bassin de Carénage). Marseilles, Musée Borély, inv. no. 1798, second floor, ceramics room (pottery).


This same subject is also found represented on three Roman Republican coins not from Marseilles, of which the oldest dates to the sixth century B.C. On the lamp there is a border of grapes and vine-branches. It would appear, based on test. 25, that the goddess who appears on the lamp should be identified with Artemis Diktynna. Artemis is found represented as the huntress-maiden when attended by animals, particularly stags which were sacred to her. In this capacity she is also recognized as 'mistress of animals' and mother-goddess. Artemis Diktynna ultimately is closely connected with the Ephesian Artemis and her cult in Marseilles.

Possibly also pointing to the cult of Artemis Diktynna in Marseilles are two other lamps found in Bassin de Carenage and Rue du Moulin-à-Huile, respectively, which are in the Borély Collection. These are not separate testimonia, since the goddess herself is not represented on the two lamps. The first lamp has a running stag represented on it; on the second is a stag running to the left which has been attacked by three dogs. The three lamps discussed here, with Artemis riding a chariot drawn by stags or
26. Lamp with Diana (Artemis) (cont.)

simply with stags or dogs appearing alone without the goddess, show that she also was connected with the Oriental Kybele both in religion and in art. That goddess is frequently portrayed accompanied by such animals. (Further information on the two lamps just discussed is found in Froehner, *Catalogue*, pp. 321, 353, inv. nos. 1842, 2118.)

Froehner has also identified the two figures appearing on the top portion of a second century A.D. Gallo-Roman altar found in Marseilles (test. 69) as Diana accompanied by a dog and Fortuna (Tyche) of Marseilles. (See Clerc, *Massalia*, 2: 376, for this identification by Froehner.)

27. Seated Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis. Ca. mid-4th c. B.C.

Statuette of the goddess Artemis seated (H. 0.05 m.). Nothing survives above the waist. Found at Marseilles, Rue Négrel. Museum Borély, inv. no. 3959 (uncatalogued).

Although the provenance of the statuette is not certain, it is classified as Rhodian in the Borély Collection. Since the Asiatic Artemis Ephesia is not usually represented seated but standing (test. 19-20, 22), this author suggests that the seated statuette may represent the Cretan Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis, with whom the Ephesian goddess is often associated (test. 24-26). Although Artemis may have been worshipped in Marseilles both as Ephesia and as Diktynna-Britomartis, it is not possible to conclude that the Cretan goddess is always found represented in the same way as the Asiatic earth goddess.

Since it is not possible to establish how Artemis was always represented at Marseilles, it is a reasonable conjecture that she was recognized
27. Seated Artemis-Diktynna-Britomartis (cont.)

in more than one form. According to Farnell (Cults, 2: 473-484), she may be connected with the Oriental Kybele who is frequently seated on a throne. In the Artemesion at Ephesos, moreover, Artemis was worshipped as 'protothronia' (she who fills the first seat). To the Greeks of Ephesos and Crete Artemis was known by many titles. Farnell also alludes to a representation of a female deity found in the Hellespontine city of Lampsakos. The goddess, seated on a throne surrounded by dogs and lions, possesses attributes which are ascribed to Artemis, Hekate, and Kybele. Any important Eastern goddess who functioned as a huntress, a ruler over wild beasts, a vegetation-goddess, or an unmarried deity was often called Artemis by the Greeks.

The uncatalogued statuette of the seated Artemis is the only one known to exist from Marseilles. Clerc (Massalia, 1: 237), however, cites the example of Artemis Brauronia from the Athenian Akropolis. Though this is Clerc's only example, many others are extant from Brauron. (See Themelis, Brauron, unnumbered plates, pp. 21, 76-77, 82-83.)

Clerc (Massalia, 1: 224-240) mentions forty-one monuments discovered at Marseiller, Rue Négrel, in 1863 which found their way to the Museum Borély. They have been called steles, but are more properly termed monolithic chapels or shrines (naiskoi). Within the shrines is a seated female figure, similar to the seated statuette of Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis presented here. A definitive identification of the deity in the shrines has not been made, though many attempts have been made. The shrines seem to be of Ionian origin from the sixth or fifth century B.C.
and it has not been discounted that they may have been sculptured at Marseilles. The figure has been identified as Kybele, Rhea, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Athena, but other conjectures have been made. Artemis, Athena (test. 36), and Kybele (test. 103 and plate LXI, no. 173) appear to be the most likely identifications. The resemblance between the seated figures in the shrines and the uncatalogued statuette of Artemis Diktynna-Britomartis (no. 27), and the fact that both discoveries were made in Rue Négrel, suggests that the shrines may have been dedicated to Artemis. That the shrines represent Kybele is a theory that would also seem to have value. (The identification of the seated figure as Artemis, Athena, or Kybele is reported by Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, p. 21, and pl. 3.)
Strabo indicates that after the Romans had subdued the barbarian tribes around Marseilles (in the late second century B.C.), the Mâssaliotes invited the Gauls to study Greek culture in their city. The reputation of Marseilles as a center of Hellenic culture must have become considerable because Strabo adds that even the most notable Romans preferred "to go to school there" (lines 25-26) than to travel to Athens.

The Gauls also welcomed physicians (line 31) whom they hired both at private and public expense. Not only did prominent Romans come to study at Marseilles, but they may have begun their careers there. The Greek verb φοιτάω may mean 'to go to school,' also of a physician 'to practice (medicine).' The physicians whom the Gauls hired may have received their medical training at Marseilles and subsequently established their practices there.
28. Strabo, IV, 1, 5. (cont.)

The passage of Strabo may suggest the existence of a medical school at Marseilles and may refer indirectly to a cult of Asklepios and the existence of an Asklepieion. The location of the sanctuary and its buildings are unknown. No ancient writer or inscription from Marseilles mentioning Asklepios or any other medical deity is extant. The only available archaeological evidence is a statuette of Asklepios (test. 30).

Clerc ([Massalia, 2: 325 [and note 3]]) adds that not only did the Gauls request physicians from Marseilles but also the Massaliote physicians enjoyed a remarkable reputation which spread as far as Rome in the second century A.D.

He mentions ([ibid., p. 326 [and note 5]]) two physicians who were rivals at Rome from the time of Nero: Thessalus and Crinas. The former, probably from Thessaly in Greece, was quite unorthodox in his practice of medicine and would have been considered then, as now, incompetent by most standards. Crinas, on the other hand, was from Marseilles and was much more respected as a medical practitioner than Thessalus.


eadem aetas Neronis principatu ad Thessalum transilivit delentem cuncta placita et rabie quadam in omnis aevi medicos perorantem, . . . . . nullius histrionum equorumque trigarii comitator egressus in publico erat, cum Crinas Massiliensis arte geminata . . . . auctoritate eum praecessit, nuperque HS c reliquit, muris patriae moenibusque aliis paene non minore summa excerptis.

It is from this passage of Pliny that we learn of Thessalus and Crinas. (Of the latter's renown as a physician and of the large bequest
29. Pliny, XXIX, 5, 9 (cont.)

he made to his native city of Marseilles, see Clerc, ibid., pp. 326 [and note 6], 281-289; Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, pp. 39-40; Benoît, "Le théâtre et le mur de Crinas," Gallia 29: 1-20; Coupry, "Apports d'Olbia," p. 146; Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 40, and pl. 1, no. 2.)

Further indication of the existence of a society of physicians at Marseilles is the passage in Pliny (Natural History, XXIX, 5, 10) of another Massaliote, Charmis, who came to Rome to practice medicine, evidently after he had received his training at Marseilles:

Hi (Thessalus et Crinas) regebant fata, cum repente civitatem Charmis ex eadem Massalia invasit . . . .

Marseilles must have enjoyed a considerable reputation abroad in the field of medicine. Clerc, using Pliny as his source, asserts that not only were Crinas and Charmis of Massaliote origin (the ending of Charmis' name is Ionian), but also the mention of the city along with them is an indication of the school of medicine where they had been trained. There does not seem to be any positive proof when this school was actually founded. Clerc reasonably conjectures that the school of Marseilles, just as those of Smyrna, Pergamon and many others in the Orient, was connected to the school of Alexandria whose reputation flourished from the second century B.C. through the fourth century A.D. He considers that the physicians of Marseilles, already gaining in popularity after the city was taken by Caesar in the mid-first century B.C., were highly esteemed by the middle of the first century A.D. (For this assertion by
Besides Crinas and Charmis, another physician, Demosthenes, is said to have been from Marseilles, according to the famous ancient physician Galen, XIII, 855. But a celebrated oculist, also named Demosthenes, whose treatise on the maladies of the eyes (Ophthalmikos) was preserved up through the fourteenth century A.D., does not appear to have been connected with the medical school in Marseilles but with one in Asia Minor. It is this oculist who generally is associated with Crinas and Charmis. Therefore, Galen's reference to the physician Demosthenes from Marseilles is not able to identify him as the famous oculist of the same name who is connected with Crinas and Charmis. (See Clerc, ibid., p. 329 [and note 4].)

It is certainly possible that part of the generous bequest of the physician Crinas was used to erect an Asklepieion in Marseilles, because the names of Crinas and other well-known men of medicine were attached to the city. This shrine would have formed part of a medical school complex which may have existed in Marseilles during the Empire. The passage of Pliny (XXIX, 5, 9) about Crinas and his bequest, however, is brief and without details about what was actually built. (For a detailed discussion on the subject of medicine in Marseilles, see Clerc, ibid, pp. 325-330; idem, Aquae Sextiae, p. 265.)
30. Statuette of Asklepios.

Marble statuette of the god Asklepios (H. 0.40 m.). Found at Marseilles, Rue de la République near Boulevard des Dames in 1911, during the excavation of that area. Gift of L. Tanzy to the Museum Borély, Marseilles, inv. no. 8260.

Bibl.: GAB, room 1, no. 93, inv. no. 8260.

This archaeological discovery is by far the most positive evidence pointing to the existence of a cult of Asklepios in Marseilles. In other cities which were under the direct and indirect influence of Phokaia and Marseilles, such as Antipolis, Emporion, and Glanum, the evidence is greater. It is interesting to note that Duval (Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 27, 99) points to the connection between Asklepios and Apollo as 'healer/physician gods.' In Greek mythology, Asklepios is the son of Apollo so that this connection would make them both important deities associated with medicine and healing. In the Gallo-Roman period there were throughout Gaul a host of divinities of this same type, the most important of whom were assimilated to Apollo. (On the cult of Asklepios in France, see M. Renard, Asklepios et Hygie en Gaule, in Actes du colloque sur les influences helléniques en Gaule, Dijon, 1957 [Dijon, 1958], pp. 99-112.)

The author wishes to point out that two major works on the subject of Asklepios, E.J. and L. Edelstein, Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1945), and C. Kerényi, Asklepion: Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence, tr. by R. Manheim, Bollingen Series 65, 3 (New York, 1959), make no mention of the god and his cult at Marseilles. Similarly, no such reference is found in
30. Statuette of Asklepios (cont.)

Farnell, *Cults, 4: 239-241*, where Akslepios is discussed in association with Apollo; in A. Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios* (Boston, 1894); in W.A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilization* (New Haven, 1925); or in Benoît, *Art et dieux*, where one would most expect to see such a reference made.
ATHENA

31. Strabo, XIII, 1, 41. 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.

. . . . πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ξοάνων καθήμενα δεξίωνται, καθάπερ ἐν φωκαίᾳ,
Μασσαλίᾳ, 'Ρώμῃ, Χύσῃ, ἄλλαις πλείουσιν.

The existence of this type of seated statue, xoanon kathemenon,
or of the more common standing version, xoanon histamenon, points directly
to the possibility that the images mentioned by Strabo could be cult-
statues of Athena.

It is known that wood was often used for statues in primitive times,
even as early as around the third millennium in Egypt where many have been
found. The word xoanon, however, is applied to early cult-statues in any
material (the term is derived from the Greek word meaning 'to hew'), and
in this manner the resulting statuary would resemble a roughly-hewn tree
trunk. Wood continued to be utilized in later times, but marble was ad-
ded for the nude portions while gold plating was used for the drapery.
Sometime between the mid-seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., or
roughly around the year 600 B.C., is most often regarded as the date for
the commencement of Greek sculpture in stone. The earliest xoana statues
were crude and primitive but apparently served the religious intentions
of worship for which they were designated. Early (more properly archaic)
Greek statues and figurines, therefore, were called xoana and were nothing
more than tree trunks with minimal anatomical features. Clay was used for
large dedicatory statues as well as for smaller xoana of the votive type,
imitations of the larger wooden statues. Conversely, life-sized or
larger statues may have been modeled on earlier and smaller terracottas.
Many of these primitive images were to be found in temples throughout Greece even until the end of the fifth century B.C., although the archaic period of Greek art formally ended around 480/470 B.C. (The early history of Greek sculpture is discussed in G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* [1929; 4th ed., New Haven, 1970], pp. 114, 125, 154-166; and H.B. Walters, *The Art of the Greeks* [London, 1906], pp. 59, 70-72. J.L. Caskey reports that several large primitive temple images of the *xoanon*-type have been found on the island of Keos. For information on these temple and statuary findings, see Caskey, "Excavations in Keos," *Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* [Cambridge, Mass., 1932-], 31: 278-282; 33: 317, 326-331, 334; 35: 367-371; 40: 384-386. See also *idem*, "Keos," *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 446-447.)

The immediate problem with which we are faced is twofold, namely, 1) whether the seated *xoanon* of Athena, mentioned here by Strabo, was actually the cult-statue of the goddess, and 2) where in Marseilles her temple in which this image was venerated in reality stood. (The discussion about the temple is found in test. 32, 35-36.)

The passage of Strabo is direct in pointing out that the use of the archaic seated *xoanon* in the cult of Athena was prominent in the Mediterranean world. Athena appears to have been an important deity of the Phokaian tradition at Marseilles. That she was one of the principal goddesses of Phokaia is a reasonable conjecture since both the head and full-form of Athena appear on the coins of Phokaia from the late sixth century B.C. to the third century A.D. (See *Head*, *Greek Coins of Ionia*,
31. Strabo, XII, 1, 41 (cont.)

pp. 210 [nos. 45, 47, and pl. 5.2-3], 218 [no. 109, and pl. 23 .10],
220 [no. 127], 222, [no. 140], 223 [no. 142, and pl. 23 .13], 225 [no. 150],
227 [no. 163, and pl. 39 .2].) Consequently, the veneration of the
Phokaian Athena in Marseilles must have been contemporary with the founda-
tion of the city in the early sixth century B.C. or shortly thereafter.

Most of what is known about the veneration of Athena in Marseilles
must be considered tenuous at best. Concerning the Phokaian origins of
her Massaliote cult the following item deserves special attention. In
1953, Turkish archaeologists found a temple while excavating at Phokaia.
Many fragments of bases, columns, capitals, and architectural terracottas
were also discovered in the excavations. Around the early sixth century
B.C. at Phokaia stood a temple, perched on the highest point of a rocky
platform at the end of the peninsula. It is thought that the recently
excavated temple and architectural elements may have belonged to Athena's
temple at Phokaia mentioned by Xenophon (Hellenica, XIII, 1) and Pausanias
(II, 31, 6; VII, 5, 4). Pausanias says that 'two other Ionian temples
were fated to be burnt down by the Persians: Hera's temple on Samos and
Athena's at Phokaia; but even after the injuries of fire they were a
marvel.' The temple of Athena at Phokaia was constructed of fine white
porous stone and was probably erected in the second quarter of the sixth
century B.C. Soon thereafter, it was destroyed by the Persians but
restored by the end of the same century. The Izmir Museum in Turkey houses
the architectural and other finds. (See Akurgal, "Phokaia," 709; Bean,
Aegean Turkey, p. 124; P. Levi, tr., Pausanias: Guide to Greece, 1
That Athena was prominent in Phokaian cult and religion there is little doubt. How much of her veneration, however, was brought to Marseilles and established there is uncertain. The following account of Justin records an incident involving the tribal king, Catumandus, and his encounter with the goddess at Marseilles when rebel Gallic tribes were besieging the city.

32. Justin, XLIII, 5, 4-7. Ca. 2nd c. A.D.

Cum igitur Massalia et familia rerum gestarum et abundantia opum et virium gloria virent floreret, repente finitimi populi ad nomen Massiliensium delendum veluti ad commune extingendum incendium currunt. Dux consensu omnium Catumandus regulus eligitur: qui cum magno exercitu lectissimorum virorum urbem hostium obsideret, per quietem specie torvae mulieris, quae se deam dicebat, exterritus ultro pacem cum Massiliensibus fecit, petitoque ut intrare illi urbem et deos eorum adorare liceret, cum in arcem Minervae venisset, conspecto in porticibus simulacro deae, quam per quietem viderat, repente clamor illam esse, quae se nocte exterruisset, illam, quae recedere ab obsidione iussisset. Gratulatusque Massiliensibus, quod animadverteret eos ad curam deorum immortalium pertinere, torque aureo donata dea in perpetuum amicitiam cum Massiliensibus iunxit.

Not only did Athena appear in a dream to Catumandus, according to the story, but he also visited her temple on the akropolis of Marseilles and paid her homage with an offering of a golden necklace as a gesture of peace between the natives and the Massaliotes. Line 10 of the text reads in arcem Minervae, which might pose a problem for the interpretation of the passage since arx (arcis) does not literally mean 'temple,' but rather 'citadel' or 'akropolis.' All three meanings, however, seem to be
32. Justin, XLIII, 5, 4-7 (cont.)
appropriate for the arcem of the passage because the temple of Athena, as well as those of Apollo and Artemis, must have stood somewhere on the akropolis of Marseilles. Did Justin or his source use arcem Minervae instead of aedem Minervae? If so, did Catumandus actually enter into the temple of the goddess which probably stood in arce? Strabo's passage (IV, 1, 4; test. 4, 19) states that the temples of Apollo and Artemis actually stood on the akropolis, but there is no mention of Athena's temple. Although Justin does not refer to the Apollo and Artemis temples in his account, we may infer from his testimony that Athena's temple stood near the other two celebrated shrines which the Massaliotes erected on their akropolis. (See Ternaux, Historia Massiliensium, pp. 23 [note 60], 55, 59-60 [note 145], where there is much unconvincing speculation that Athena's cult was not independently observed in Marseilles but celebrated in the temple of Apollo. See also Clerc, Massalia, 1: 174-175, 237, 369; Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, pp. 16, 21; Benoit, L'art primitif, p. 13; and Grosson, Recueil, pp. 4, 7, 106-107, 131-132, on the subject of Justin's passage and the temple of Athena at Marseilles.)

33. Pausanias, X, 8, 6. (on Delphi) 2nd c. A.D.

'Εσελθόντι δὲ ἔς τὴν πόλιν εὐών ἐφεξῆς ναοῦ· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρώτος αὐτῶν ἔρευμα ἦν, ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ κενὸς καὶ ἄγαλματων καὶ ἀνόριάντων· ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τρότος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν Ὄρμη 
βασιλευσάντων εἶχεν οὐ πολλῶν τινῶν εἰκώνας, ὁ τέταρτος δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καλεῖται Προνούς. τῶν 
δὲ ἄγαλμάτων τὸ ἐν τῷ προνάπὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν 
ἀνάθημα ἔστι, μεγέθει τοῦ ἐνδον ἄγαλματος 
μείζον. οὐ δὲ Μασσαλιώταις Φωκαῖων εὑρίων 
ἀπολογοῦ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, μοῦρα καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ποτε 
"Ἀρταγόν τὸν Μῆδον φυγότων ἐκ Φωκαίας·"
Pausanias presents evidence that a statue of Athena was dedicated by the Massaliotes at Delphi (in the Marmaria sector) as a votive offering in the fore-temple of Athena 'Pronoia.'

W.H.S. Jones and H.A. Ormerod (Pausanias: Description of Greece, Loeb Edition [Cambridge and London, 1935], 4: 411 [note 1]), as well as Levi (Pausanias, 1: 424 [note 51]), remark on the emended reading of 'Pronaia' for 'Pronoia.' Levi points out that 'Pronoia' was an alternative name for Athena 'Pronaia' since about the fourth century B.C. He adds that Pausanias does not mention the older ruined temple of Athena 'Pronaia' which dated before the early fifth century B.C. and was rebuilt nearby. It was probably in the fourth century that her name, as Pausanias knew it, was changed to 'Pronoia,' while she must have been known earlier as 'Pronaia.' A shrine of Athena is known to have existed at Delphi. It stood on the road leading to the temple of Apollo. The confusion over the two epithets may have originated from Delphi. It seems more likely, however, that both names refer to the veneration of Athena in her temple there. (See Farnell, Cults, 1: 306-307; for a good description and discussion of Marmaria and the sanctuary of Athena at Delphi, see Schoder, Greece from the Air, pp. 52-53, 245, and bibliography.)

The dedication of the Massaliotes at Delphi was not the major
cult-statue of the goddess in her temple because Pausanias says that
their votive offering stood in the fore-temple and not inside the temple
itself. Cult-statues in Greek temples were always placed in the inner-
most part of the building, i.e., in the naos or cella, while dedications
or offerings, including other statues, were set up around the building
and in the fore-temple or pronaos. The Massaliote statue of Athena was
bronze and possibly larger than her cult-image which was inside the
temple. Further details about the Massaliote statue of Athena are not
known since Pausanias' description is brief. (See Clerc, Massalia, 1:
176-177 [notes 1, 2], 185-197; Benoît, L' art primitif, p. 13.) A.
Blanchet ("La Minerve de Massalia," Corolla Numismatica: Numismatic
Essays in Honour of Barclay V. Head [Oxford, 1906], pp. 12-13) alleges
that the Massaliote statue of Athena at Delphi represented the statue of
the goddess inside her temple. He so asserts because certain bronze
coins of Delphi, struck in the second century A.D. with the heads of
Hadrian and Faustina Senior on the obverse, have on the reverse the image
of Athena standing in a long chiton, holding a spear in the right hand
and a shield on the left arm. Although it is possible to compare this
coin-type with the statue of Athena in the naos of her 'Pronoia' temple,
it should not be inferred that the statue of the Massaliotes was neces-
sarily of the same type.

There is no conclusive evidence which allows us to judge that the
Massaliote statue of Athena at Delphi in any way resembled the image of
the goddess which was venerated inside the 'Pronoia' temple; nor is there
33. Pausanias, X, 8, 6 (cont.)

any justification for assuming that the Massaliote statue bore any likeness to the one seen by Catumandus in Marseilles (test. 32, 35-36). Any one deity had various types of veneration in a particular city. He or she was seen under different aspects depending on the nature of the specific location and origins of the worship or ritual. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the archaic seated statue of Athena in Marseilles (test. 31) may have been the cult-statue of the goddess. This does not necessarily mean, however, that a seated statue of Athena was always used whenever the Massaliotes sent offerings to other cities or whenever they represented their goddess on coins. Coins portraying a particular divinity were often varied and depicted either the bust or full-figure of the god or goddess. On the obverses of the extant Massaliote coins of the Athena-type the aforementioned archaic seated goddess does not appear (test. 34). To assert that Athena was represented in a particular way at Marseilles is not possible without more positive and reliable documentary proof.

34. Bronze coins of the Athena-type. Ca. 3rd c. B.C.-1st c. B.C. (plate XXIII, nos. 79-82)

Massaliote large and small bronzes ca. 3rd-1st c. B.C. Head of Athena, to r. helmeted (nos. 79-82). Reverse with M or Σ; tripod (no. 79); similar reverse-type with MA and minor type of cornucopia in left field (no. 80); reverse with unexplainable inscription in exergue, and lion advancing to r. (no. 81); similar reverse with AΣΣ above lion (no. 82).
34. Bronze coins of the Athena-type (cont.)

Bibl.: Drawings of Massaliote coins of the Athena-type from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, p. 1, Pl. 4, nos. 1914, 2110, and from Clerc, Massalia, 1: 373, fig. 93, nos. 3, 4,; see also Head, Historia Numorum, p. 7; Muret and Chabouillet, Catalogue, pp. 35, no. 1914, 40, no. 2110.

The possibility must here be discounted that the helmeted bust of Athena on these bronzes represents the head of the archaic xoanon of the goddess referred to by Strabo (test. 31). Athena appears on the coins only as she was later portrayed in numismatic art. (See test. 25, where Artemis appears on Massaliote drachmas as she was later portrayed in numismatic art; for a discussion of the Massaliote bronzes and coins of other types issued at Marseilles, see Clerc, Massalia, 1: 370-376.)

35. Statuette of Athena. (plate XXIV, no. 83) Ca. late Roman period.

Bronze statuette of Athena (H. 0.13 m.) helmeted and with the drapery tightly fitting. The left arm is raised. The right forearm and the left hand, which may have rested on a spear, are broken off. Mediocre Roman copy of a Greek original from around the 4th c. B.C. or earlier. Found at Marseilles, nekropolis of Carénage. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 752.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 152, no. 752; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 186, note 1, 453, note 3, and fig. 105.

This bronze statuette of Athena perhaps represents the torva mulieris who appeared to Catumandus in his sleep and the simulacrum deae which he later saw (test. 32). On the other hand, what Catumandus beheld...
may have been the seated xoanon of the goddess which Strabo (test. 31) says existed in Phokaia and in Marseilles.

We have already attempted to show that a positive identification of the type of Athena's cult-statue is difficult. Justin (test. 32), summarizing Trogus Pompeius, merely says that the woman who declared herself to be a goddess in the dream was torva or 'fierce-looking.' A statue of this same fierce-looking woman (goddess) was seen later by Catumandus at the temple of Athena. Justin does not identify the statue or the vision as either standing or seated.

Although this bronze statuette of Athena standing may recall the incident and the statue of the goddess outside the temple, Catumandus in fact may have seen a seated statue. That the goddess was fierce-looking does not establish any detail of the statue's artistic form. It is likely that there were several statues of Athena at Marseilles. The one which Catumandus saw could have been either of the standing or seated type. He did not, however, encounter her image in the innermost part of the temple because what he observed stood in porticibus and not in cella. He approached the temple and then caught sight of one of her statues within the colonnaded portion preceding the cella, the chamber of the goddess deep within which her major cult-image probably resided.

No seated image of Athena has been found at Marseilles. What Catumandus possibly saw, however, was a likeness of the seated statue mentioned by Strabo, although a standing version of another type cannot be excluded.
35. Statuette of Athena (cont.)

From the evidence at hand, it would seem that Athena's temple at Marseilles was sizeable and of the peripteral type, i.e., surrounded on all sides by a single peristyle or row of columns. It was in the colonnaded fore-temple (pronaos) where Catumandus seemed to see Athena's statue. He spent little time looking at it, quickly shouted to the Massaliotes what had taken place, and then made peace with them, a pledge of which was his dedication of a gold necklace to their goddess. (For more discussion on the troublesome identification of this statue mentioned by Justin, see Ternaux, *Historia Massiliensium*, pp. 23, note 60, 60 notes 144-145; Clerc, *Massalia*, 1: 186-187, 216, 237; Blanchet, "La Minerva de Massalia," pp. 10-11, 14-15; Benoît, *L'art primitif*, p. 13; Grosson, *Recueil*, pp. 7, 107, 131-132; Baratier, *Histoire de Marseille*, pp. 16, 21. On the seated goddess at Phokaia and elsewhere in the Greek world, see Farnell, *Cults*, 1: 332-340.)

36. Statue (?)/statuette (?) of Athena. Indeterminable date.

(plate XXIV, nos. 84-85)

Bronze (?) marble, ? terracotta) statue (?) statuette) of Athena (H. = uncertain) helmeted, with the drapery long and flowing, wearing the aegis. The arms are symmetrically extended outward from the waist. Both the forearms and the hands, one of which may have held a spear, are missing. The crude drawing is perhaps of a Greek or Roman statue of indeterminable date which was found at Marseilles, while excavating the foundations of the house of Dr. Peiruis on Rue des Consuls, between 1690-1695. The statue is lost.
36. Statue (? statuette) of Athena (cont.)

Bibl.: Grosson, Recueil, pp. 4, 7, 106-107, 131-132, 137, 191, and pl. 15, no. 3 (drawing); Clerc, Massalia, 1: 214-218, fig. 41 (drawing of A. Ruffi).

Ever since this discovery became known in the late seventeenth century, it aroused much controversy. It is difficult to decide how much should be believed or disbelieved because what has been published on this subject is full of contradictions. Attempts have been made to link the discovery of this statue or statuette with that of her temple. In fact, many authorities, especially Grosson, assumed that the temple was located where this image is said to have been discovered.

It is likely that the image was found in Marseilles and then disappeared after a short time since only a couple of poor sketches of it have been published. It is not possible to establish that this find is in any way related to the cult-statue of Athena in Marseilles, even though it may have been found in the ruins of an ancient building or yet-to-be-discovered temple. The archaeological evidence for the temples of Apollo and Artemis at Marseilles is a little more plentiful but in no way conclusive. There is no way as yet to disprove that the archaic Ionic capital (test. 12, 23) may belong to the temple of Athena.

There is also no way of judging that Catumandus (test. 32) saw this representation of the goddess. The drawings do not seem to depict a woman, or even a goddess, who could have frightened a man with her fierceness. It is therefore not possible to conclude that this image or the statuette in test. 35 represents the cult-statue of Athena at Marseilles until further excavations corroborate Strabo's description of
36. Statue (? statuette) of Athena (cont.)

the archaic seated xoanon (test. 31). If the actual cult-statues of Apollo and Artemis, as well as other major religious objects identified with them, are ever found in Marseilles, many unanswered questions about the religious iconography of the Massaliotes and the main dedication of Athena may be resolved.

There have even been attempts to identify the seated female figure in the monolithic shrines from Rue Négrel with Athena. It has been suggested that the figure represented in the shrines concurs with Strabo's description of the seated xoanon of Athena (test. 31) and that the shrines may be ex-votos from her temple at Marseilles. The seated figure in the shrines, however, has been identified as Kybele (test. 103) for whom a seated statue is more in keeping with Oriental worship and iconography. (See Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 11-13; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 237, note 5, 238, who suggest that the seated figures in the shrines may represent Athena.)

A. von Domazewski (Clerc, Massalia, 2: 333-336) has asserted that the famous Column of Jupiter from Mainz in West Germany was modeled after a similar structure at Marseilles. Domazewski noted that, in addition to the bronze statue of Jupiter which stood at the top of the Column, other deities were portrayed elsewhere upon it, including Athena and Apollo Delphinios, "two divinities dear to the Massaliotes." The Mainz relief-statue could imitate the type of any one of the several ways Athena was portrayed in sculpture at Marseilles. (On this Column, see also Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, p. 108.)
36. Statue (? statuette) of Athena (cont.)

Benoît (Art et dieux, p. 91) mentions that at Vernègues (northwest of Aix), in a sanctuary dating from the Augustan period, there appears for the first time in Gaul an altar with four divinities: Jupiter (?), Mercury, Apollo, and Minerva appear on the sides of the altar which served as a socle for columns surmounted by the statue of Jupiter. Benoît adds that the Mainz Column is the most ancient of this type.

37. Sigillata vase. (plate XXV, no. 86) Ca. 1st-2nd c. A.D.

Sigillata vase ca. 1st-2nd c. A.D. with Athena and Artemis represented in relief. Found at Marseilles and now in the Museum Borély. Bibl.: Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 129, 132, 175, and ill. 266.

The scene depicted on the vase is further proof that Athena figured prominently in the religious art of Marseilles. Athena, in warrior garb, is gazing at what appears to be a bust of herself or of Pallas which she is holding in front of her. Artemis, to the left of Athena and portrayed as the huntress, is armed with quiver and arrows over the shoulder. She is carrying a bow in the left hand and a dead animal, possibly a young deer, in the right. The vase and its relief are of local execution. La Graufesenque (near Millau, northwest of Nîmes) was a center of fabrication for this type of pottery in Gaul in the first and second centuries A.D. The vase may have been made there, according to Benoît. The Gallic inhabitants of la Graufesenque were in commercial contact with the Gallo-Greeks of the coast and with Marseilles from the second century B.C. This new type of pottery found its way into Gaul from Arezzo in Italy. It was exported from la Graufesenque and other
local centers into all parts of Gaul, including Marseilles, as well as into other Western Mediterranean cities. (On Athena as a Gallo-Roman divinity, see Duval, *Dieux de la Gaule*, pp. 86-87, 94, 108. Reference to Artemis on this vase is made in test. 25.)
ATTIS

38. Lamp with Attis in relief. (plate XXV, no. 87) Late Roman period.

Clay lamp with the bust of Attis in relief (H. 0.09 m.). The lamp is broken at the middle and only the top half survives. The entire lamp probably measured about 0.13 m. The lamp is oval with a pointed and unadorned beak. Its peripheral band is decorated with a floral pattern alternating concentric lozenges, each design bordered with two milled edges. Attis wears a Phrygian cap (pilleus) and is represented in profile to the right. His bust is mutilated above the nose at the eyes and below the chin. The lamp, found at Marseilles in the excavations of Rue Impériale (Rue de la République) before 1904, is among the funerary articles from Christian tombs which were discovered at the same site. Marseilles, Museum, Borély.

Bibl.: Clerc and d'Agnel, Découvertes, pp. 75-76, plate 7, no. 8.

This archeological testimonium is unique in substantiating for Marseilles the cult of Attis, consort of Kybele. Her cult was introduced into the West in 204 B.C. when the sacred stone, under the guise of which she was worshipped, was brought from Pergamon to Rome. Whether her veneration, which kept much of its Oriental flavor, included Attis when it first appeared in the West is not known.
The worship of Attis appears in the West, though infrequently, under the Empire. He is usually represented standing, wearing a Phrygian cap, sometimes reclining or leaning against a pine. He often holds a pedum (shepherd's crook) or syrinx (shepherd's pipe), and has a moon-sickle slung across his shoulders like Men (a Phrygian god often identified with him, especially at Rome and Ostia). Attis is also found standing in front of Kybele, beside her, outside her temple, or with her in a chariot. The goddess has her hand on his shoulder. (See G. Showerman, The Great Mother of the Gods [1901; reprint ed., Chicago, 1969], p. 98; F. Legge, Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity: Being Studies in Religious History from 330 B.C. to 330 A.D., 2 vols. [Cambridge, 1915; reprint ed., Chicago, 1976], 1: 139, note 1, 2: 67, note 3.)

In Italy and elsewhere in the West the figure of the youth Attis, whose death and rebirth were celebrated in connection with the passing and revival of vegetation, was commonly represented in tomb relief. The funerary monuments usually depicted the attributes of Kybele and Attis and their cult-objects: the pine, against which Attis is sometimes leaning; the syrinx; the patera, the tiara, the tympanum, cymbals, crotala (rattles), lighted torches; bulls and rams, or merely the heads of these animals; the cock (gallus), symbolizing the priests of this cult; the sacrificial knife; Kybele riding in her chariot accompanied by Attis, etc. The busts of Kybele and Attis were also used as decorations, examples of which have been found in Gaul. (See Showerman, ibid., pp. 92-102.)

M.J. Vermaseren (The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art
38. Lamp with Attis in relief (cont.)

[Leiden, 1966]) does not cite any monument related to the cult of Attis discovered in Marseilles. The fact that he searched for things related to Attis there is explicit in his statement (p. 57, note 2): "Similar bronze statuettes are also found in the Marseilles Museum (from Etruria [2 W. Froehner, Antiquités du Musée de Marseille, 1897, no. 781 = 2781; F. Benoît, Les trésors d'art du Musée d'archéologie. Centenaire du Musée 1863-1963, No. 37] and in Paris [Cabinet des Medailles])." There is no lamp-relief in Vermaseren illustrating Attis standing as he is depicted on the lamp from Marseilles.

Attis, portrayed alone, is one of the rarest subjects represented in the decorative reliefs of ancient lamps. The following are the total of the listed specimens in the three most recently published catalogues of ancient lamps: H. Menzel, Antike Lampen im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz (Katalog 15) (Mainz, 1965), p. 50, Abb. 19, 5, No. 268 (Head of Attis); J. Deneauve, Lampes de Carthage (Paris, 1969), pl. 61, no. 601 (Standing Attis) and pl. 76, no. 825 (Head of Attis); T. Szentléleký, Ancient Lamps (Amsterdam and Budapest, 1969; reprint ed., Chicago, 1969), p. 83 (Attis standing in a Phrygian cap [British Museum No. 1045]). The Marseilles specimen is the latest one known.

Vermaseren (Attis, p. 54) adds that "... it has been observed more than once that one must be cautious when interpreting figures in oriental dress. Indeed, they are often uncertain since Attis, Paris, Mithras and Ganymedes belong to the same group. Among them, Mithras is usually quite easy to recognize, but his torchbearers, Cautes and
38. Lamp with Attis in relief (cont.)

Cautopates, are not."

Cult-instruments of Attis and Kybele found on a marble slab at Marseilles will be discussed under test. 102, Mother of the Gods (Kybele).

The forty-one monolithic shrines (plus two fragments) from Rue Négrrel pose a seemingly unanswered problem (test. 27, 36, 103, and plate LXI, no. 173). Fragment no. 40 (GAB, frag. 43, and photo) has been possibly identified as Attis. (See also Trézin, "Marseille et l' économie," photo; Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, pp. 21-22.) Bourlard-Collin (GAB, avant-propos and description of shrines 1-43) reports that this is the only one which differs from the others (representing Kybele seated). She identifies Attis, wearing a Phrygian cap and a turned up chiton, standing between two pilasters surmounted with capitals (plates XXVI-XXVII, nos. 88-91). She adds that this definitely affirms that the other shrines were dedicated to Kybele and that no. 40 (GAB, 43) probably dates from the Roman period (around the first century B.C.). On the other hand, Clerc (Massalia, 1: 239-240) does not accept any identification with Attis since he does not recognize the existence of his cult in the Western regions around the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the date given for the other shrines. He does, however, date no. 40 in the Roman period.

J.-P. Clébert (Provence antique, 2 vols. [Paris, 1966], 1: 161, top facing page) identifies the figure as Artemis. Both Clerc and Froehner (Catalogue, pp. 11-14, and no. 40) feel that the figure portrayed in the naïskos (shrine) represents a female. Clerc suggests Kybele, Artemis, Athena, even Aphrodite, as possibilities for all of the figures, while
38. Lamp with Attis in relief (cont.)

Froehner proposes Kybele (to no. 40 he attaches the probability of a Venus parturiens). Cahen (Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 11-13, and pl. 4, nos. 1-2) does not mention Attis at all, seems to dismiss the notion of Aphrodite, retracts a rather strong leaning towards Athena, but feels that Artemis or Kybele should be recognized as the figure in the shrines. Benoît (L'art primitif, pp. 13-15) attributes the forty-one shrines to Artemis, although some of the figures he likens to Kybele but with no definite certainty. Of the two fragments, one, he thinks, represents Kybele, often identified with Artemis in early periods, who bears a resemblance to Aphrodite as goddess of fertility and to Artemis both as 'mistress of horses (animals)' and as the goddess with the triple row of ostrich eggs (test. 22); about the other fragment, he does not comment.

In his later publication (Recherches, pp. 222-223, and pl. 1, no. 7), Benoît oddly identifies this same piece as "stele of Artemis. Aphrodite unveiling herself" with no further comment. Did he forget to add the name of Kybele, or did he decide not to include it in his description? Why was Attis neglected altogether?

The examples just cited confirm the doubts about any positive identification of the two Rue Negrél fragments. Even if Clerc did not agree that Attis should be identified with the figure of fragment no. 40, how did Attis escape his notice on this lamp? He thought (Découvertes, p. 76), along with d' Agnel, that he recognized an ancient caricature resembling more a dog's head than the head of a man, i.e., it recalled the well-known ancient caricature from Pompeii of Aeneas fleeing Troy with
38. Lamp with Attis in relief (cont.)

his family. This identification of the figure on the lamp seems inappropriate in light of the evidence for the shrines which points strongly to Kybele.

That Kybele was widely venerated in Marseilles seems likely (test. 102-104). Even without a final identification of the figure in the two Rue Négrel shrine fragments as Attis, his appearance on this lamp, and on many others which have been lost, only adds to the familiar association of Kybele and Attis as mythological and cult deities. The shrines and the lamp must have been among the votive and religious articles consecrated to Kybele and her consort at Marseilles. In view of the prominence of Kybele's cult throughout the Mediterranean in Roman times, it would have been very appropriate to have Attis and the instruments of their common cult represented artistically on such items which found their way into the daily life of the Massaliotes.

Attis and his cult at Marseilles are discussed briefly by Grosson (Recueil, pp. 157-158). Duval (Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 102-104) discusses Oriental cults and Roman syncretism for Kybele, Attis, and other deities. Legge (Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, passim) has many references to Attis and Kybele in both volumes. Farnell (Cults, 2: 648; 3: 177ff., 300-301, 305; 5: 125, 193) comments about the Greek adoption of their cult. On the subject of Kybele and Attis in Gallo-Roman mystery religion, see Benoît (Art et dieux, pp. 9-10). That Attis was portrayed with Kybele in Gallic art is attested in MacKendrick (Roman France, pp. 156, 169).
BELENOS

This indigenous Gallo-Roman deity, associated with the sun and especially with springs, was identified in Southern Gaul with Apollo, where the latter was often venerated as god of the waters. (See Benoît, Art et dieux, p. 58; Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 77-78; L.H. Gray, Celtic Mythology, ed. J.A. Macculloch, The Mythology of All Races, 3 [New York, 1964], p. 10.)

Since Belenos has been identified most often in Southern Gaul with Apollo, see test. 14-15, where the evidence for the cult of Apollo Belenos (?) is presented.
DEMETER
(AND KORE-PERSEPHONE)

39. Justin, XLIII, 4, 3-12.


We are again indebted to Trogus Pompeius and to Justin for preserving this unique account of the relations between the Massaliotes and
the local tribes in the first twenty-five years or so after the founding of Marseilles. Marseilles obviously was posing a threat to the Ligurian nations which bordered on her territory. As early as the first quarter of the sixth century, these indigenous peoples were taking steps to preserve their independence. A famous incident involving the Greek colony and her neighbors is the one cited here. The Ligurians chose a rather auspicious moment to make their move—the annual festival of the Floralia, a time when the incessant hostilities between them and the Massaliotes would be put aside _hospitii iure_ (XLIII, 4, 6). The plot of the natives eventually backfired, their king was slain during the siege, and Marseilles was able to maintain her position of strength and superiority over those who dwelt around her. (See Clerc, Massalia, 1: 146-151, concerning the early relations between the Massaliotes and the Ligurians.)

Of special interest to this study is the mention of the Floralia, the festive games in celebration of fertility and the flowering of plants. The observance of this cult first began at Rome in 238 B.C. when a temple was erected to Flora, an ancient Italian deity of the productive powers of earth and nature. It was not, however, until 173 B.C. that the annual games in her honor, _ludi Florales_, began to be celebrated.

The question which must be posed is whether the festival mentioned in the passage by Justin (on the authority of Trogus Pompeius) is the Floralia which was later celebrated at Rome and in various other localities in Italy, or whether another religious ceremony (associated with early Greek cult and ritual) should be considered. Festivals celebrating
the productivity of the earth were common among early, primarily agrarian, cultures.

It would seem logical that Trogus Pompeius and Justin were more familiar with Roman than Greek religious traditions of the time in which they lived, especially since Marseilles had been under Roman rule and cultural influence since its takeover by Caesar in 49 B.C. Before the establishment of Flora's cult at Rome in 238 B.C., the inhabitants of Southern France and Italy worshipped a host of indigenous divinities associated with the earth. The Roman cult of Flora most likely grew out of one, or several, of these early rites so that she gradually became particularly important as the goddess of flowers and spring.

The family of Trogus Pompeius, the Augustan historian, was Vocontian from Gallia Narbonensis. The Vocontii were a Keltic tribe who occupied much territory around Vasio (modern Vaison-la-Romaine, north of Marseilles), one of their chief cities when they were under Roman control. Being a native of this area, Trogus was probably familiar with the religious traditions of the Gauls, many of which were preserved despite the influence on them from Massaliote cult observances. The Greco-Ionian cults of Marseilles were largely influenced by Oriental rites. In later Roman religion the Floralia festival contained many features which were both Oriental and Greek in origin. In fact, the temple which was erected to Flora at Rome in the second century B.C. was ordered by the Sibylline books, attesting to the Greek origin of the cult. The central feature of this festival, however—the mimi or farces performed by courtesans—seems
39. Justin, XLIII, 4, 3-12 (cont.)
to have originated from one of the semi-Oriental cults associated with
the worship of Aphrodite, one of whose epithets at Knossos was Antheia,
'she of the flowers.' (See H.J. Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome [New
York, 1959], pp. 221-222, on the Roman cult of Flora and the Floralia
festival.)

There are reasons which suggest that the festival of the Floralia,
mentioned by Justin, is not the same one which was later celebrated at
Rome and in other parts of Italy, but rather another which shared with it
many common characteristics of cult and ritual. First of all, the date
of the encounter between Comanus and the Massaliotes must be placed in the
first quarter of the sixth century B.C. The festival which was taking
place in Marseilles at this time is not likely to have been the Roman
Floralia but rather the celebration of a Greek cult of similar character
honoring one or more of the special goddesses of fertility and agriculture.
According to Duval, there are only sporadic traces of the cult of Flora
in Gaul. Divinities of the earth, such as Demeter and Kore-Persephone,
do not seem to have enjoyed special popularity under their purely Roman
aspect. Rather, the chthonic powers they possessed caused them to be
associated with their Gallic parallels whom they resembled. (See Dieux de
la Gaule, p. 99.) For reasons which are put forth below, the religious
celebration in Marseilles mentioned by Justin can be connected with the
worship of Demeter and Kore-Persephone.

Rougemont ("Inscriptions trouvées à Marseille," EC 3: 3-4) argues
that the festival must have been the Anthesteria. Since Comanus would
not make his attack on Marseilles until the city was somno ac vino sepultam
(XLIII, 4, 7-8), the festival in question could not be the Anthesphoria, as held by Clerc (*Massalia*, 1: 453-454), honoring Demeter's daughter, Kore-Persephone, who was carried off to the underworld while gathering flowers. Rougemont thinks that it is probably the religious observance in honor of Dionysos, the Anthesteria, to which the passage of Justin referred. He seems to base his assumption on the fact that the Athenian Anthesteria, the Feast of Flowers of Ionian origin celebrated for three days in the spring, was also connected with the harvest. It was the time when the wine-jars were formally opened, the new wine ceremoniously blessed before Dionysos on the chief day of the festival with everyone drinking of his own jug, and a contest held to see who could finish his wine first. In the evening of the last of the three days pots with cooked fruits were brought to the dead and to Hermes Chthonios, evidence that it was not a completely happy occasion. (See Rose, *Religion*, pp. 79-82, for details about this festival.)

Rougemont's argument in favor of Dionysos should not go uncontested since it rests on nothing other than the Massaliotes being 'overcome with wine.' Celebrations of wine were frequent in the Greek world, although those honoring Dionysos were among the greatest and most popular. Indeed, wine drinking must have been a part of the Anthesphoria as it was of other important agrarian rites. This ceremony also must have included a symbolic retelling of the rape of Kore-Persephone from Demeter by Hades, thereby involving Demeter and her cult in the worship. (See Clerc, *Massalia*, 1: 453-454 [and notes 1-2]; Farnell, *Cults*, 3: 124-125, who
Of even greater consequence to all Greeks was the ancient festival of Demeter Thesmophoros (Law-giver). The original meaning of this epithet has remained a puzzle to those who have made in-depth studies of Greek religious history since other explanations for the title, such as 'Bringer of treasures' or 'of precious things,' have received equally convincing acceptance. Clement of Alexandria (Protrepticus, 11-12P, 14P) informs us that a mystic drama, involving Deo (Demeter) and Kore-Persephone, was held at Eleusis with the torch celebration commemorating the well-known myth of these two goddesses. He asserts that the story was recalled during the Thesmophoria, which is known to have been celebrated at Eleusis. (See the treatment of this problem by Farnell, Cults, 3: 75-122, 174; also Rose, Religion, p. 76.)

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, pp. 61-62, and notes 150-151) has found no positive evidence to substantiate that Flora was ever venerated at Marseilles, although he says, "Justin seems to say that Flora was an ancient goddess of Marseilles, while he mentions the Floralia shortly after the beginning of Marseilles." Ternaux adds that the goddess and the festival were Roman and suggests that written history (i.e., of Justin's type) often commemorates past events with new names and embellishes contemporary traditions with old ones. He also repudiates the idea that Flora (or the Greek Chloris) was brought to Gaul by the Greeks and that her portrait appeared on coins, since there is no evidence of Flora on the coins of Marseilles. G. Long (Smith, Greek and Roman Geography, s.v.
Massilia, 2: 291), in discussing the incident between Comanus and the Massaliotes in Justin, merely says that a festival was occurring in Marseilles and that Justin calls it by the Roman name Floralia. It is then unlikely that Flora and her cult existed at Marseilles at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., so that Justin apparently was mistaken when he called the festival the Floralia.

This author feels that it is the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros which was held in very high esteem by the Massaliotes from the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and it is this celebration which Comanus and his people interrupted on the day when the festival was about to take place.

Justin, however, may have had some justification for calling the festival by a Roman name, since even in Greece there were certain local ceremonies for which there is no definite record of the festival-name. Consequently, the details recounted by Justin lead one to suppose that the festival in Marseilles was the Greek Thesmophoria. Although men were most likely prohibited from the ritual, they may have been admitted to certain less important functions and to some areas consecrated to the goddess. There is in fact no account of any dramatic representation of a marriage in the Thesmophoria, although during the Attic Anthesteria in honor of Dionysos a ritual marriage took place between the wife of the Archon-Basileus and the god Dionysos. Greek rites frequently celebrated the marriage of Kore-Persephone and Hades which the Romans solemnized as the union of Orcus and Ceres. Similarly, male nonparticipation, sexual freedom, and flagellation found in the worship of Flora and Bona Dea are
suggestive of the Thesmophoria. The Ceres-cult at Rome was Greek, and a votive inscription from Naples names a priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros. The Thesmophoria may possibly be the most ancient ritual honoring Demeter and her daughter observed at Rome where it was celebrated during the 'Ieiunium Cereris,' the fast of Ceres, in October. Rituals commemorating the union of Orcus and Ceres performed by the Pontifices, however, were undoubtedly not connected with a Roman Thesmophoria including as it did male participants. (On the sacred marriage in the Anthesteria, see Rose, Religion, pp. 81-82. Concerning this ritual and others discussed here for the Thesmophoria, see Farnell, Cults, 3: 99-103, 143.)

Why was Demeter called Thesmophoros? According to Farnell (ibid., pp. 91, 103-106), Thesmophoros was a very ancient cult-epithet of Demeter worshipped as a chthonic goddess of both human and agricultural fertility. Although she had many names and functions, Demeter was primarily an earth-mother for whom Thesmophoros is thought to be one of the titles used in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

This writer feels that Justin may have alluded to the Greek Thesmophoria in the passage (XLIII, 4, 6-7): plures scirpeis latentes frondibusque supertectos ('many hidden by rushes and covered with foliage'). It is known that during the Thesmophoria, or at least beginning on the second day of the celebration, besides the ritual fasting (Nestia) by the women who sat on the ground to commemorate Demeter's grieving for the lost Kore-Persephone, the female celebrants lived in small leaf-covered enclosures to be close to the earth's procreative forces. (See Rose, Religion, p. 77.) Justin may have alluded to this aspect of the Thesmophoria rite.
which Comanus employed to allow his men to gain admittance into Marseilles on the holy day of the festival. Clerc (Massalia, 1: 147) calls these booths 'leafy basket-like enclosures.' He adds (ibid., pp. 149-150) that men camouflaged by such enclosures easily would be able to gain entrance into the city, and into the festival as well, without being noticed.

It is likely that Justin was aware of the similarities in the cults of Flora and Demeter, both goddesses of fertility. Flora was later identified with the Greek goddess, Chloris, whose name signifies 'greenness.' It can be no mere coincidence that Demeter is called 'Chloë,' i.e., 'verdant.' There was a shrine of Demeter Chloë near the entrance to the Athenian Akropolis and a festival, the Chloia, of Demeter Chloë and Kore-Persephone was celebrated at Eleusis. At Mykonos, two sows (one of them pregnant) were sacrificed annually to Demeter Chloë, and in the spring her festival was joyously celebrated there in anticipation of the new crops. It is possible that the festival of Demeter Chloë was similar to the Thesmophoria. (On the cult of Demeter Chloë, see Farnell, Cults, 3: 33-39.)

There can be little doubt that the goddesses Demeter and Kore-Persephone, universally venerated by all Greeks, held a special place of honor among the Greeks of Marseilles. In view of the evidence presented here, their common cult must have been one of the earliest established in the city in the early sixth century B.C.


Roman altar decorated with garlands of corn-ears which are covered
40. Altar of Demeter and Kore-Persephone (cont.)

with poppies and suspended from boucrania. In between the garlands
are comic and tragic masks. Thought to be from Marseilles, the altar
is in the Borély Collection.

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 63, and note 154) reports that
an altar of Ceres and Bacchus is preserved in Marseilles. The altar, if
it were surely found in Marseilles, would be strong evidence for the cult
of Demeter and Kore-Persephone.

The corn-ears, poppies, and boucrania of the altar are known cult-
objects of Demeter and Kore-Persephone. The presence of the masks is
difficult to explain except that they may have been added for ornamental
effect. The fact that dramatic performances often accompanied sacred
festivals, especially those of Demeter and Kore-Persephone, may suggest
a reason for the masks on the altar. Yet motifs, having little or no
connection with themes of monumental religious architecture, were fre-
quently added just as decoration. Artistic representations of altars
closely resembling the one in Marseilles are known from ancient Greece
and other Mediterranean countries and are considered to have been used
during the celebration of the Thesmophoria honoring Demeter and Kore-
Persephone. Torch-carrying figures represented on some of the altars
possibly recall Demeter's search for her daughter. (See Farnell, Cults,
3: 214-230, on such representations; and Donaldson, Architectura
Numismatica, pp. xxix, 156-158, and pl. no. 43; Nilsson, Greek Religion,
p. 91; Rose, Religion, pp. 76-77; Imhoof-Bloomer and Gardner, Ancient
Coins, p. 7, no. 10, and pl. A 12-13; also plate XXVIII, nos. 92-93.)
The altar-frieze suggests that the altar was perhaps among the cult-objects used during the celebration of the Thesmophoria in Marseilles. The boucrania motif of the altar-frieze has an interesting history involving common animal sacrifices. Skulls, ashes, and other dedications were customarily left near or placed on altars. The skulls were often fastened to trees within the temenos or to the sides of temples. Hence, it became a common practice to decorate religious monuments with boucrania and may have been performed as part of the Thesmophoria. (About these animal offerings, as well as others connected with the Thesmophoria, see Nilsson, ibid., pp. 79-80; Rose, ibid.)

It is unfortunate that we possess no coins or medals of Marseilles portraying the celebration of the Thesmophoria. Such numismatic testimony would corroborate the evidence of the Massaliote altar and Justin's account (test. 39), thereby confirming the existence of the Thesmophoria in honor of Demeter and Kore-Persephone at Marseilles.

The fact that the Thesmophoria rites were carried on at night by the light of torches may suggest that, since Comanus and his men planned to besiege Marseilles cum nocte a praedictis apertae portae forent (Justin, XLIII, 4, 7), we have hit upon a further allusion to the Thesmophoria, to that part of the rite when torches would be carried in procession by the celebrants nocte.
DIONYSOS

41. EC 3 (1968-70): 1-4. (plate XXIX, nos. 94-95) Ca. second half of the 6th to the early 5th c. B.C.

1 [Δ]ΙΟΝΥΣΟ[--.]

2 [Δ]ΙΟΝΥΣΟ[I name_of_dedicant_(a_Massaliote2) ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ].

The first is G. Rougemont's restoration, the second is this author's restored text. The inscription was found in 1969 on a block of gray limestone at Marseille, Chantier de la Bourse, at the bottom of the port at the foot of the east quay (DIII). Aix, Faculté des Lettres d' Aix-en-Provence (Institut d' Archeologie), inv. no. 286.

In his article ("Inscriptions trouvées à Marseille," EC 3 [1968-70]: 1-4), Rougemont says this is a dedicatory inscription to Dionysos engraved on an altar or stone marker (stele). Because of the archaic Ionic lettering (long closed omicron, upsilon in V, and nu with double right angle), he assigns a fifth century B.C. date to the inscription. He suggests a comparison between this inscription and two others: the well-known 'galet d' Antibes' (I.G., 14, 2424) and the epitaph of Apellis the Massaliote at Delphi (test. 17). The late fifth century date of the Antibes inscription appears to corroborate Rougemont's dating of the Dionysos inscription. An earlier date around the second half of the sixth century B.C., however, has been assumed for the Apellis inscription and supported by its Ionic lettering and dialect. This author, therefore, has dated the Dionysos monument between the second half of the sixth and the early fifth centuries B.C.

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41. Dedicatory inscription to Dionysos (cont.)

Rougemont excludes the possibility of interpreting the name in the inscription as Dionysermos, a name quite familiar at Marseilles, because of the final omicron. He also suggests restoring the name as Dionysodoros, a name known in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and found in the index of I.G., I².

Rougemont's restoration has led this author to consider another possible way the inscription can be restored, namely, by adding the iota for the dedicatory dative and customary dedicatory phraseology. The name of the dedicant could possibly be that of a Massaliote. (See Woodhead, Greek Inscriptions, pp. 41, 49 [examples 10 and 11, which have the non-subscripted iota of the dedicatory dative]; also test. 24 for a similar restoration.)

An altar of Demeter and Dionysos in Marseilles (test. 40), although possibly pointing to a cult of Demeter and Kore-Persephone, is insufficient evidence for a cult of Dionysos. Ternaux has called it an altar of Ceres and Bacchus, but there is nothing on the altar to associate it with Dionysos. It is therefore not a separate testimonium in this study.

Dionysos (Bacchus) has also been tentatively identified by Benoît on a Gallo-Roman altar of the second century A.D. found at Marseilles. This important altar will be referred to again in the discussion of Hades (test. 69) and Isis (test. 81).

42. Coins of the ? Dionysos-type. (plate XXX, nos. 96-99)

Indeterminable date.

Although numismatic evidence attesting to the nature of Dionysos as a chthonic deity and patron of the arts is rare, it comes from
42. Coins of the ? Dionysos-type (cont.)

the coins of some Greek cities. Documentation of a cult of Dionysos in Marseilles from numismatic evidence is unsubstantial.

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 62, and note 152) says that there are coins of Marseilles which portray Bacchus. He cites three examples from Grosson (Recueil, pl. 3, nos. 2-3; pl. 5, no. 2).

In the first example, which according to Ternaux represents Bacchus (plate XXX, no. 96), the god appears with a cluster of grapes hanging from the top of the rear portion of the head or perhaps wearing a helmet out of the back of which protrudes a grape cluster. Grosson (ibid., p. 45) does not identify the figure on this bronze medallion. He simply says that the head is crowned with laurel and adorned with grapes. Grapes also appear on another bronze medallion behind the head of a figure which Grosson identifies as Bacchus (plate XXX, no. 98). Ternaux does not refer at all to a bronze medallion found in Grosson and identified by him as Apollo (ibid., pl. 5, no. 3; plate XXX, no. 97). Although Grosson thinks there are grapes behind the head, he does not exclude the possibility that the ornament might represent something else. Except for the question of the ornament, Grosson's identification of the figure on this medallion as Apollo is more convincing than Ternaux's assumption that the figure on medallion no. 96 represents Bacchus. One has only to refer to the representations of Apollo on the bronze coins of Marseilles (test. 10-11) to see that two specimens in Grosson (plate XXX, nos. 96-97) resemble these. The possibility of there being a grape cluster for a rear head ornament (no. 97) is weakened if one compares the minor types in the right field.
42. Coins of the ? Dionysos-type (cont.)

on the obverses of the Apollo bronzes. A cornucopia and a wing are two of the minor types, their shape very similar to the grape cluster ornament represented on nos. 96-97. The reverses of nos. 96-97 and of the bronze coins of the Apollo-type are the same: a bull rushing to the right with ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΗΤΩΝ in the exergue.

Ternaux (ibid., p. 63, and note 152) also alludes to two other bronze medallions in Grosson (plate XXX, nos. 98-99). Ternaux says that Grosson identifies Minerva (Athena) on both medallions because of a crescent on the reverse of each. It is difficult to judge from Ternaux's statement whether he himself identifies the figure on both obverses as Minerva, or whether he is representing the opinion of Grosson who he says has made such an identification. Grosson (ibid., pp. 37-38) in fact does not identify no. 98 as Minerva, but as Bacchus. He does so because he distinguishes a cluster of grapes hanging from the plume of the figure's helmet. According to Grosson, the head is that of a warrior. He thinks that the Massaliotes may have been induced to represent Bacchus, not Ares or Athena, as a warrior because he was the first to celebrate a triumph on his return from India. Grosson, however, also believes that the portrait on medallion no. 98 may represent Mars, who is naturally associated with war. He does add that the widespread reputation and commercial success of Massaliote wines (Pliny, Natural History, XIV, 2, 9; 8, 68) may have prompted the Massaliotes to strike this medallion in commemoration of both Dionysos' military exploits and association with the vine. Grosson thinks that the presence of a tripod on the reverse is strange
and it seems that he is not completely convinced that the figure on the obverse is Bacchus.

The figure on medallion no. 99 is identified by Grosson (ibid., pp. 38-39) as Minerva. He points out certain features which distinguish this figure from the one found in no. 98: a pearl necklace, more plumes on the Macedonian helmet, and feminine facial features. The grape cluster on no. 99 appears in the same place as on no. 98. Grosson argues that the figure represents Minerva because, as a tutelary divinity of the arts, she had a temple in Marseilles (test. 32, 35-36). He further suggests that this medallion of the Minerva-type probably indicates the wine trade supported by industry and the arts. Although he considers the reverses of both medallions to be the same, he notes that the tripod is different on each and could lead to other interpretations.

This author feels that the figures on medallions 98 and 99 represent Athena and not Dionysos. A comparison with the bronze coins of Marseilles of the Athena-type (test. 34) shows that the figure on nos. 98 and 99 is the same. The reverse type on the two medallions is essentially the same as on the bronze coins of the Athena-type except for minor stylistic differences: a tripod flanked on the right by the letters ΜΑΣ, on the left by the letters ΣΑ, and a crescent below. Grosson identifies the first group of letters as ΜΑΜ and the second group as ΜΑ. This author feels that the inscription on the medallions should be read with the tripod on the horizontal to read correctly ΜΑΣΣΑ. It seems that Grosson misinterpreted the inscription. The crescent is associated with
42. Coins of the ? Dionysos-type (cont.)

Athena as a fertility-goddess, a function which the crescent indicates. The cornucopia is another fertility symbol used as a minor type on some Massaliote bronze coins representing both Apollo and Athena. (See test. 34).

Grosson's suggestion that Athena appears on some medallions in connection with the wine trade in Marseilles is not improbable. Her affiliation with industry in general could very well have carried over to the wine industry and wine trade in Marseilles. It is possible, therefore, that grape clusters appear on some Massaliote coins of the Athena-type for this reason. It may be that the portrait on medallions 98 and 99 expresses a relationship of both Athena and Dionysos to the excellent Massaliote wines. The portrait on these medallions, however, should be identified only as Athena by comparison with the other Massaliote bronzes of the Athena-type.

43. Marble sarcophagus with Dionysiac scene.

(plate XXXI, nos. 100-101)

Marble sarcophagus with an inscription dating from the 2nd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, St. Victor, Marseilles, Museum Borély.

Bibl.: C.I.L., 12, 442; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 341-342, and note 1, 361-363, and fig. 57; Froehner, Catalogue, no. 146, pp. 58-59; Grosson, Recueil, pp. 165-167, pl. 22, fig. 2; Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 102, and pl. 22, no. 3; D. and G. Drocourt, Saint-Victor de Marseille: Site et monument (Marseille, 1973), no. 1.

The inscription on the sarcophagus is an epitaph to Julia Quintina of a Massaliote family. The relief scene on the sarcophagus is most
43. Marble sarcophagus with Dionysiac scene (cont.)

likely an adaptation of the myth of Dionysos and Ariadne, perhaps celebrating their marriage. In the middle portion of the relief scene are two Victories flanking an inscribed disc (the deceased's epitaph), beneath which sit two male figures. To the right of the disc a naked and standing Dionysos is riding in a chariot towards Ariadne who is proceeding towards him in her cart at the other end. The god holds a thyrsos in his left hand and is supported by a satyr on his right. His chariot is being drawn by a centaur and centauress. On the buttocks of the centaur is a standing Amor (Eros). Ariadne's cart also is being drawn by a centaur and centauress. Another Amor (Eros), standing with his right arm raised on the buttocks of this centaur, seems to be urging on his mount in the direction of Dionysos. Although the relief scene appears to be an adaptation of the Dionysos and Ariadne myth, Ariadne probably represents the heroised or apotheosized deceased (Julia Quintina) who is imagined to be the wife of Dionysos in the other world. The relief sculpture was probably done by a local artist.

44. Red-figure amphora (pelike)

(plate XXXII, nos. 102-104)

Red-figure Attic-type pelike in the manner of Hermonax (H. 0.30 m.) ca. 5th-4th c. B.C. with Bacchantes carrying a kantharos and a torch. Found at Marseilles, Saint-Mauront, chemin vicinal de Saint-Joseph in 1880. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 3592.

Bibl.: TMB, inv. no. 3592, and photo; BCF, case 1, no. 13, inv. no. 3592; Trezin, "Marseilles et l' économie" (photos);
44. Red-figure amphora (pelike) (cont.)


Of the two scenes represented on the pelike, that on side A is commonplace with no apparent connection to the cult of Dionysos in Marseilles. Two young men (*palaistrites* or wrestlers) draped are facing one another. Their feet are resting on a Greek key pattern. The figure on the left, his right shoulder bare, is leaning on a large staff. Above them, on the neck of the base, is a Greek key pattern.

The scene on side B has definite Dionysiac connections. There we find two Bacchantes in pleated, ankle-length tunics, crowned with ivy and with their feet resting on a Greek key pattern. The figure on the left carries a thyrsos in the right hand and a kantharos in the left. The figure on the right, the right hand extended toward the kantharos as if about to take it from her companion, carries a lighted torch in the left. Above the figures, on the neck of the vase, is a garland pattern.

The presence of the Bacchantes on the pelike, along with the ivy-crowns and the thyrsos which are the most common emblems associated with Dionysos, is further evidence of the observance of his cult in Marseilles.

The introduction of wine into southern Gaul may be connected to the diffusion of rites of Dionysiac origin there. Drinking vessels and torches found in this region were probably used in the worship of Dionysos as a god of the lower world associated with burials and life beyond the grave. Besides this pelike and an oinochoe (test. 45), many fifth and fourth century B.C. Ionian pottery fragments have been found in the
44. Red-figure pelike (cont.)

nekropolis of Ensérune, a Gallo-Roman oppidum west of Marseilles. (See Jannoray, Ensérune, p. 337.)

That the pelike was intended as a ritual article honoring the dead in a chthonic cult of Dionysos seems likely. The scene on side B allows for the interpretation that the vase was meant to be used for this purpose. Perhaps the pelike was a funerary offering for one of the young men appearing on side A who had passed away.

Saint-Mauront, where the pelike and other vases have been found, was the site of a small nekropolis in use from about the fifth century B.C. Most of the vases of this type were placed in and about the tombs of this nekropolis. (See Clerc, Massalia, 1: 311.) Compared with similar findings at Ensérune, the pelike should be among the cult-monuments of Dionysos in Marseilles.

45. Red-figure oinochoe with beveled spout. Ca. 5th-4th c. B.C. (funerary chytra) (plate XXXIII, nos. 105-107)

Red-figure Attic-type funerary chytra (H. 0.21 m.) ca. 5th-4th c. B.C. with a female and two male figures performing a libation.


Bibl.: TMB, inv. no. 3593, and photo; BCF, case 1, no. 4, inv. no. 3593; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 311, 313-314, fig. 82; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 349, no. 2093; Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 31, and pl. 3, no. 2; Clerc and d'Agnel, Découvertes, pp. 48-49, and note 1.

The chytra is a type of oinochoe used for pouring libations to the dead in honor of a god. It was found in the same nekropolis (Saint-Mauront)
as the pelike in test. 44 and probably also served as a ritual article for the dead in a ceremony honoring the chthonic Dionysos in Marseilles. On the front part of the neck is a design of overlapping plumes or papyrus leaves, the motif expressed in alternating rows of red and black. From the back of the neck, into which a crescent-shaped cut has been made, the handle extends to the middle of the body. On the handle is a leafy decoration which resembles mistletoe or olive. Below the handle on the back side of the body are palmette decorations.

On the front side of the chytra on the right are two young men (epheboi) facing left, each holding out with the right hand a phiale (a broad, flat bowl or saucer for drinking or pouring libations, used also as a cinerary urn) or patera (a broad, flat dish or saucer, used especially in offerings of the libation-type) to a young girl draped, filleted, and holding in the lowered left hand a trefoil oinochoe to fill their bowls with wine. The first young man, barefoot and his head slightly tipped, is armed with a cuirass and is leaning on a spear. (See plate XLVIII, no. 137, for the resemblance between this figure and a male figure represented on a Gallo-Roman altar from Marseilles who both appear to be making votive offerings to the dead.) The other youth on the front side of the chytra, his head lowered in a mournful attitude, is wearing a chlamys and, over the nape of the neck, a petasos. On his feet he is wearing endromides (high shoes) and he is armed with two spears in his left arm. The feet of all three figures rest on a Greek key pattern.

The significance of the scene on the chytra cannot be much different
45. Red-figure chytra (cont.)

from that on the pelike (test. 44), i.e., it relates to the libations and funerary rites connected with the worship of Dionysos. The fact that the chytra was found filled with ashes shows that it was intended to be used as a ritual article honoring the dead.

Fragments of Attic cups mixed with ashes have been found in many of the oldest burials from the nekropolis of Ensérune (test. 44). Careful study of these finds at Ensérune has revealed certain practices which seem to reflect a cult of Dionysiac inspiration beginning in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. Vases, like the chytra, were used to make a final offering at the funeral ceremonies and were then placed in the tombs or broken to insure for the dead the propitiatory benefits of the rites in which they had been employed. It became customary at Ensérune and elsewhere in France to use Greek vases as ossuary and cinerary urns as early as the fifth century B.C. Thus we see that the chthonic cult of Dionysos was introduced into Southern France from the Greek world. (See Jannoray, Ensérune, pp. 234-236, 338-339.)

The altar of Demeter and Dionysos in Marseilles (test. 40), although probably a cult-object sacred to Demeter and Kore-Persephone during the celebration of the Thesmophoria, is not reported here for a chthonic cult of Dionysos. Nothing on the altar is able to be connected with the god or his cult.

A black-glaze ewer, decorated with a garland of white leaves and blue berries below the neck, was also found in the nekropolis of Saint-Mauront in Marseilles. This fifth-fourth century B.C. Greek ewer, like
45. Red-figure chytra (cont.)
the chytra, was found filled with ashes. It is likely that it had been used as a funerary vase holding wine in honor of Dionysos in the burial rites performed in Marseilles. This is not a separate testimonium because there is no Dionysiac scene represented on it. (Additional information about this ewer and other vases from the Saint-Mauront necropolis is found in Clerc, Massalia, 1: 311, 314; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 349-350, no. 2094.)

46. Bacchante on Roman lamp. Roman period.

Roman terracotta lamp with a Bacchante in relief. Found at Marseilles, Bassin du Carénage. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1809.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 316, no. 1809.

On the lamp is a Bacchante draped and moving towards the left. She carries a double thyrsos over the shoulder and a tambourin (Provençal drum) in the lowered right hand.

Another Roman terracotta lamp in the Borély Collection was found at Apt (north of Marseilles and west of Avignon). On it a youthful Dionysos armed with a thyrsos has his left arm over the shoulders of a young Satyr who also holds a thyrsos (Froehner, ibid., p. 316, no. 1806). The lamp is not a separate testimonium because it was not found in Marseilles.

47. Pediment of a sepulchral monument. 1st c. B.C.
(plate XXXIV, no. 108)

Limestone pediment of a sepulchral monument (H. 0.50 m.; W. 0.84 m.)
Pediment of a sepulchral monument (cont.)

dating from the first century B.C. with panthers face to face
guarding an urn; between the capitals of the architrave, two
dolphins. Found at Marseilles, les Accoules, Palais de Justice,
in the excavations of the main sewer in 1889. Marseilles, Museum
Borély, inv. no. 1593.

Bibl.: GAB, room 1, no. 77, inv. no. 1593; Froehner, Catalogue,
pp. 28-29, no. 93; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 366, 368, and fig. 61.

The architrave of the monument rests on two Corinthian column
capitals. The pediment, bordered with acanthus leaves and perforated
seeds, has two akroteria placed at angles and moulded into semi-palmettes,
of which only the left one survives. The bas-relief of the tympanum
(the recessed space of the pediment) depicts two panthers face to face,
each placing a paw on an urn which has a conical lid. Between the
capitals is a conch flanked by two dolphins with lowered heads support­
ing the weight of the architrave with their tails.

Two of the emblems represented on the monument are frequently as­
associated with Dionysos in art. In Roman sculpture and some Greek the
panther is shown being ridden by Dionysos. The panther is also a frequent
motif on sarcophagi with or without Dionysos. Dolphins, mounted or alone,
quite often appear in funerary art as escorts of the dead and symbols of
the journey of the soul across the ocean to the other world. (See Toynbee,
Animals, pp. 84-85, 207-208; and test. 69, 81, where the bird is a con­
ductor of souls on a Gallo-Roman altar from Marseilles.)

It is likely that the presence of the panthers and dolphins on the
47. Pediment of a sepulchral monument (cont.)
pediment reflects the customary association of these animals with Dionysos both in cult and in art.

48. Vase with Dionysiac scene. Indeterminable date.

Greek white marble vase fragment (H. 0.26 m.) depicting a Dionysiac festival scene in relief. Found in Marseilles. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 175.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 74, no. 175.

In the center of the relief-scene, the aged Silenos is lying naked on a donkey and holding a kantharos in the left hand. With the right arm above his head he is making a gesture, characteristic of Dionysos in his cups. Next to Silenos is a dancing-girl. To his left are a dancing Pan, a panther, and a naked Bacchante playing the cymbals. Most of the figure of Pan does not survive, but one is able to distinguish a young panther and a staff in his arms.

49. Heads of Silenos. Ca. late 6th-4th c. B.C.

Two heads of Silenos. The first was found at Marseilles, Rue Négrel, and dates towards the end of the 6th c. B.C.; the second was discovered at Marseilles, Place de Lenche, and dates around the 4th c. B.C. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. nos. 3965, 3961.

Bibl.: BCF, case 1, nos. 21-22, inv. nos. 3965, 3961; Benoît, Docks romains, pp. 5, 14-15.

On a fourth-century B.C. lamp in the Borély Collection is the head of Silenos in relief. The lamp was found at Marseilleveyre, just outside
49. Heads of Silenos (cont.)

of Marseilles (BCF, case 1, no. 10, inv. no. 9866). Since the lamp was not found in Marseilles itself, it is not reported here as a separate testimonium.

The three Silenos heads represent artistic conceptions of nature divinities who are found accompanying Dionysos in ritual, art, and literature. They support the other evidence for this cult in Marseilles.


Greek theater of Marseilles ca. 5th-4th c. B.C. probably dedicated to Dionysos. Found at Rue des Martégales during the excavations of the ancient city and harbor (Vieux-Port) between 1946-1956.

Bibl.: Benoît, Docks romains, pp. 6-8, 10, 12, 16-17 (plate), 23; idem, "Topographie antique de Marseille: Le théâtre et le mur de Crinas." Gallia 24 (1966): 1-20; Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, pp. 40-41, fig. 3; Woodhead, Greeks in the West, pp. 68, 132, and plate 30.

The evidence available for judging how widespread the cult of Dionysos was in Gaul is not plentiful. More traces of his cult are found in the north than in the south. In Southern Gaul, Nîmes is known to have had a troupe of Dionysiac performers and the theater of Vienne furnishes evidence that it was dedicated to the service of god. In a few other localities of Southern Gaul monuments honoring him have been discovered. It would be hard to believe that Marseilles, an important center of Hellenic culture, did not dedicate its theater to Dionysos.
Theater of Dionysos (cont.)

The model of Marseilles reproduced in plate XXXV, no. 109 is based on the excavations carried on between 1946-1956. The theater, the temple of Apollo (test. 12), the temple of Artemis (test. 23), and the Roman docks are located on it with a reasonable degree of certainty.

The theater was identified in 1945 by H. Rolland on the slopes of Butte St. Laurent. What remains of the structure, three partially intact tiers, was excavated in 1963 (plate XXXVI, no. 110). Its plan and construction seem to be Greek. The theater was built in the fifth or fourth century B.C., destroyed in 49 B.C. during the siege of the city by Caesar, and reconstructed in the second half of the first century A.D. through the generosity of Crinas, the Massaliote physician who made a large monetary bequest to the city after its devastation (test. 29).

The site for the theater was well chosen. As the model shows, the theater was located at the foot of the northeast slope of the hill (Butte St. Laurent) on which the temple of Apollo Delphinios is thought to have stood. Dionysos was associated with Apollo as a god of poets and musicians. Apollo also ranked with Dionysos as a patron of the arts and of enlightened intellectualism.
Dioskouroi
(KASTOR AND POLYDEUKES)

Amyklaioi

51. I.G., 14, 2461. (plate XXXVII, no. 111) 2nd c. A.D.

The restored text of the original Greek inscription is that of A. Lebèque. The inscription was found in 1613 on a block of Cassis limestone in the house of the Pieresc family at Marseilles. It is thought that the inscription made its way to the Museum of Aix about 1786. Aix, Granet Museum, inv. no. 94.

This funerary inscription of the second century A.D. is an epitaph to a young sailor. Inscriptions which cast light on the beliefs and hopes of the deceased and their friends are rare. This inscription (I.G., 14, 2461) and one other discussed in this study (I.G., 14, 2437; test. 75) develop this subject in funerary literature. Both inscriptions, written in Greek verse, are from the second century A.D. (This topic is discussed in Clerc, Massalia, 2: 377-381. See also Rougemont, "Inscriptions," p. 4 [and notes 15-16].)
In this inscription the maritime religious cult in question is that of the Dioskouroi. Kastor and Polydeukes, the divine twins, are most often called the Dioskouroi, or "Sons of Zeus." Their mother is generally thought to be Leda, wife of King Tyndareos of Sparta, and their sisters are Klytemnestra and Helen. Traditionally, the Dioskouroi are associated with Sparta, the chief city of Lakonia which was the south-eastern district of the Peloponnesos. But it is actually Amyklai, a town about three miles south of Sparta and one of the most renowned cities of the Peloponnesos in the Heroic Age, which was the legendary abode of both Tyndareos and the Dioskouroi. In Amyklai the twins were called Amyclaei Fratres (Pausanias, III, 1, 3; Statius, Thebaid, VII, 413). Among their many activities, the Dioskouroi as saviors and protectors specialized in warding off a particular kind of danger from those who were especially dear to them. (See test. 13, where a similar function is found in the cult of Apollo Apotropaios.) Viewed in this way, the Dioskouroi rescued sailors in distress by calming the storm. St. Elmo's light was connected with them. Its appearance on a ship at sea was considered to be auspicious. (On this phenomenon, see Rose, Religion, p. 90.)

In the Massaliote inscription the Dioskouroi are called "Child-gods of Amyklai, Protectors of Sailors." Although the divine twins as Dioskouroi are called "boys" and "sons" of Zeus, they are commonly named "children" or, as in the inscription, "child-gods." As "child-gods," the Dioskouroi are connected with the divine-Zeus-child of Crete. (See Nilsson, Greek Religion, pp. 34-35.) As "Protectors of Sailors," the Dioskouroi
51. I.G., 14, 2461 (cont.)

are known to have been referred to by the epithets πλωτηρεῖς ('sailors,' 'navigators') and σωτηρεῖς ('saviors,' 'guardians').

The cult of the Dioskouroi appears to have been popular in Gaul and in the other Roman provinces (Tacitus, Germania, XLIII, 4-5). In Gaul the gods were worshipped as astral divinities, protectors of navigation, and horsemen having a large following among young men. They are also employed as funerary symbols.

The Massaliote epitaph implies that in the second century A.D. there were living in Marseilles professional sailors who earned their living by trading from port to port in the Mediterranean. Instead of our hearing of the many places the deceased sailor visited during his voyages, we learn in his epitaph that he possessed a deeply religious soul, and believed in the after-life.
DIOΣKOUROI

Lacones

52. C.I.L., 12, 475 (and add. to 475). Ca. 2nd c. A.D.

LA[CONIBUS]

The inscription was found on a marble tablet (votive) at Marseilles in Saint-Victor in an underground chapel near the altar of Beata Maria de Confessione.

The inscription is dedicated to the Laconian (gods). Lacones is an epithet of Kastor and Polydeukes, the sons of the Spartan Leda. For example, in Martial (I, 37, 2; IX, 4, 11) they are referred to as Ledaei Lacones. This dedication has a closer connection with their mother, the Spartan Leda, than the epitaph does (test. 51). The actual father of the Twins, whether Tyndareos or Zeus, is disputed, although Leda is considered to have borne them. Both epithets, 'Amyklaoi' and 'Lacones,' reflect the traditional association of the Dioskouroi with Sparta, the chief city of Lakonia. (See Carter, Epitheta Deorum, pp. 21 and 130.)


Although the Dioskouri are represented on coins of a few Greek cities, including Phokaia, numismatic evidence attesting to their cult in Marseilles is unsubstantial.

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 63) asserts that the Dioskouri occasionally appear on the coins of Marseilles, but he offers no documentation of this.
53. Coins of the Dioskouroi-type?

In this author's opinion, the appearance of the Dioskouroi on certain Imperial issues of Phokaia possibly suggests that the colony may have minted coins of the same type. On the reverse of these coins the Dioskouroi are represented standing beside each other and ready for combat (plate XXXVII, nos. 112-113.) Their right hands brandish a spear while their left hands hold a shield at breast level. On the reverses of other Phokaian issues, a prow or galley is surmounted by caps of the Dioskouroi. It is likely that the portraits of the Dioskouroi on coins 112-113 are reproductions of archaic statues from their posture, nudity, and taut musculature. They closely resemble Greek kouroi statues. In example 112, a coin of Domitian, the gods wear a conical cap and their hair falls in plaits upon the shoulders in the manner of the kouros-type. In example 113, a coin of Marcus Aurelius, they are thought to be represented with their heads uncovered and with hair rolled up in a padded fashion about the head. No statues of the Dioskouroi have been found in Phokaia or in Marseilles. (Further details about these and other coins on which the Dioskouroi are represented are found in Lacroix, Reproductions de statues, pp. 64-65, 195, 220-221, pl. 2, nos. 16-17, and passim. Lacroix, along with E. Babelon, suggests that the Phokaian artist Telephanes may have engraved the coins of the Dioskouroi-type. See also Head, Historia Numorum, p. 590. On Telephanes, see Chapter I, pp. 8-9.)
EPONA

54. Fragment of a lintel (plate XXXVIII, no. 114) 3rd-2nd c. B.C.

Painted and engraved Coudoux limestone frieze (H. 0.30 m.; W. 0.30 m.; L. 0.40 m.) dating from the 3rd-2nd c. B.C. and decorated with four stylized horse protomes. Found by H. de Gerin-Ricard in the excavations of the Kelto-Ligurian sanctuary of Roquepertuse (Velaux), northwest of Marseilles, 1920-1923; Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 6015-2.

Bibl.: GAB, no. 18, inv. no. 6015-2; TMB, inv. no. 6019, and photo; Benoît, L’art primitif, pp. 31-32, and pl. 13.

The four equine heads, seen in profile, are line-engraved and still have some traces of red paint. A connection between the horses on the lintel fragment and Epona seems possible. This point will be developed below.

Epona is the Keltic horse-goddess. Her name is similar to the Latin equus and may be derived from the Greek ἐπόνος. Epona has many roles. As a mother-goddess, she is a protectress of the dead, patroness of military horsemen, and tutelary goddess of all equine animals. She is identified with Artemis and Kybele as a 'mistress of wild animals.' Epona, riding on horseback or represented zoomorphically by the horse, is an important funerary symbol for the voyage of the soul of the heroised or apotheosized deceased to the other world. The goddess is found in single and multiple form in insular Keltic mythology. (See Dontenville, Histoire et géographie mythique, pp. 109-110, 137-164; Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 46-48; Benoît, Art et Dieux, pp. 112-115; idem, Les mythes de l'Outre-
54. Fragment of a lintel (cont.)


There is no direct evidence for the worship of Epona in Marseilles. She was widely worshipped, however. A large number of dedications to Epona, the Great Mare, have been found in Roman Gaul. Most of these dedications were made by her devotees in the Roman army. She is the only Gallic divinity honored at Rome during the Empire. In Southern Gaul, especially, she was venerated as a funerary symbol. She also comprised many aspects of the matres, mother-goddesses, whose worship was attached to streams and rivers. For instance, Epona was worshipped with the Matres Ubelnae at the Huveaune River east of Marseilles. (See Benoît, Art et dieux, p. 96, concerning Epona's connection with this cult of the matres. See also test. 102.)

This author is the first to identify the Roquepertuse equine relief with Epona. He gives the following reason for this identification. As pointed out above, in her role as protectress of the dead Epona is frequently conceived zoomorphically as a horse symbolizing the journey of the heroised or apotheosized dead to the next world. The Kelto-Ligurian sanctuary of Roquepertuse was dedicated to the cult of the heroised or apotheosized dead. Besides the symbol of the horse, there are other
non-human forms of life found in sculpture at Roquepertuse which seem also to be symbolically connected with the worship of the dead (test. 77).

That the horses of Roquepertuse are symbols of the goddess Epona is a possible identification because the goddess in Gallic art has been found in single and multiple form, represented symbolically by the horse, and associated with the cult of the dead. The Roquepertuse horses must have some relationship to the cult of the dead or they would not have been sculptured in that particular sanctuary. They must have some funerary role as the other non-human forms of life sculptured there seem to have. The most likely role they play in the opinion of this writer is that they represent the well-known Gallic goddess Epona.

The presence of zoomorphic representations of any form of life at Roquepertuse seems to have come from the Greek artisans of Marseilles. It would seem that Epona's veneration at Roquepertuse would have been transmitted to Marseilles by the same avenues that plastic representation came to Roquepertuse. Especially in later Marseilles, but within the scope of this study, when the goddess was a special patron of the Roman soldiery, it is possible, it is even likely that she was venerated at Marseilles. This is offered only tentatively as evidence.
EROS

55. Bronze statuette of Eros. Ca. 2nd-3rd c. A.D.
(plate XXXIX, no. 115)

Bronze statuette of Eros (H. 0.12 m.) dating from ca. 2nd-3rd c.
A.D. Found at Marseilles between 1860 and 1870 in the necropolis
of Carénage. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 759.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 154, no. 759; Clerc, Massalia, 2:
359, note 3, and fig. 51.

Eros, completely nude, is holding a lighted torch in his right
hand which is hanging by his right side. In his raised left hand he held
a small object, now lost, perhaps the butterfly symbolizing Psyche, or
possibly a small bow or arrow. His head, lowered and turned toward the
right shoulder, is thickly covered with hair which is braided in twists.
The left leg is behind the right. The wings, as indicated by both
Froehner and Clerc, have been broken off.

At first glance this small statuette presents itself as meager
evidence for an established cult of Eros in Marseilles. It is doubtful
that Eros' cult was as popular among the Massaliotes as those of Apollo,
Artemis, and Athena. His cult, however, was popular in some Greek cities.

Statues of Eros are known from antiquity. The most celebrated of
these, according to Pausanias (IX, 27, 1-4) and Pliny (Nat. Hist., XXXVI,
22), were executed by Praxiteles at Thespiae and Parion. (For details and
information on these and other statues of Eros, see Stuart-Jones, Ancient
Writers, pp. 152-154, 160-161, 206; Jex-Blake and Sellers, The Elder
Pliny, pp. 77, note 10, 194, notes 7 and 9, 195; Lacroix, Reproductions

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55. Bronze statuette of Eros (cont.)


That the Massaliotes venerated Eros in their city is possibly supported by the existence of his bronze statuette found in the Carénage necropolis. The cult of Eros, however, does not seem to have attracted as many followers as other cults in Marseilles. Eros probably figured more often in Massaliote art and gained prominence in such scenes as the one on the sarcophagus from Saint-Victor (test. 56) and in others where he appeared as an important character in episodes of classical myths. (See test. 43, where Eros is part of a mythological scene representing the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne on a marble sarcophagus, also from Saint-Victor in Marseilles.)

The Massaliote Eros could be an example of religious funerary sculpture since the torch (in the statue's right hand) is associated with the worship of the dead. Both the torch and the butterfly (not now in the statue's left hand) are early symbols of the Greek belief in the close relationship of the ideas of life and death. The torch, and perhaps even the butterfly, were connected to the mysteries of the underworld and functioned as fertility symbols. This Eros is referred to again under test. 101.
56. Marble sarcophagus. (plate XL, nos. 116-117) Ca. 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

Marble sarcophagus of an infant with relief scene (H. 0.33 m.; L. 1.30 m.) depicting 'Cupids (Amores) forging the arms of Mars.'


Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 73-74, no. 174; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 363, and fig. 58; D. and G. Drocourt, Saint-Victor de Marseille, no. 2; Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 103; Benoit, Art et dieux, pp. 120-121; Grosson, Recueil, pp. 165-166, and pl. 22, no. 1.

The relief scene appearing on the front of the sarcophagus is divided into four groups. In the first group, moving from left to right, are two Cupids forging a large round shield which is situated to the right in front of a hearth resembling a small altar. One of the Cupids is holding a tool, at the foot of the other is a cuirass. In the second group are three Cupids forging a greave. In the third group are two Cupids holding a disc which rests on the head and spread wings of a sphinx seated frontal. On the disc is the she-wolf nursing the twins, Romulus and Remus, a scene often appearing on the reverse of Roman medallions or asses. It has been suggested that the arms which the Cupids are forging for Mars, father of the twins, are probably those of Aeneas. In the last group are other Cupids forging a helmet, each of them wearing a chlamys tied at the hips. At each end of the side surfaces of the sarcophagus is a seated griffon, a known funerary symbol. The subject depicted on the Marseilles sarcophagus was popular with the Romans. The famous 'Galeria Justiniana' contained a tomb which was generally similar
56. Marble sarcophagus (cont.)

to the one in Marseilles. It portrayed Cupids performing the same functions and had the same medallion scene of Romulus and Remus in the center of the composition. The relief work on the Marseilles sarcophagus is reminiscent of Roman statuary and may have been inspired by an original Greek composition.
57. Mosaic of Europa. Ca. 3rd c. A.D.

Gallo-Roman mosaic depicting the abduction of Europe from around the 3rd c. A.D. From the excavations of the ancient city and harbor (Vieux-Port) of Marseilles between 1947-1948. Marseilles, Museum of the Roman Docks and Ancient Commerce.

Bibl.: Benoît, Docks romains, pp. 6, 14.

The Roman docks, where the Europa mosaic was found, occupied the site of older structures dating back to the sixth century B.C. The harbor continued to be used after the siege of Marseilles by Caesar in 49 B.C. Large, open warehouses were built above the harbor. The ground floor of these warehouses contained large storage jars for grain, wine, and oil, as well as shops where goods could be bought and traded. The shop in which the Europa mosaic was found was built in the second half of the first century A.D. when many public monuments (theater and rampart) destroyed during the siege of Caesar were reconstructed through the generosity of the Massaliote physician Crinas (test. 29, 50). The shop containing the Europa mosaic occupied the ground level of a building which supported a floor luxuriously appointed with polychrome marble flooring, mosaics, and red and blue painted stucco-work, fragments of which have turned up in the ruins of the building and in dolia (large wine jars). The upper floor, which probably housed the Europa mosaic and others like it, is thought to have contained the administrative offices of the Roman docks. A roof tile uncovered in the debris is engraved with the name MARI, a famous Massaliote potter, whose reputation was known throughout
57. Mosaic of Europa (cont.)

Gaul, especially in Monaco, Cimiez, Antibes, Grasse, Fréjus, Saint-Cyr-sur-Mer, on the east coast of Corsica, and as far as Ampurias and Tarragona. (See Benoist, ibid., pp. 10-12, 14).

The Europa mosaic, although probably strictly decorative, could have some religious significance. As argued by Farnell, Europa riding on a bull may be the Cretan equivalent of Artemis Tauropolos and it is likely that the Greeks called the Cretan earth-goddess Europa. Diktynnna-Britomartis, a Cretan goddess associated with Artemis (test. 24-27), has also been connected with Europa. (For this view, see Farnell, Cults, 2: 479, and notes c, d, e, who also says [ibid., pp. 440, note b, 441, note 35, 451, note 50, 566, 570] that the worship of Artemis Tauropolos was found in Phokaia. See also Graves, Greek Myths, 1: 301-302 [89.2].)

The abduction of Europa is also the subject of a well-preserved mosaic from Trinquetaille now in Arles (plate XLI, no. 118). The mosaic was not found in Marseilles and so is not reported here as a separate testimonium. The right hand of Europa is resting on the nape of the bull's neck, and the raised left hand is holding the end of a long yellow and purple scarf or veil blowing in the wind over her head. The bull, in three-quarter view, is galloping over the top of the waves which cover his hindquarters slightly. (This mosaic and others found in Provence are discussed further in Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 117, 120, and pl. 25, no. 4.)


Terracotta statuette depicting the abduction of Europa (H. 0.16 m.)
58. Statuette of Europa (cont.)

from around the archaic period. Found at Tanagra. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1095.


Europa is on the back of a bull which is swimming across the waves of the sea. She is wearing a blue chiton, her arms and one of her breasts are exposed. Her left arm is placed on the nape of the bull's neck, her right hand is holding part of her garment. A yellow-painted headband is worn around her head. The exposed parts of Europa are flesh tone, her hair is reddish, and the water is colored blue. (Reasons for the treatment of the Europa-myth as an art form are put forth by Benoît, "Le mythe d'Europe et la naissance de la civilisation d'Occident," Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix 38 [1964]: 273-296.)
Aborigines primos in his regionibus quidam visos esse firmarunt, Celtas nomine regis amabilis et matris ejus vocabulo Galatas dictos: ita enim Gallos sermo graecus appellat.

This passage about the ethnogeny of the Gauls has implications for the cults and mythology of Marseilles because it involves the saga of Herakles (test. 91), whose cult was recognized not only in Marseilles but through Southern Gaul, and indeed through the whole Greco-Roman world.

As Herakles was passing through Gaul, after fetching the Cattle of Geryon, he founded the city of Alesia (Côte-d'Or, northwest of Dijon) and fell in love with the daughter of the king of that region. They married and had a son, Galates (Γαλατῆς), who later reigned over all Gaul and gave his name to the land of the Galates—Galatia. His mother, who was reportedly named Galata (as Timagenes implies), is said to be the ancestress not only of the Gauls of Alesia but of all the Gallic race. (See P. Grimal, Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine [Paris, 1951], p. 163.)
The episode of Herakles in Gaul is derived from Diodorus. Porthenios of Nice (Erotica Pathemata, VIII) says that the princess was named Keltine and the son born to her and Herakles was Keltos, from whom the Kelts derive their name. Opinions on the origin of the name Galata were much divided in antiquity. Appian (Illyrika, II) states that Polyphemos and the Sicilian nymph Galatea had sons named Keltos, Illyrios, and Galas, after whom the Keltoi, Illyrioi, and Galatai are called. Timaeus (History [s.v. Galateia, in Etymologicum Magnum]) asserts that Galatia was named after Galatos (Galates), son of the Cyclops and Galatea. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Roman Antiquities, XIV, 1) relates that, according to legend, Herakles and Asterope, the daughter of Atlas, had two sons, Iberos and Keltos, who gave their own names to the lands which they ruled. According to a different version, the whole country is commonly called Keltike by the Greeks from a giant Keltos who ruled there. (See Cougny, Gallikon, 2: 372-375, 506-509, 480-483; 4: 74-75, 222-223.)

Additional evidence about the origin of the Galatai (Galatians), which suggests a connection between Galata-Galates and Marseilles, is discussed in test. 61.
Eustathius, in his commentary of the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, proposes imaginative etymologies for the words Galatic (Galata), Galatos (Galates), and Massalia (Marseilles). Strabo (IV, 1, 6) reports that the Galatic Gulf is also called Massaliotic:

\[\text{τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον . . . . καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Μασσαλιωτικὸν.}\]

Strabo probably took his information about the Gulf from Artemidoros and Posidonios, who refer to the Galatic Gulf. The origin of this name goes back either to Polybios, who knew of a Massaliotic mouth of the Rhône (III, 41, 5), or more probably to Timaeus. The etymology which Eustathius proposes for the name of the Gulf (Massalia = Galatic) suggests that in the second century A.D. (the time of Dionysius' *Periegesis*), or perhaps even as far back as the fourth century B.C. (Timaeus) or earlier, the Galatic Gulf was already being referred to as Massaliotic. Eustathius and his source Dionysius both name Galates as the son of Apollo. Although the *Periegesis* does not name the mother of Galates, it is likely that there are two variants of the legend, both having Galata and Galates as the mother and son, but one naming Herakles as the father and the other identifying him as Apollo. (See Lasserre, *Strabon*, p. 206, note 8; Duval, *La Gaule jusqu'au milieu du 5e siècle: Les sources de l'histoire de France*, 2 vols [Paris, 1971], 1: 833-834, concerning the derivation of
The association of Galates and Galata with Marseilles likely point to an observance of Gallo-Greek mythological tradition. Galata, ancestress of the Gallic race, may have been recognized as a city-goddess by the Massaliotes, but a devotion to her was perhaps overshadowed by their own special goddess Massalia (test. 99-100). A Massaliote devotion to Galates was probably not as great as it was to Lakydon (test. 98). Since Galata was associated with waterways, both large and small, she possibly was venerated as a river-goddess. The evidence seems to indicate that a tributary of the Rhône (located in or around Marseilles) or the Galatic Sea (Gulf), bore her name. If Galates was indeed sired by Apollo, then a connection of Galata and Galates with Marseilles is certainly possible, since Apollo Delphinios was worshipped as a Massaliote maritime divinity. The association of Galata and Galates with the wanderings of Herakles through Gaul, and in the vicinity of Marseilles, connects them with the mythological history of the Massaliotes.
62. Perfume vase (balsamaire). (plate XLII, no. 119) Second half of the 6th c. B.C.

Terracotta perfume vase in the shape of a gorgon's head (H. 0.363 m.) dating second half of the 6th c. B.C. Found at Marseilles, Rue Négrel, in 1946. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 3966.

Bibl.: TMB, inv. no. 3966, and photo; BCF, case 1, no. 6, inv. no. 3966.

The myth of Gorgo or Medusa, whose head, plastically expressed, was supposed to turn away evil spirits, was always popular in Greek art. During the archaic period Perseus killing the monster and pursued by Gorgons was a familiar subject. In the classical period Gorgo-Medusa becomes more human in appearance. In Hellenistic art the head of the dying Gorgon has been transformed into a beautiful maiden. She was often represented as a running winged daimon, especially in Corinthian art. The Gorgoneion, or image of Gorgo-Medusa, was an apotropaic symbol from earliest times.

This Gorgoneion-shaped vase from Marseilles may have been associated with the worship of Athena on whose shield the Gorgon's head was usually depicted. The vase, thought to be of Ionian or Rhodian origin, dates from the second half of the sixth century B.C. It may also have been kept in a Massaliote household for everyday cosmetic uses. Because of its supposed apotropaic quality, it may have served as a dedication to protect the deceased from evil spirits. There is also evidence of an apotropaic cult of Apollo in Marseilles (test. 13).
Red-figure cup fragment.  
(plate XLIII, no. 120)  
Ca. late 5th-early 4th c. B.C.

Fragment of a late 5th-early 4th c. B.C. red-figure cup with Gorgoneion motif. Found at Marseilles, excavations of Pharo in the gardens of the old imperial palace, in 1875-1876. Marseilles, Museum Borély.

Bibl.: Clerc and d' Aglel, Découvertes, pp. 48-50, and pl. 1, fig. 10; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 307, 314, and note 1.

Gorgo Medusa, represented on the red-figure cup, has the usual characteristics of round eyes and enormous, gaping mouth.

Medallion or mask decoration of Gorgo-Medusa.  
(plate XLIII, no. 121)  
Ca. late 5th-early 4th c. B.C.

Medallion or mask decoration in the shape of a human head, most probably that of Gorgo-Medusa, which was fastened to a red-figure vase. Found at Marseilles, excavations of Pharo in the gardens of the old imperial palace, in 1875-1976. Marseilles, Museum Borély.

Bibl.: Clerc and d' Agnel, Découvertes, pp. 48-50, and pl. 1, fig. 7 (and frontispiece); Clerc, Massalia 1: 307, 314, and note 1; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 347-348, no. 2079.

The human head appliqué, of the best Greek style, has been identified by Clerc and d' Aglel as Gorgo-Medusa. Her countenance has been transformed into a more human-like and beautiful type, no longer endowed with the earlier terrifying appearance but still retaining its apotropaic quality. The head of the Gorgoneion appliqué is beardless and has curly hair. It has a slightly bulging shape and decorated a vase, either the bowl of a cup or more probably the vertical handle of an oinochoe. By
64. Medallion or mask decoration of Gorgo-Medusa (cont.)

comparison, M.A. de Ridder and M.C. Robert point out two heads of Silenos employed in the same fashion, one of which is still attached to a fourth-century oinochoe.

Clerc and d' Agnel have remarked that the face of the medallion-mask, though beardless, has a rather manly appearance. At closer examination they have identified vine-branches mixed in with the hair on the crown of the head. Both think that this detail must have been more visible by the color which has completely disappeared and they suggest that the figure represented by the medallion-mask, like the Silenoi of the fourth-century oinochoe, may be someone associated with Dionysos. Gorgo-Medusa, however, is portrayed both bearded and beardless in art, and the frequent virile quality of portraits in Greek art comes from idealized rendering which was extremely popular with artists in the classical period.


Large mask of Gorgo-Medusa (H. 0.34 m.) of Carrara marble from the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1667.

Bibl.: GAB, room 1, no. 68, inv. no. 1667; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 69, no. 167.

The face of Gorgo-Medusa has the characteristic gaping smile, with the mouth half-open. She has small wings and serpents are intertwined within her curled hair. The chin, the lower part of the right cheek and part of the hair are broken off. The mask was used to decorate a tomb.
(plate XLIII, no. 122) 

Large limestone mask of Gorgo-Medusa (H. 0.61 m.; W. 0.60 m.) from around the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. Found at Aix, Chemin de Toulon, in 1803 (Clerc thinks that the mask originally came from around Marseilles). Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1708.  

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 86, no. 208; GAB, room 1, no. 69, inv. no. 1708; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 368, note 4, 369, fig. 65; idem, Aquae Sextiae, pp. 456-457, note 2.  

Clerc has identified the mask as Gorgo-Medusa. The mouth and eyeballs are effectively hollowed, the thick hair forms two layers of curls in ringlets, and a wide ribbon or band hangs like a garland above the forehead. The countenance of Gorgo-Medusa is tragic and realistically startling. The mask decorated a funerary monument.

(plate XLIII, no. 123) 

Large terracotta mask of Gorgo-Medusa (H. 0.19 m.) from around the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Rue de la République, in 1865. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 2074.  

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 346, no. 2074; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 368, note 3, 369, fig. 64; BCF, case 5 no. 29, inv. no. 3574.  

The Gorgoneion mask has the mouth and eyes hollowed and the mouth gaping--characteristic features of Gorgo-Medusa in many artistic representations. The mask decorated a tomb.

68. Silver obols of the Gorgoneion-type. Ca. mid-late 6th c. B.C.  
(plate XLIII, nos. 124-127)
68. Silver obols of the Gorgoneion-type (cont.)

Series of silver obols bearing the likeness of Gorgo-Medusa from around the mid-late 6th c. B.C. The obols are among more than two thousand various types found in 1867 near the village of Auriol, twenty-seven kilometres from Marseilles. On the reverse of the Auriol Hoard obols is an incuse square.


The issues of the Auriol obols and diobols are considered to have been the first known coins used in Marseilles. It should be noted, however, that the Gorgoneion-type of the obverse was probably borrowed from coins of other Greek cities. (See Benoît, *Art et dieux*, pp. 66, 143; Clerc, *Massalia*, 1: 200, for the various cities using the same obverse-type from which these Massaliote coins derived their artistic inspiration.)

The Gorgoneion motif seems to have been popular and widespread in Provence. A few examples of its use in areas outside of Marseilles are discussed below. These are not separate testimonia because they were not found in Marseilles itself.

The ancient and widespread cult of the skull, belonging to the religious practice of worshipping the heroised or apotheosized deceased (test. 77), is known to have been especially prominent in Southern France,
68. Silver obols of the Gorgoneion-type (cont.)

primarily in the regions around Marseilles. In this type of worship, the human mask is thought to have an apotropaic importance identical to that of the Gorgoneion. The Gorgoneion as an apotropaic symbol is known in Greece since the time of Homer (Odyssey, XI, 633ff.). Its use as a tutelary symbol is seen from some examples found near Marseilles. These are a votive human detached or solitary head on the stock of a lead anchor (in the Borély Collection) from a Hellenistic shipwreck of Porquerolles (Îles d'Hyères, east of Marseilles) (plate XLIV, no. 128); a similar head carved in relief from the Massaliote fortress of Castellet at Fontvieille (northeast of Arles) (plate XLIV, no. 129); a Gorgoneion on the pectorals of certain statues of heroised or apotheosized warriors from Entremont (northwest of Marseilles) (plates XLIV-XLVII, nos. 130-135); and a Gorgoneion in the shape of a crescent on a section of bronze accoutrement also from Entremont (plate XLVII, no. 136). Other carved heads with the apotropaic qualities of the Gorgoneion have been found at Barcelona, Monte Sirai in Sardinia, and Comminges (Haute-Garonne) in France. The persistence of the detached head identified with the Gorgoneion, its relationship with funerary religion, and its association at Entremont with the statues of the heroised or apotheosized deceased, bear witness to its religious importance in Southern France. The Gallic interpretation of the Gorgoneion, however, has none of the conventional traits of the head of the classical Gorgo-Medusa. (Discussion and other details about the Entremont statues, the apotropaic nature of the cut-off or detached head, and the connection with Gorgo-Medusa in Southern Gaul are found in Benoît, "Gorgone et 'tête coupée': Du rite au mythe," Archivo
68. Silver obols of the Gorgoneion-type (cont.)

Español de Arqueología 42 [1969]: 81-83; idem, Art et dieux, pp. 43, 66-69, 163, 166, and ills. 46, 50, 94, 104; idem, L'art primitif, pp. 20-27, 44-53, 61, 63, 65-67, fig. 12, and plates 5, no. 11, 24, nos. 1-3, 40, nos. 1-2, 46, nos. 1-2, 47, nos. 1-2, 55; and idem, Entremont, pp. 65-99, 103-104, and figs. 47, 52, 54-57, 73, 77-81.)
HADES
(AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD)

69. Gallo-Roman altar. (plate XLVIII-XLIX, nos. 137-138) 2nd c. A.D.

Gallo-Roman altar (H. 0.66 m; W. 0.52 m. and 0.40 m.; L. 0.62 m.) fashioned from a rectangular block of marble, dating from the 2nd c. A.D., and representing the Mallet (Hammer) God and the Goddess of Abundance. Found at Marseilles between 1947-1948, Place de Lenche, in the wall of a house built in 1614. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 3969-3970. A plaster cast is in the Museum of the Roman Docks and Ancient Commerce, Marseilles.

Bibl.: Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 90-91, 168, and ill. 136; idem, Docks romains, p. 5, no. 6; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 375-376 (notes 1-3); Grosson, Recueil, pp. 155-157, and pl. 20, no. 1; GAB, no. 73, inv. no. 3969; TMB, inv. no. 3970, and photo.

The front of the altar is divided into three parts: the bottom portion contains a dedicatory inscription whose decipherment has been much disputed; above the inscription is a boat carrying two passengers guided by a bird perched on the prow; in the top portion are represented three figures—a male above the ship's prow, a female to his right, and a dog between them.

Although the altar has generally been considered to be a funerary or votive offering, the identification of the relief figures in the upper and middle portions has not been absolutely determined. Benoît thinks that the two principal figures in the top portion represent the Mallet (Hammer) God and the Goddess of Abundance between whom is the dog of Silvanus. The god holds a libation vase in the right hand and a long-
69. Gallo-Roman altar (cont.)

[Handling mallet in the left. (See text. 45, where a male figure is similarly represented on a funerary chytra.)] The goddess carries a cornucopia in the left hand. To his left are the feet of another figure tentatively identified by Benoît as Dionysos. To the right of the goddess there remains the lower half of a male figure, who may be Hermes holding a baton in the left hand. The two passengers in the boat have not been positively identified, although Benoît reports a belief held by the people of Marseilles that the figures represent Lazarus and Mary Magdalene. Benoît thinks, however, that the altar is an ex-voto of a navigator, the deities are protectors of successful navigation, and the bird is the conductor of souls to the other world.

Clerc argues that the upper, middle, and lower portions of the monument do not belong together but have been joined. He feels that the male figure in the upper part may be the Mallet God of the Gauls and suggests that the female figure is possibly a goddess. He adds that Froehner, who may have examined the monument, recognized the three figures as Diana, Fortuna to her right, and a dog. According to Clerc, Espérandieu considered the boat relief to be funerary. Clerc himself says only that the two figures are passengers in a boat.

Grosson, whose drawing of the altar and its relief figures is imprecise (plate XLIX, no. 138), does not identify any of them. He says, however, that the monument is a nautical ex-voto probably dedicated in Apollo's temple at Marseilles. He further suggests that the dedicant, who may have been a sailor or a merchant, made the dedication to Annona,
the goddess of the yearly produce. This, according to Grosson, is indicated by the cornucopia held by one of the figures.

This altar will be further discussed in test. 81 where, according to Jullian, it possibly points to a cult of Isis.

In the opinion of this author, the altar relief could be the Gallic interpretation of Greco-Roman beliefs in death and the afterlife. The Greco-Roman god of the lower world was Hades (Plouton)-Pluto (Dis), the 'Rich' or 'Wealthy One,' whose consort in the underworld was Kore-Persephone (Proserpina).

The Gauls regarded the Mallet God and the Goddess of Abundance as chthonic deities of a salutary and funerary nature whom they invoked for protection in this life and in the next. Greek religion in Southern France, particularly in the vicinity of Marseilles, underwent many assimilations in its cult structure from the sixth century B.C. Much of the outside influence came from the already established Keltic, and later Gallic, religious beliefs. Julius Caesar's description of Gallic religion (Bellum Gallicum, VI, 13-14, 17-18) is the major ancient written source on the religion of early France (pre- and post-Roman conquest).

He attempted to clarify the Gallic gods for the Romans and identified them, often incorrectly, with comparable Roman deities. According to Caesar, the Gauls chiefly worshipped Mercury (arts, travel, trade), after whom they placed Apollo (healing), Mars (war), Jupiter (sky), and Minerva (arts and crafts). Caesar also reports that the Gauls considered themselves to be sprung from the infernal god, Dis (Dis Pater), according to
Druidic tradition. The Mallet God was commonly identified with Dis as a chthonic deity in Gallic religion.

A cult of Hades, which may have been syncretized with elements of similar local beliefs, was possibly observed in Greco-Roman Marseilles. The assimilation of many attributes of the Gallic Mallet God to those of other Keltic, Gallic, and Greco-Roman divinities seems to have been one of the most popular syncretizations in the religion of Southern France. Notably in the lower Rhône region the Mallet God has been associated with the Keltic Sucellus, the Greco-Roman Zeus, Hermes, and Dionysos, the Roman Silvanus, and even the Egyptian Sarapis. With these gods he shared several attributes, particularly the mallet or hammer, an apotropaic, chthonic, and fertility symbol. (On this view, see Benoît, *Art et dieux*, p. 97; Clébert, *Provence antique*, 2: 255.)

During the Gallo-Roman period in Southern France there existed many local deities who shared the underworld functions and attributes of the Greco-Roman Hades-Pluto and were syncretized with the Mallet God. Some of these native gods are Cernunnos, Esus, Teutates, the Goddess of Abundance (Nantosuelta), Ogmios, Smertrios, Sucellus, and Gallo-Roman Silvanus. (For further discussion on the relationship between Greco-Roman and Keltic [Gallic] deities, see Benoît, *ibid.*, pp. 11, 35, 48, 54, 96-97, 141; Duval, *Dieux de la Gaule*, pp. 25-31, 33-36, 44-46, 60-63, 79-85, 94, 107-109; Dontenville, *Histoire et géographie mythiques*, pp. 51-53; Gray, *Celtic Mythology*, 3: 9-10, 13, 17, 227-230; and Hubert, *Divinités gauloises de l' Autre-Monde*, passim.)
69. Gallo-Roman altar (cont.)

There are, moreover, in Roman Gaul, especially at Entremont and Roquepertuse, many statues of heroised or apotheosized warriors (crouching gods) whose crouching or squatting position bears a strong resemblance to representations of the Gallic Pluto. (See test. 68, 77. Details of the statues found in these and other sanctuaries are found in Benoît, L'art primitif, pp. 16-27, 38-53; idem, Entremont, pp. 51-99; idem, Art et dieux, pp. 53-75, and passim.)

The many Gallic deities associated with underworld functions offer background for Benoît's identification of the two figures in the upper portion of the Gallo-Roman altar from Marseilles with the Mallet God and the Goddess of Abundance as patron deities of a successful voyage to the underworld. The altar in this writer's judgment also seems to be a Gallo-Roman interpretation of traditional Greco-Roman beliefs in the afterlife.

70. Red-figure cup. (plate L, no. 139) Third quarter of the 5th c. B.C.

Attic terracotta red-figure cup (D. 0.19 m.; H. 0.085 m.) from the third quarter of the 5th c. B.C. depicting a flute player accompanying the deceased. Found at Marseilles, Rue Tapis-Vert, in 1953. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 10538.

Bibl.: TMB, inv. no. 15038, and photo.

The cup, a typical funerary vessel for pouring libations to the deceased, depicts a flute player and the deceased, perhaps signifying both the solemnity of the occasion and the positive attitude of the Greeks towards death.
70. Red-figure cup (cont.)

Although the actual ritual commemorated by the red-figure cup and its scene cannot be identified with the particular worship of a divinity connected with the underworld, the cup may have been used by a group, or a certain family, at Marseilles to honor one of its deceased. It is possible that the cup was dedicated during a festival honoring a Massaliote deity whose chthonic cult was being observed in the city. (See tests. 44-45, where Dionysos is connected with the cult of the dead in two Massaliote vase representations.)

71. Votive stele. 2nd c. B.C.

Marble votive stele from Asia Minor (H. 0.51 m.; L. 0.48 m.; W. 0.10 m.) from the 2nd c. B.C. depicting a funerary meal scene.

Found at Marseilles, Château de Vento, in 1943. Marseilles, Museum Borely, inv. no. 9433.

Bibl.: GAB, room 1, no. 54, inv. no. 9433.

Representations of funerary meals in Greek art were fairly common. The Street of the Tombs in the Kerameikos Cemetery at Athens has provided many elegant sepulchral relief monuments from the early fourth century B.C., a few of which depict the customary funeral banquet. The ceremonies portrayed on vase paintings and relief sculptures recall the ancient belief that life continues after death. They were not thought of as sacrifices, worship, or tributes, but rather as reenactments of meals shared with relatives and friends now deceased. (On the subject of funeral feasts in antiquity, see Nilsson, Greek Religion, pp. 101-102; Rose, Religion, pp. 41, 149-150.)
Instances of Hellenized funerary banquet scenes are found throughout Southern France, the Rhineland, and in Spain. (See GAB, no. 50, inv. no. 1598, for another votive stele representing a funerary banquet in the Borély Collection from Greece.)

Bas-relief of a funerary meal from the 2nd c. A.D. Found at Notre-Dame, five miles from Marseilles, with no date given. Avignon, Museum Calvet. (See Statistique des Bouches-du-Rhône, 2: 375.)

Bibl.: Clerc, Massalia, 2: 349, notes 1 and 2, 350, and fig. 40.

This monument, whose antae support a pediment bounded on each side by an akroterion, depicts a family (father, mother, and deceased child), whose names, (L(ucius) Herennius Secundus, Decria Pomponia, and L(ucius) Herennius Praesens, appear in the inscription. The names of the three individuals, Roman citizens of Marseilles, have been transcribed into Greek by a Greek artist.

In the funerary meal scene being celebrated, the husband reclining is separated from the wife who according to Greek custom is seated and holds a child on her knees. On his left side and on her right stand a man and a woman, household slaves, who in accordance with artistic convention are represented in considerably smaller dimensions. Stylistically mediocre in many respects, the relief is the best example of ancient local sculpture of this type thus far discovered in or around Marseilles.
73. Sarcophagus. (plate LI, nos. 141-142) 3rd-4th c. A.D.

Parian marble sarcophagus of a Massaliote intellectual (H. 0.72 m.; L. 2.10 m.; W. 0.70 m.) from the 3rd-4th c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Cimetière de la Major, before 1850. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1661.

Bibl.: GAB, room 1, no. 114, inv. no. 1661; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 66-67, no. 161; Grosson, Recueil, pp. 161-163, and pl. 21, no. 1; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 363-365, and fig. 59, Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 103.

The front of the sarcophagus is decorated in relief. In the center of the relief scene, between the twisted flutings, the deceased is being assisted by a muse and is holding a scroll of papyrus in his hand; between them is a man standing. At one end is a young man, at the other a draped woman, both gazing at the deceased. At their feet is a stack of scrolls signifying the literary life of the dead man.

Froehner has identified the muse as Klio, Muse of history. She is usually represented with a scroll in her hand and a scrinium (case or chest for manuscripts and books) by her side. Klio sometimes holds a trumpet in her hand and wears a wreath. It is likely that the muse in the sarcophagus relief is Klio, since she is assisting the deceased in holding the scroll.

Please note that in Grosson's drawing of this sarcophagus the figures all appear to be reversed. The plate is included because it is part of the background of this monument. The sarcophagus is also discussed in test. 114.
Limestone pine cone (H. 0.83 m.; W. 0.47 m.) dating from the 1st-early 3rd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Rue de la République in Cimetière du Lazaret, in 1865. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 83.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 22, no. 83; Clerc, Massalia 2: 369, note 1, and fig. 66.

The pine cone was a well-known funerary symbol in antiquity. Pliny (Natural History, XVI, 18, 40) speaks of the funeral qualities of the pine (Picea . . . . feralis arbor . . . .) whose wood was used in the construction of funeral pyres.

The pine appears prominently in the myth and ritual of Attis and Kybele (test. 38, 102-104). According to one account, Attis mutilated himself under a pine tree and bled to death on the spot after he had broken a promise to remain faithful to Kybele. He was then changed into a pine tree which became a cult-symbol in the great spring festival of Kybele and Attis. As a tree-spirit, the Egyptian Osiris and his image were also conceived as emanating from a pine tree. Dionysos, considered at one time or another to be disguised Osiris, was also a god of trees in general. The pine tree, however, was especially sacred to him. In art, Dionysos and his worshippers commonly carry a wand tipped with a pine cone. (See Frazer, Golden Bough, pp. 347-352, 280, 287; Showerman, Great Mother of the Gods, pp. 21-22, 92, 98-102, concerning the pine tree in the myth and ritual of Attis.)

The unique pine cone shows that the Lazaret cemetery in Marseilles contained important funerary monuments. Some deities were worshipped as
74. Pine cone (cont.)

chthonic divinities at Marseilles. This pine cone may indicate that the deceased worshipped one of these deities, or perhaps was placed under the protection of one of them by his survivors.

75. Funerary altar. (plate LII, no. 144) 2nd c. A.D.

Couronne limestone funerary altar (H. 1.26 m.; W. 0.53 m.) from the 2nd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Saint-Victor, in 1799. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1624.

Bibl.: GAB, no. 72, inv. no. 1624; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 45-46, no. 124; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 377-378, and fig. 71; I.G., 14, 2437.

On the front side of the altar is a funerary inscription (epitaph) composed of five pentameter and two hexameter lines stating that the monument was dedicated to Glaukias by his son. Beneath the inscription are two cornucopiae, symbolic of the riches attending the deceased in the afterlife:

Γλαυκία ἐστι τάφος· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε νέος,
δες[ξ]ας ἐκ μεικροῦ πρὸς πατέρ' εὐσεβήνη.
οὐκ ἔφθησ' οὐ τιθόμοι, ιδεῖν γόνον, ὅσιος ἄν ἢν σοι
γηραιῷ τεῦχεν οὐ τάφον, ἀλλὰ βάσην.
ἡ φθονερᾶ δ' ὑμᾶς πάντ' ἀδικοῦσα Τύχη
μητρὶ μὲν <εν> ἐν γῆρα δάκρυ θῆκατο, τῇ δὲ γυνα[ι]κῆς
χρήσαι δυστήνου παιδὸς[ς] ἣ' ὄρφανη.

This and another Greek inscription (test. 51), as well as one Latin inscription (test. 76), are the only epitaphs found in Marseilles which develop the subject of the beliefs and hopes of the deceased and their survivors in funerary literature. (On the dating of this monument and its inscription, see Froehner and Clerc, as in the bibliography above;
75. Funerary altar (cont.)
also Rougemont, "Inscriptions," p. 4, and note 16.)

76. Funerary altar-tomb. Ca. 1st-2nd c. A.D.
Gallo-Roman funerary altar-tomb from around the 1st-2nd c. A.D.

Found at Marseilles. Marseilles, Museum, Borély.

Bibl.: Clerc, Massalia, 2: 377, note 1; C.I.L., 12, 409.

On the front side of the altar-tomb is an inscription dedicated to Quintus Gallius Euphemius by his wife:

D. M.
ET SECVRITATI
AETERNAE Q. GALLII EVPHEMI
VI. VIR. AVGVST. CORPORATI
CORNELIA SECUNDA MARITO
PIENTISS.

Cornelia Secunda, who dedicated the altar-tomb to her husband, calls him pientiss[imo] (most dutiful), and wishes eternal rest for his manes (good gods, spirits, souls, or shades). Euphemius had the distinct honor of serving as one of six Augustales in Marseilles.

This inscription will be referred to again as evidence for the Imperial cult in Marseilles.

The beginning of the inscription (epitaph) of Euphemius has the abbreviation D. M., another indication of the chthonic nature of this type of dedication. Many epitaphs, especially in and after the Augustan Age, begin with this or a similar formula stating that the tomb was dedicated to the Di Manes. It became a common practice to add the name of the deceased either in the dative or the genitive. In Gallic inscriptions D. M. is often followed by et memoriae aeternae, or more rarely as here, by securitati aeternae/perpetuæ or quieti/spei aeternae/perpetuæ.
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76. Funerary altar-tomb (cont.)

The Greek and Latin inscriptions from Marseilles, many of which have this formula, are found in I.G., 14 (s.v. Massalia); C.I.L., 12 (s.v. Massilia, Gallia Narbonensis); Clerc (Massalia, 1: 54-58, 290-306; 2: 313, 325, 337-381, 404-415, 454-460); idem (Aquae Sextiae, p. 553); Rougemont ("Inscriptions trouvées a Marseille," EC 3: 1-12); and Benoît ("La 'barbarie' ligure," REL 28 [1962]: 117-124). (On the use of this formula, see Sandys, Latin Epigraphy, pp. 62, 70, 76, 79, 81; Rose, Religion, p. 230.)

Other funerary monuments found in Marseilles and considered to have religious and mythological symbolism are worth mentioning. An ascia (axe or adze) in relief is found often on tombstones along with an inscription or epitaph. (See plate LII, no. 145.) Besides its use as a carpenter's, stone-mason's, and cooper's tool, the ascia appears on Gallic tombstones from the first through the third centuries A.D. and most probably is connected with the belief in the afterlife. This religious symbol frequently appears on funerary monuments between the letters D and M (Dis Manibus), thereby associating it with the worship of the dead. The ascia also may appear by itself or together with a formula, such as sub ascia or sub ascia dedicavit (abbreviated S. A. D.). A. Laisné, according to Sandys (see reference below), was one of the first who attempted to explain the significance of the symbol. Laisné thought that the ascia was probably used to ward off grave plunderers. This view was held also by Otto Hirschfeld. It must be granted, however, that it is not at all certain what the ascia means. (On the probable significance of the ascia,
76. Funerary altar-tomb (cont.)

see Clerc, Massalia, 2: 343, note 3, 344, fig. 31; Sandys, Latin Epigraphy, pp. 70, 78-79, 80, note 7, 81-82; Benoît, Entremont, p. 96; Clébert, Provence antique, 2: 255; and A.B. Cook, Cretan Axe-Cult outside Crete (Oxford, 1908), 2: 185ff.)

77. Statues of seated men. (plates LIII, nos. 146-154) 3rd-2nd c. B.C.

Painted and engraved Coudoux limestone statues of men heroised or apotheosized (H. 1.00 m.), seated (squatting, crouching [accroupi]) with legs crossed, the right hand resting on the knee holding an iron shaft. Found by H. de Gerin-Ricard in the excavations of the Kelto-Ligurian sanctuary of Roquepertuse (Velaux), northwest of Marseilles (plate XII, no. 26), 1922-1923. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. nos. 8270-8271, room 3.


After the discussion of the statues of the men found at Roquepertuse, the significance for the cult of the dead of non-human forms of life found in sculpture both at Roquepertuse and in other environs of Marseilles will be discussed. This will be the clearest way to present varied material that contributes to our understanding of this cult.

The excavations of Roquepertuse (map, plate XII, no. 26), a sizable Kelto-Ligurian sanctuary northwest of Marseilles, have brought to light important artifacts on which the Greek influence from Marseilles is evident. The architectural and artistic features of this site, especially
77. Statues of seated men (cont.)

the Buddha-like seated statues, seem to indicate that Roquepertuse was used by the Kelto-Ligurians to honor their heroised or apotheosized dead. The statues may represent native tribal kings who controlled most of the territory in Provence until Marseilles began to extend its influence over this area. (Two incidents involving the Massaliotes and native kings are discussed under test. 32 and 39.) The statues, placed in front of the sanctuary portico, are clothed in a short tunic and a chasuble-type vestment ornamented with incised key-design, check-pattern, swastika, and Cross of Saint-André (plate LIII, nos. 146-148). The statues presented in this study are headless (plate LIV, no. 154). There are four more similar statues in the Roquepertuse sanctuary. Similar statues have been found as well in the sanctuaries of Entremont (Museum of Aix; test. 68-69), of Glanum (Museum of Saint-Rémy), and of Russan (Museum of Nîmes). (Additional details on these statues and their statues and their ornamentation are found in GAB, preface, introductory remarks on the Roquepertuse finds; Benoît, L'art primitif, pp. 19, 24, 40-44, and fig. 10; Piggott, Daniel, and McBurney, France before the Romans, pp. 189, 205, and pl. 77.)

The columns and the lintel of the Roquepertuse sanctuary portico have been decorated with geometric designs, foliage, birds, protomes of horses and star-motif, and fish. (See plates LIII-LIV, nos. 149-154; also test. 69, 81, where a bird appears on a ship's prow; and test. 54, for a frieze decorated with horse protomes.) Both the columns and the lintel have sockets once containing skulls, trophies of war, and relics of the deceased. Strabo (IV, 4, 4-5) refers to such ancestral Gallic customs
practiced by the Druids who oversee all sacrifices. The star-motif, birds, fish, and foliage are all symbols of the afterlife. (For other details on these decorations, see Benoît, ibid., pp. 19, 31; GAB, ibid., nos. 13, 17, inv. nos. 6015-6016; and TMB, inv. nos. 6015-6016.)
77. Statues of seated men (cont.)
where a sphinx and a griffon figure on a second-third century A.D. marble sarcophagus from Marseilles.)

Possibly having funerary significance is a head of a lion with gaping mouth which was used as a cup's spout (cast in the Museum Borély). The lion head was found in the Rhône Valley and dates from the first-second century A.D. (See BCF, case 5, no. 1, inv. no. 3151.)

Birds in both Gallic and Greco-Roman religions have many sacral functions, for instance, divine guides, objects of worship, instruments of divination, forms assumed by gods, forms assumed by departed souls.

The large bird (H. 0.60 m.; L. 0.60 m.) of Coudoux limestone, perched on a lintel of the Roquepertuse sanctuary and sculpted in detached full relief (ronde-bosse), may symbolize the bird which conducts the souls of the deceased to the underworld. (See plate LIV, no. 153. On this bird, see GAB, room 3, no. 17, inv. no. 6016; TMB, inv. no. 6016, and photo. Another bird possibly serving a comparable function is discussed in test. 69, 81. The funerary character of the bird is treated further by Benoît, ibid., pp. 19, 26, 31-32, 36, and plates 20. 27; and Gray, Celtic Mythology, 3: 13, 56-57, 121, 213, 227-230.)

The fish of the Roquepertuse portico column (plate LIII, no. 151) may be regarded as a symbol of the living dead, as fish were so considered in pagan religious thought. The association of the fish with immortality carried over into early Christian times. (On the fish at Roquepertuse, see GAB, preface to Roquepertuse. Concerning the fish as a funerary symbol, see Benoît, ibid., pp. 19, 31, and pl. 28, no. 5; Toynbee, Animals, p. 212.)
77. Statues of seated men (cont.)

The dog figures prominently in the Gallo-Roman funerary art in and around Marseilles (test. 69, 81). The dog has a double significance related to the dead. As the triple Kerberos it guards the entrances of the underworld and attends on chthonic divinities, such as Hades, Sarapis, and Hekate. It also is a companion of Asklepios possessed of healing qualities. The dog, found in provincial graves of the Roman period in the form of clay or bronze figurines, perhaps has a healing as well as a funerary character. It is also possible that dogs, featured on sepulchral monuments, had, secondarily, a dying and rising significance. As attributes of mother-goddesses, such as Hekate and Epona who belonged both to the underworld and to this world, dogs function in their double death and healing role. Gallic Epona is sometimes seen riding on a horse with a small dog perched on her lap. (On the significance of the dog in funerary art, see Toynbee, Animals, pp. 122-123.)

The horse, often found in funerary art, is frequently associated with Epona as a chthonic symbol in Gaul. (See test. 54 for a possible connection of the horse with Epona on a limestone frieze from the Roquepertuse sanctuary.)

The archaeological finds from the Roquepertuse sanctuary and the other items discussed illustrate the influence of Greco-Roman Marseilles on the Kelto-Ligurian and Gallic back-country. (See Benoît, ibid., p. 13; GAB, introduction to Roquepertuse.) Although they do not prove a cult of the dead in Marseilles itself, they show an active Gallic cult being plastically expressed through Greco-Roman funerary symbols.
78. Latin and Greek inscription. 1st-2nd c. A.D. 
(plate LV, no. 156)

Limestone and Greek inscription (H. 0.20 m.; L. 0.185 m.) from the 1st-2nd c. A.D. Found at Ampurias (Gerona), Greek Emporion ('the Market,' at the south end of the Gulf of Rosas [the city Rosas = Greek Rhode/Rhoda]), Spain, in 1908 in the vicinity of the temple of Sarapis (and Isis). Museum of Ampurias, Spain.


[--- ------------------------ ---] 
[ET CIRCVM AEDEM MV R]QS FACIV 
[CVR--STATVAM--EBES FECIT] 
3[O]---- ------ --- --- THEW MEGALWY [S]arap] 
["ISTO KAI 'ARPOKRATZI?- -- -- ANE'TEESAN] ANA- 
[GRAPHTES EAMATAN TA OYMATA------']ANTLOU MA- 
6[SALHI]TS------- KAI---- NOYH]V]OY 'ALE- 
[XANDRAECS,---------- 'ALEXAN]DREUS, 

(Restoration of Latin and Greek text by Oikonomides)

This bilingual inscription from Ampurias in Spain in the opinion of Oikonomides may point to a cult of Sarapis, and possibly of Isis and Harpokrates, at Marseilles. This author has taken the information on the restoration of the inscription from Oikonomides' article.
The inscription was recognized as a dedication to the Hellenistic Egyptian god Sarapis (line 3) long before its restoration by Oikonomides. His proposed restoration, however, both supports the earlier view and furnishes other significant information about this widespread Alexandrian cult in Ampurias as well as in Marseilles.

Oikonomides is the first to see a connection between the Latin and Greek texts which he thinks contain essentially the same data: customary dedicatory phraseology indicating several cult objects and the names of those who dedicated them. Thus, Oikonomides understands the inscription to be a bilingual "building and repairing document" connected with the Sarapeion at Emporion in Roman times. He thinks that a Massaliote merchant, possibly a devotee of the cult of Sarapis, was one of those responsible for putting up money to repair and enlarge the sanctuary. (See plate LV, no. 157.)

Oikonomides has also suggested the tentative restoration of the names Isis and Harpokrates (line 4), whose cults he feels may also have been established in Marseilles. Fortunately, archaeological finds at Marseilles corroborate this assumption. (See test. 79-89 below.)

In the Roman and Gallo-Roman periods in Provence many cities, including Marseilles, enthusiastically welcomed the Egyptian cults of Horus-Harpokrates, Isis, and Osiris-Sarapis into their worship. Evidence of the interest in this Egyptian triad is found in Gallo-Roman religious sculpture. For instance, Horus-Harpokrates represented as a military horseman was regarded as a protector of the tomb. The traditional Egyptian
story of Horus-Harpokrates avenging the death of his father Osiris-Sarapis at the hands of Typhon (Set) is suggestive of much of the Ouranos-Kronos-Zeus succession motif in Hesiod's *Theogony* (116-210, 453-506, 617-735) and the episode of Zeus overthrowing the monster Typhon (Typhoeus) and casting him into Tartaros (*Theogony*, 820ff.). The early Phokaian settlers of Marseilles, and especially the Roman legions and merchants sojourning in the East, were most likely responsible for introducing the Egyptian cults into Provence and most of Gaul. The Egyptian deities Horus-Harpokrates, Isis, and Osiris-Sarapis enjoyed great success in Gallo-Roman Provence probably because they were less anthropomorphic than the Roman gods and corresponded more directly to the divinities of nature worshipped by the Kelto-Ligurians. For the inhabitants of Provence the Egyptian triad and its accompanying beliefs offered a type of mystical initiation, similar to that in the rites of Dionysos and Demeter, which afforded a promise of immortality and protection in the afterlife. (On the popularity of the Egyptian gods in Gallo-Roman Provence, see Benoît, *Art et dieux*, pp. 9-10, 111; Duval, *Dieux de la Gaule*, p. 102; Clébert, *Provence antique*, 2: 256-257; Dontenville, *Histoire et géographie mythiques*, p. 58; Clerc, *Massalia*, 2: 376; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 1: 53; and Toynbee, *Art of the Romans*, p. 44. On the Horus-Set myth, see J.G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth: From Egyptian and Classical Sources* [Liverpool, 1960], passim. Comparative data on the establishment of the Alexandrian cults in and around Imperial Rome can be found in A. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial*
78. Latin and Greek inscription (cont.)

Rome, EPRO 20 [Leiden, 1972], passim.)

79. Bronze statuettes of Harpokrates

Two small bronze statuettes of Harpokrates from the Roman period. Found at Marseilles, Bassin (Cimetière) de Carénage. Marseilles, Musuem Borély.


The two Harpokrates statuettes were found in the same cemetery as a terracotta lamp with bust of Isis and Sarapis in relief. (See test. 82.) The statuettes and the lamp could possibly have been votive offerings placed in a temple common to all three deities in Marseilles. Although such a temple has not been found, it may have been located in the vicinity of the Carénage cemetery where these artifacts were found.

80. Harpokrates in relief on dice-box.

Harpokrates in relief on a dice-box (fritillus) made of ox-bone from the Roman period. Found at Marseilles, in a garden near Rue Ste. Barbe.

Bibl.: Grosson, Recueil, pp. 144-146, and pl. 17, no. 3; Oikonomides, "Sarapis," p. 80.

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 65, and note 158) refers directly to this dice-box with Harpokrates in relief. He says that
Harpokrates was venerated in ancient Marseilles mostly with the attributes of Bacchus and several other deities: *Extremorum temporum est Harpocrates, bacchicorum et pantheorum insignium plenus*. According to Grosson (Recueil, p. 145) who identifies the object from Marseilles as a dice-box with a relief of Harpokrates, god of silence, the bird perched on the god's right shoulder is an owl, one of the attributes of Minerva, goddess of wisdom. Grosson asserts that the owl is an attribute quite suitable to Harpokrates who is prudent in keeping silent, as the right index finger placed in his mouth indicates. Grosson also says that the god is holding a type of scepter or wand tipped with a pine cone in his left hand and is wearing a bonnet or cap on his head.

The pine tree and the pine cone are attributes of Attis and Kybele, Demeter, Dionysos, and Osiris-Sarapis, the father of Horus-Harpokrates, but seldom, if ever, of Horus Harpokrates himself. The bonnet worn by Harpokrates in the dice-box relief resembles the Phrygian cap (*pileus*) commonly worn by Attis (tes. 38), Mithras (test. 101), and Sabazios, all three of whom are often identified with Dionysos. Grosson's identification of the bird on Harpokrates' right shoulder is misleading. There is no strong reason to connect Harpokrates and Athena by way of the owl, Athena's most common emblem. The bird represented on the dice-box more closely resembles a falcon or a hawk, the singular attribute of Horus-Harpokrates, who is the Egyptian falcon-headed solar god.

As for Ternaux's statement, quoted above, that Harpokrates was worshipped at Marseilles with the attributes of Bacchus (Dionysos), it may be that he was alluding indirectly to certain resemblances between Dionysiac
and Egyptian worship. There are similarities between the legend of Osiris, found in the first century A.D. treatise De Iside et Osiride, generally attributed to Plutarch, and the legend of the Eleusinian Mysteries, found in the seventh-century B.C. Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Both Osiris and Dionysos were torn into fourteen pieces. The wanderings of Isis offer a close parallel to those of Demeter, the object of the search differing slightly in both cases, while the mysterious birth of Horus, Osiris' successor, corresponds point for point with the birth of Dionysos in his second form of Iacchos. Dionysos is identified with Iacchos at least as early as the time of Sophokles. A connection thus established between Horus and Dionysos, it seems reasonable that Haropkrates, the Alexandrian Horus, would sometimes appear with the attributes of Dionysos, as he does in the dice-box relief from Marseilles. While the falcon is commonly associated with Horus-Harpokrates and the pilleus is commonly worn by Dionysos when he is identified with the Oriental deities Attis, Mithras, and Sabazios, the thrysos-type staff tipped with a pine cone appears as an attribute not only of Dionysos but also of Horus-Harpokrates by association with his father Osiris-Sarapis. Harpokrates depicted with the right index finger in his mouth reflects the usual Egyptian conception of him as a child and the Greek and Roman regard for him as the god of silence, while Harpokrates portrayed in this way may be an illustration of the proverbial 'Bacchic silence.' (Concerning these relationships between Greek and Egyptian worship, see Farnell, Cults, 5: 85-86, 94, 142, 256, 261-262; Legge, Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, 1: 33-35, 38-44, 59, 61-67, 70; Rose, Religion, pp 281-283; Frazer, Golden Bough, pp. 382-393, 424,
80. Harpokrates on dice-box (cont.)

464-476. On the work of Plutarch, see Griffiths, Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride: Edited with an Introduction, and Commentary [Wales, 1970], passim.)

Everyday articles, such as lamps and dice-boxes, are extant from Rome and provincial cities such as Marseilles. They are often decorated with figures or busts of deities. (See test. 38, for Attis in relief on a Massaliote Roman lamp; test. 82-84, for Isis and Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, and Zeus-Sarapis on other Roman lamps found in Marseilles.) Divine subjects represented on household articles served an ornamental purpose, but were also probably thought to bring good luck and protection to those who owned and used them. Since cheating at dice was not uncommon, a dice-box bearing the likeness of Harpokrates may have been considered as a talisman against cheating while dicing. The dice-player may even have regarded the figure of Harpokrates as a good luck charm.

81. Bas-relief. (plates XLVIII-XLIX, nos. 137-138) 2nd c. A.D.

The bas-relief belongs to the same Gallo-Roman altar already referred to at the end of test. 41 and discussed for Hades (cult of the dead) in test. 69. This testimonium presents the opinion of C. Jullian that the bas-relief and monument may represent the cult of Isis.


Jullian thinks that the Gallo-Roman altar found in Place de Lenche
may point to a cult of Isis observed in Marseilles. Basing his opinion on the widespread popularity of this Egyptian cult during the Empire, Jullian maintains that the boat in the middle portion of the altar and the figures above it may indicate a scene frequently found on Isis monuments: Isis holding a cornucopia, the dog Sirius (identified with Sopd[et] or Sothis by the Egyptians) beside her, and another figure to her left, possibly Anubis rescuing two male passengers in a boat from the turbulent sea. (On the worship of Isis in Provence, see T.A. Cook, Old Provence [London, 1905], pp. 191, 193, 276. The Egyptian worship of Sirius [the Dog Star], associated with Isis and sometimes with Anubis, is discussed in A.H. Sayce, The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia [Edinburgh, 1902], pp. 148, 235-236, 238; R.T.R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt [London, 1959], pp. 27, 101, 188, 265; E.A.W. Budge, From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt [London, 1934], pp. 44, 232; S. Morenz, Egyptian Religion [Ithaca, 1973], p. 270; G. Steindorff, The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians [New York, 1905], p. 37; and J.-C. Grenier, Anubis alexandrin et romain, EPRO 57 [Leiden, 1977], p. 80. Evidence of the worship of the dog Sirius with Isis outside of Egypt in the Roman period is found in M. Malaise, Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie, EPRO 22 [Leiden, 1972], pp. 181, 306, 426-427, 443; and M.-C. Budischovsky, La diffusion des cultes isiaques autour de la mer Adriatique: I, inscriptions et monuments, EPRO 61 [Leiden, 1977], pp. 168-169.)

Although those who have studied the monument generally concur that
the three figures appearing in the top portion of the altar most likely represent the Goddess of Abundance, the dog of Silvanus, and the Mallet God (test. 69). Jullian's suggestion that they could represent Egyptian divinities has credibility.

The altar is also known to have received popular Christian veneration in Marseilles as an ex-voto commemorating the arrival in that city from Palestine of Saints Lazarus and Mary Magdalene. (On this view, see Benoît, _Art et dieux_, p. 91; Clerc, _Massalia_, 2: 375.) This notion, however, must have been preceded by other interpretations of the relief scene connecting it with ideas of the afterlife.

This author prefers Jullian's opinion that the altar possibly points to a cult of Isis in Marseilles and suggests the following identification of the altar's relief figures. The two figures in the upper portion, according to Jullian, represent Isis and Anubis (to her left), between whom is the dog Sirius. In the middle portion is a ship in which the seated deceased (possibly Osiris-Sarapis on the left side below Anubis and his ka, or double, on the right below Isis) are riding. The ka is suggested by this writer because it is a frequent symbol associated with the dead in Egyptian religion. This point will be developed further below. On the ship's prow is a bird, perhaps Bennu, the soul of Osiris-Sarapis, or the ba, his spirit. It is possible that the figure standing to the left of Isis may be Horus-Harpokrates, who beginning in the Alexandrian period is found identified with Anubis as Horus-Anubis, and the dog between them may represent Anubis in animal form. The seated figure behind Osiris-
81. Bas-relief (cont.)

Sarapis in the boat could also be Horus-Harpokrates *Nedjitef*, that is, a 'replica of his father (Osiris-Sarapis),' according to Egyptian belief. (Comparative information on the Egyptian deities of the Osirian cult can be found in I.E.S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, Revised ed. [Baltimore, 1961], pp. 33-35, and *passim*; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen: Life and Death of a Pharaoh* [Boston, 1963], pp. 77, 236, 250, 256, 264, and *passim*. For evidence that Anubis has been found represented in entirely human and animal form (as a dog), as well as jackal-headed, outside of Egypt in Roman times, see Grenier, *Anubis*, pp. 3, 137-138; Malaise, *Cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 184, 208-211, 306. That the ancient Egyptian belief in the *ka* existed outside of Egypt, even in Europe, throughout the Roman period, has been argued by P. Renouf, *Religion of Ancient Egypt* [New York, 1880], pp. 153-155; Sayce, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 57-70; and W.M.F. Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1898; reprint ed., New York, 1972], pp. 31ff. On the Egyptian belief that the Bennu (or Phoenix) represented the soul of both Re and Osiris, see Clark, *Myth and Symbol*, pp. 79, 157-158, 245-249; Sayce, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 120-121, 207, 238; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 157; see also Malaise, *Cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 161 [a fresco from Pompeii depicting a Phoenix as part of the veneration of Osiris], 398, 441, 449, for evidence that this concept extended out of Egypt in late Roman times. Evidence that Harpocrates was identified with Anubis in Alexandrian cults as Horus-Anubis is discussed in Grenier, *Anubis*, pp. 169-172 [and note 12].)

Jullian's opinion that the figure standing to Isis' left in the
altar relief could represent Anubis seems reasonable. This author wishes to advance Jullian's argument. At first glance the figure to the left of Isis seems to be wearing something on his head, possibly a halo with solar rays, a characteristic emblem of the Greek Zeus-Helios. The Syrian god (Zeus-Heliopolis), however, who became popular in the Empire, is most often depicted during that period wearing a kalathos on his head and clothed in a full-length sheath-like garment decorated with relief-busts of divinities associated with the Heliopolis cult. (See test. 111 and plate LXXII, no. 202.) Hajjar (Héliopolis-Baalbek, 2: 447, 457, 515) maintains that in later Roman times when Eastern sun-gods began appearing in the West, they started to rival and transform already established Greek Helios-cults, especially that of Zeus-Helios. Hajjar further suggests that the Syrian Heliopolis-cult perhaps originated at Heliopolis in Egypt, the center of the ancient solar-cult of Re. Anubis also is associated with the sun. According to Malaise (Cultes égyptiens en Italie, pp. 208-209), the Egyptians believed that Anubis was at first a son of Re and later a son of Osiris and they regarded him as an infernal deity closely connected with Isis in the myth of Osiris. In fact, his association with the family of Osiris became even more firmly established during the Alexandrian period. Moreover, possessing many of the attributes of the Greek Hermes Psychopompos, Anubis occasionally is represented as a soldier in the Roman period. The figure beside Isis is dressed in the manner of a Roman soldier. In his left hand he is carrying what appears to be a kerykeion (caduceus), or herald's staff, one of the distinguishing emblems of Hermes Psychopompos as conductor of souls to Hades. (See test. 83.) The object in his right
hand may be a timbrel or sistrum, both prominent objects used in Isis ritual. (On these and other objects associated with Anubis and found in the worship of Isis, see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 6, 10-12.) Although Anubis is not represented here jackal- or dog-headed (the Greeks called his chief city Kynopolis), the dog between him and Isis could perhaps be his zoomorphic manifestation. The jackal was propitiated as a chthonic symbol associated with death and came to be regarded as the messenger from the other world. Anubis, thought to have been born adulterously to Osiris-Sarapis by Isis' sister Nephthys, supervised and performed the funeral rites of his father when the latter was murdered. The figure of the black dog most often signifies Anubis destined for rebirth. Black wooden images of the dog or jackal Anubis were placed in the tombs of some Egyptian pharaohs. Anubis' role as god of the dead, and his close association with the Osirian cycle, gave him a universal cult appeal. This caused him to be identified with Hermes Psychopompos, for which he was given the name Hermanubis. (See test. 83.). In the great procession in honor of Isis which Apuleius describes, it is the dog- or jackal-headed god, carrying in his hands the caduceus and the palms, who marches at the head of the divine images. (The divinities of the Osirian cult are further discussed in Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 1: 28-89; Desroches-Noblecourt, *ibid.*, pp. 252, pl. 52, 256, 264, 305; Edwards, *ibid.*, pp. 24-25, 28. For the evidence of Anubis dressed as a Roman soldier, see Grenier, *Anubis*, pp. 138, 162 [no. 264].)

The ship or boat in the middle portion of the altar relief in this writer's opinion could be the Egyptian funerary symbol commonly found in
tombstone reliefs signifying the passage or journey from this life to the other world. The ship was also sacred to Isis. The priests and ministers celebrating her initiation rites customarily offered in her name a new ship after the turbulent winter seas had calmed (Apuleius, XI, 16-17). This great festival of Isis was called the navigium Isidis. (On the symbolism of the ship in Egyptian worship, see Legge, ibid., pp. 71-75; Desroches-Noblecourt, ibid., pp. 236-237, 250; Edwards, ibid., pp. 25-26, 32-33, 148, 173, 207-208, 216, 228. Concerning Apuleius' account of the navigium Isidis, see S.K. Heyob, The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World, EPRO 51 [Leiden, 1975], pp. 16, 31, note 178, 54, 58, 84, 89, 93-94, 96, 103-104, 106, 122; Griffiths, Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis Book [Metamorphoses, Book 11], EPRO 39 [Leiden, 1975], passim.)

While the boat in the altar relief seems to point to the Egyptian belief that these vessels carried the deceased on a funerary pilgrimage to the afterlife, the identification of the figures in the boat needs further clarification. This author thinks that the seated figures probably represent the deceased, a navigator on the left side, and a fellow seaman behind him on the right, who recall the Egyptian religious belief in the funerary pilgrimage of the deceased to the other world. This belief symbolically associates the two figures in the boat with the Osirian legend and ascribes to them a kind of deification in the afterlife. In Egyptian worship the physical body of the deceased, usually the pharaoh, was probably thought to dwell always in or near the tomb, while the immaterial element was believed to become at death a separate entity called the ba. In early hieroglyphic writings the ba was represented by a stork with a
tuft of feathers on the front of its neck, an emblem later changed to a bearded bird with a human head. The Egyptians frequently represented the deceased's *ka*, or double, symbolically as a bearded human figure. (On the question of the form assumed by the deceased according to Egyptian belief, see Edwards, *ibid.*, pp. 34-35, 201-202; Desrouches-Noblecourt, *ibid.*, pp. 66, 77, 258, pl. 54, 265, 305; L.V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian texts* [Chicago, 1968], passim.)

In light of the above explanations, it is plausible that the seated figure in the rear of the boat in the Gallo-Roman relief represents the *ka* (on the right side) accompanying the deceased (on the left) to the next world; the bird represents the *ba* of the deceased.

It remains to be discussed whether the inscription on the bottom portion of the altar is possibly a dedication to an Egyptian deity of the Osirian cult. Millinus (Bourlard-Collin: *GAB*, no. 73; de Peyresc: *C.I.L.*, 12, 402, p. 57); Valisinius (Grosson, de Peyresc, Montault, and Saurel: *C.I.L.*, 12, 402, pp. 57, 811); Va...nius (Mommsen: *C.I.L.*, 12, 402, p. 57); Va[re]nius and Meonia (Hirschfeld: *C.I.L.*, 12, 402, p. 57) have been suggested as names of the dedicant(s). The abbreviations in the inscription have been read in the following way: V.S.L.C. (Bourlard-Collin and de Peyresc), V.S.L.D. (Grosson, de Peyresc, Montault, and Saurel), L.D. (Mommsen), and V.S.I.D. = v[otum] s[olverunt] I[sidi] d[ae] (Hirschfeld). If Hirschfeld's restoration is correct, it would add some support to Jullian's opinion that the altar relief possibly represents the cult of Isis.
82. Terracotta lamp with Isis and Sarapis in relief. Late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.

Badly corroded terracotta lamp with the busts of Isis and Sarapis face to face. Found at Marseilles, Bassin (Cimetière) de Carénage. Marseilles, Museum Borely.

Bibl.: Clerc, Massalia, 2: 376 and note 5; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 317, no. 1816; Oikonomides, "Sarapis," pp. 80-81, note 16.

On the lamp, the handle of which is missing, Isis is facing right and Sarapis, wearing on the head his characteristic modius or basket-crown, is facing left.

83. Terracotta lamp with Isis and Anubis in relief. 1st-2nd c. A.D. (plate LVII, no. 160)

Terracotta lamp with the busts of Isis and Anubis side by side. Found at Marseilles. Aix-en-Provence, Institut d'Archeologie de l'Université d'Aix-en-Provence.

Bibl.: J.-C. Grenier, Anubis alexandrin et romain, EPRO 57 (Leiden, 1977), pp. 158, no. 254, 210, and plate 30b; Euzennat and Salviat, Découvertes archéologiques à Marseilles, p. 45, and fig. p. 2.

On the discus of the lamp Isis, frontal, is turning her head toward the left. Jackal-headed Anubis, facing right and on the right of Isis, is carrying a caduceus and turning his head backward toward the goddess.

Isis and Anubis together on this lamp is corroborating evidence for identifying the two standing relief-figures in the upper portion of the Gallo-Roman altar (test. 81) as Isis and Anubis. This lamp is also discussed in test. 92 for the cult of Hermes.
Terracotta lamp with the standing figure of Zeus-?Sarapis. Found at Marseilles, Bassin (Cimetière) de Carénage. Marseille, Museum Borély.

Bib.: Clerc, Massalia, 2: 358, fig. 50, 359, notes 1 and 2; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 313, no. 1791.

On the discus of the lamp Zeus-?Sarapis is standing naked and frontal wearing a mantle over the left shoulder. His right arm is leaning on a sceptre, the lowered left hand is holding a thunderbolt or, possibly, an eagle.

On the reverse of the lamp is the stamp of the lampmaker: ANNI[SER]. Annius Ser(enus, vianus, vandus), thought to be a Christian, was a well-known local potter who lived as early as the beginning of the third century A.D. He is known to have made lamps with both Christian and pagan subjects even before the official triumph of Christianity. Three other lamps, two of which were also found in Marseilles, Bassin de Carénage, bear the same signature on the reverse. (See Clerc, Massalia, 2: 359, note 1; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 314, no. 1797, 325, no. 1868, 326, no. 1879, 363; Grosson, Recueil, p. 186, no. 3, and pl. 29, no. 3, for further details of the other three lamps.)

There is reason to believe that Zeus appearing on this lamp may be identified with Sarapis. As a result of Oriental influences during the time of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), busts of Zeus with the eagle appear on lamps whose provenance is Egypt. In several cases the busts combine, in a syncretistic manner, aspects of Zeus (a mature bearded man grasping a
84. Lamp with Zeus-Sarapis (cont.)

staff with an upraised hand) and features of Sarapis (long, flowing hair with characteristic dangling forelocks, with or without the modius or basket-crown on the head). Statues of Zeus appearing on bronze coins struck during the Roman period (e.g., under Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and Geta) bear a close resemblance to the figure on the Massaliote lamp. The figure of Zeus on a bronze coin from Messene (now in Berlin) minted during the reign of Geta is especially similar in attitude to the image on the lamp (plate LVII, no. 162): Zeus, naked, is standing to the right; in the right hand is a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, the left hand is extended away from the body. That both Zeus and Sarapis were venerated in and around Messene is attested by the nautical graffiti from the fourth century B.C. discovered on the island of Prote off the western coast of Messenia. A dedication to Zeus-Sarapis was made by some of his devotees from Prote: ΕΥΠΙΛΟΛΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΟΣΕΡΑΠΙΤΩΝ. ΕΥΠΙΛΟΛΑ also appears on a lamp in the shape of a ship from Puteoli dedicated to Helio-Serapis, now in the British Museum (no. 1862), invoking him for a safe voyage on the perilous waters between Prote and the coast of Messenia, where the cult of Sarapis and Isis continued to be venerated in Imperial times. The figure of Zeus on the coin of Messene and his image on the Massaliote lamp may have been suggested by the famous statue of Zeus Ithomatas executed for the Messenians by Ageladas of Argos (active in the period before the mid-fifth century B.C.), one of the sculptors to whom the great bronze striding Poseidon or Zeus (470-450 B.C.) from Artemisium (now in Athens) has been attributed. For the people of Aigion Ageladas made another similar statue of a striding Zeus ('as a boy') which is apparently
reproduced on Roman coins of that city. On some other bronze coins of Aigion struck during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Sarapis and Fortuna appear side by side. The striding statue from Artemisium (plate LVIII, no. 166), if it can be ascribed to Ageladas, may give some visual indication of the Zeus statues from Messene and Aigion which have been reproduced on the Roman bronze coins of those cities. There are, however, no examples of Massaliote coins with the figure of Zeus from either the Greek or Roman period. One may suppose that such issues were minted and that the likeness of the god appearing on them recalled an ancient statue of him standing somewhere on the akropolis of the city. Such a statue may have resembled his representation on the lamp or may be suggested by a statue (?) statuette) drawn by Grosson (test. 85) who identifies it as a representation of Zeus from Marseilles. The coins from Messene and Aigion (plate LVII, no. 163) cannot give us artistic details of the Zeus statues but only their pose and general composition. It is likely then that the figure on the Massaliote lamp represents Zeus-Sarapis. Additional support for this identification comes from a bronze coin struck during the reign of Gordian III from Markianopolis in Moesia Inferior. On the obverse busts of the Emperor and Sarapis face each other; on the reverse Sarapis alone is seen standing naked and frontal wearing a mantle over the left shoulder, the left arm leaning on a sceptre, the lowered right hand holding a thunderbolt or some other object (plate LVII, no. 164). The pose of Sarapis on this coin bears a most striking resemblance to that of the figure on the Massaliote lamp. Note also the same resemblance with the
84. Lamp with Zeus-?Sarapis (cont.)


85. Statue (? statuette) of Zeus-?Sarapis. Indeterminable date.

(plate LVII, no. 165)

Bronze (? marble) statue (? statuette) of Zeus-?Sarapis (H. = uncertain) standing naked. Both leg portions below the knees and the right arm are missing; the raised left hand probably held a long sceptre. Drawing by Grosson is perhaps of a Greek or Roman original of indeterminable date. Found at Marseilles, Rue des Consuls, between 1690-1695. The original statue or statuette does not survive.

Bibl.: Grosson, Recueil, pp. 107, 131, 136-137, 191, and plate 16, no. 2; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 214-217, and fig. 42.

Much controversy and speculation have surrounded the discovery of
85. Statue (? statuette) of Zeus-Sarapis (cont.)

this piece and another (a statue or statuette of Athena in test. 36) since they were made known in the late seventeenth century. Both statues (? statuettes), whether of bronze or marble, are thought to have been originally in the temple of Athena at Marseilles. Neither the statues or statuettes nor the temple survive, nor has it yet been determined where the edifice itself stood.

Ternaux (Historia Massaliensium, p. 60, and note 146) claims that a statue of Jove was reported found: *Simul inventa esse dicitur Jovis statua*, but he expresses uncertainty about the find. Clerc (Massalia, 1: 217) suggests that the image discussed here may represent Poseidon. That Zeus and Poseidon often resemble one another in religious iconography may have prompted Clerc to make this assertion.

By comparing characteristics of Grosson's drawing of the statue or statuette (e.g., a raised arm, a lowered arm, a naked standing bearded figure with long flowing hair) with those of the figure on the Massaliote lamp (test. 84), one may be able perhaps to surmise that the statue or statuette represents Zeus-Sarapis.

Ternaux (ibid. p. 65, and note 159) also states that Jupiter-Serapis was worshipped in Marseilles and that a likeness of him was discovered there: *Simul coli solebat Jupiter Serapis, cujus et ipsius imago Massiliae inventa*. He makes no further comment about this *imago* but refers only to Grosson's description of it. Ternaux's reference seems to coincide with the identification of the bust in test. 86. He calls the image of Jove found in Marseilles a *statua* (as above) which would seem to indicate a
85. Statue (? statuette) of Zeus-?Sarapis (cont.)

full-length representation as the one under discussion in this testimonium. He uses the term *imago*, however, to describe a figure of Jupiter-Serapis also discovered in Marseilles. *Imago* can mean 'image,' 'likeness,' and also 'statue,' or 'bust.' If it is to a bust of Jupiter-Serapis that Ternaux is referring, the figure in test. 86 would indicate this. On the other hand, if he means *imago* to indicate a statue of the same deity, then *imago* could also refer to the *Jovis statua* which he mentions. By his ambiguity in both references, Ternaux confirms that both Zeus and Zeus-Sarapis were venerated in Marseilles. He does not allow, as Oikonomides does, that the figure in test. 86 represents only Sarapis.

It is not unlikely that both Sarapis and Zeus-Sarapis were worshipped in Marseilles. If, as Grosson assumes, statues of Athena and Zeus stood in her temple there, it is certainly possible that votive statues or statuettes of Athena-Isis and Zeus-Sarapis were dedicated to these Hellenized Egyptian divinities by the Massaliotes.

Ternaux bases his evidence for both Jove and Jupiter-Serapis on that of Grosson, from whom we have only tentative drawings of the two figures. Grosson may never have seen either one first-hand but made his drawings of the figures coincide with his own conception of how each should appear. Grosson had already once misrepresented data when he published in his findings that an archaic marble statue, the so-called Aphrodite of Marseilles (test. 3, and Grosson, *Recueil*, p. 171), was a bronze Athena. He had probably not seen that statue but had only been given an incomplete description of what it looked like.
86. Bust of Sarapis (Zeus-Serapis). Indeterminable date.  
(plate LV, no. 158)

Bronze (? marble) bust of Sarapis (? Zeus-Serapis) wearing the modius (H. = uncertain). Drawing by Grosson is perhaps of a Hellenistic or Roman original of indeterminable date. Found at Marseilles, Cours de Marseilles, in 1704. The original bust does not survive.


The only extant evidence of this bust is the drawing of Grosson who says that it is of bronze (Kater-Sibbes and Oikonomides also make note of this). Clerc (in vol. 1 of Massalia), although he cites Grosson's identification of the piece as a bronze bust, says that it is a marble bust dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. In vol. 2 of Massalia, Clerc says that the bust undoubtedly represents Jupiter Serapis. He may be describing this same bust as one made of bronze instead of marble, as he previously stated.

Evidence for the existence of cults of Sarapis and other Egyptian deities has already been presented and discussed in this study. That this bust was discovered in Marseilles is probably true, but the identity of the figure is uncertain. Grosson, Ternaux, and Clerc consider the bust as indicative of a cult of Zeus-Sarapis, while Kater-Sibbes and Oikonomides prefer to identify it solely as a bust of Sarapis.
86. Bust of Sarapis (? Zeus-Sarapis)(cont.)

Clerc (Massalia, 2: 376), citing evidence to indicate that the Egyptian cults of Horus-Harpokrates, Isis, and Zeus-Sarapis flourished in Marseilles, the Rhône valley, and Provence under the Empire, alludes to a series of small ushabti (funeral [burial] statues or statuettes representing the deceased or their servants in the other world) and also to some statuettes, notably of Osiris, which were found at Vaison, Orange, Caderousse, Pierrelatte, and Nîmes (where a tomb of a priest of Isis was discovered). This Egyptian influence is particularly evident, according to Clerc, in Nîmes where, from the time of Augustus, Egyptian soldiers and sailors, also Greeks from Egypt serving in the army of Antony, were among the Roman colonists settled there by the Emperor. The reverse of the bronze coinage of Nîmes at this time conspicuously displays the symbols of the Roman conquest of Egypt: the crocodile and the palm-tree. It is possible that Nîmes began to propagate the Alexandrian cults over the neighboring territory with the help of Marseilles. (On the spread of the Egyptian cults through Gaul and Provence during the Roman and Gallo-Roman periods, see Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, p. 102.)

That the bust from Marseilles represents either Sarapis or Zeus-Sarapis is possible based on a similar representation in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (inv. no. MF 1314). The Geneva figure is the upper part of a late second or early third century A.D. marble statue or statuette thought to be from Italy which Hornbostel has identified as Sarapis (plate LIX, no. 167). Kater-Sibbes, however, has identified the same bust as Zeus-Sarapis. The Egyptian god shared aspects of Zeus and other Greco-
86. Bust of Sarapis (? Zeus-Sarapis) (cont.)

Roman deities. Moreover, several monuments of both Sarapis and Zeus-Sarapis have been found in the Rhône valley and can be seen in various museums there. (Additional information concerning the bust in Geneva discussed here is found in Hornbostel, Sarapis, pp. 21-24, 200, 461, and pl. 79, no. 139; Kater-Sibbes, Sarapis Monuments, pp. 109, no. 590, 230, and pl. 17, no. 590. Other important studies on the iconography of Sarapis include L. Vidman, "Träger des Isis- und Sarapiskultes in den römischen Provinzen," Eirene 5 [1966]: 107-116; J.E. Stambaugh, Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies, EPRO 25 [Leiden, 1972]; N.G. Reynolds, New Archaeological Evidence for the Iconography of Serapis, Thesis, Mount Holyoke College [South Hadley, 1948]; T.A. Brady, Repertory of Statuary and Figured Monuments Relating to the Cult of the Egyptian Gods [Columbia, Missouri, 1938]; W. Weber, Aegyptisch-griechische Götter im Hellenismus [Groningen, 1912].)

87. I.G., 14, 2433. (plate LIX, no. 168) Ca. late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.

Limestone Greek inscription from around the late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles around or before the sixteenth century, or at least known to exist since that time. The inscription does not survive.

The inscription is dedicated to Titus Procius Cornelianus, son of Porcius Aelianus (? Lucilianus), of the tribe Quirina in Marseilles. The dedicant of the inscription is not known. The father was a prophet in Marseilles; the son, a priest of Leukothea. Both father and son held high military positions in addition to their religious duties. Clerc suggests that Titus, at the end of his career, was honored in Marseilles by friends and relatives who erected this monument to him while he was still living.

Titus' priesthood in the service of Leukothea seems to have been discharged in Marseilles, although he spent most of his life on military assignments away from the city. It may be, however, that he exercised the priesthood while he was provincial governor of the Alpes-Maritimes, possibly at Cimiez (Cemenelum, northwest of Nice [Nicaea, Greek Nikaia, a ca. fourth-century B.C. Massaliote colony]), a city where Leukothea is thought to have been venerated. Leukothea, or Ino as she is also called, is essentially a goddess of the sea and navigation. (On Ino-Leukothea as a sea-goddess, see Homer, Odyssey, V, 333-353, 461-462; Apollodoros, Bibliotheca, III, 4, 3; Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV, 416-561.) In antiquity her cult was widespread in maritime and commercial cities. The most ancient center of her cult is said to have been Ionia. From there her
worship spread to Caere in Etruria, then to Ostia, and finally to Rome. It is therefore natural to find her cult also in Marseilles, a maritime and commercial city, where many Eastern cults, and some from Ionia itself, were observed. The importance of Leukothea's cult in Marseilles is shown by the appointment of Titus Porcius, a most distinguished citizen of the city, as priest of the cult. (For other details of the Greco-Ionian cult of Leukothea, see Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, p. 22; Graves, Greek Myths, 1: 93 [24.3], 109 [27.6], 155 [42.c], 157 [42.4], 164 [45.2], 182 [51.5], 225-230 [70.a-70.9], 298 [88.8], 332 [96.6], 2: 256 [156.3], 363-364 [170.y], 368 [170.9]; idem, The White Goddess [New York, 1958], pp. 52, 133.)

The title of prophet or interpreter of a deity (προφήτου; line 2 of the inscription), held by Titus' father Porcius, may be indicative of a special Isis cult in Marseilles, according to Clerc. It was, he points out, in the Greek cult of Isis that the prophet held by far the most prominent position. If a person had simply the title of prophet (as Porcius), this would indicate that he was a prophet of Isis. Prophets, however, do not seem to have been part of the worship of Leukothea. In Egypt, priests properly so called were in the first position and over them was a high priest. Ranking second in this hierarchy were the prophets, over whom was a high prophet. The Egyptian cult of Isis was widespread under the Empire, and both prophets and priests appear to have been the interpreters of the oracles of the cult. In Egypt, the office of prophet, like that of priest was hereditary. It is quite possible therefore that the same was true
outside of Egypt, and notably at Marseilles. Porcius may have held this office until it was to be handed down to his son, since there is no indication in the inscription that Titus was deceased. (See Clerc, Massalia, 2: 374-375; Heyob, Cult of Isis, pp. 81-96, and note 52, about the office of prophet in the cult of Isis.)

The question is whether the cults of Leukothea and Isis in Marseilles can be considered as one, that is, whether Isis was also worshipped there as Leukothea. That both Isis and Leukothea were perceived in antiquity as sea-goddesses has already been discussed.

A connection between Isis and Leukothea in Marseilles may be surmised from an affinity that each is known to have had with Aphrodite. Aphrodite, also worshipped at Marseilles (test. 1-3), is often identified with the sea. This maritime aspect of Aphrodite may perhaps go back to a time when she was venerated as an Oriental sea-goddess. The epithet Ἡλαγώ ("of the sea") actually belonged to both Aphrodite and Isis in their Hellenic aspects of mistress of the sea and protectress of sailors. At one time or another Aphrodite, Isis, and Leukothea may have been perceived as a triad of maritime goddesses in the Mediterranean and as such especially honored by sailors in important coastal cities like Marseilles. Aphrodite, Isis, and Leukothea, in addition to their overseeing the perils of navigation, could also be worshipped as protectors of the military whose assignments often found them far away from their homes. Such appears to be the case at Marseilles with Titus and his father Porcius who seem to have held important religious offices. The evidence possibly shows that
Isis and Leukothea were both venerated in Marseilles. The cult of Isis seems to have received greater support than that of Leukothea. Titus and Porcius may not necessarily have served in two separate cults, one of Leukothea and another of Isis, but were connected with the same cult, that of Isis-Leukothea. (See Dunand, *Le cult d'Isis*, 1: 39-40, 80-81, 94, 98, 158, 2: 66, 113, note 5, 114, 118, 200, 3: 4, note 1, 75, note 2, 110, 116, 125-126, 227-228, 256, note 4, 258; Farnell, *Cults*, 2: 636-637; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 1: 15-20, on the Greco-Egyptian worship of Aphrodite and other deities.)

Before Clerc, both Grosson and Ternaux, the latter relying on the authority of the former, failed to find any indication of a cult of Leukothea and of her priest in the inscription. Grosson could not properly identify who Leukothea was, even after he had transliterated the Greek letters of the inscription into Latin, nor does he or Ternaux identify προφήτου (line 2) as belonging to the cult of Isis, though Clerc does. For Κυρεύνα, Κορυνηλιάνψ (line 2) Grosson has custodi coronarum Jani, which he, and later Ternaux, seem to think indicates a priest of Janus. It is curious that Ternaux, although he specifically mentions Janus and not Leucothea in his text as belonging to the religion of Marseilles, offers the reading Κυρεύνα Κορυνηλιάνψ Ἑρετ Λευκοθέας with no further mention as to its possible significance. (See Grosson, *Recueil*, pp. 267-269, and pl. 42, no. 3; Ternaux, *Historia Massiliensium*, pp. 64, note 157, 65, note 160, 67, note 169.)
88. C.I.L., 12, 410.  (plate LIX, no. 169) Ca. the third quarter of the 2nd c. A.D.

Cassis limestone Latin dedicatory inscription (H. 1.17 m.; W. 0.74 m.) from around the third quarter of the 2nd c. A.D., which may have served as a statue base. Found at Marseilles around 1820. Marseilles, Museum Borély.

Bibl.: C.I.L., 12, 410, pp. 58, 812 (transcription and commentary by C. Jullian, Bulletin Epigraphique [1886]: 117-127);
Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 37-38, no. 109; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 293-294, note 1, and fig. 16, 295, note 1, 297, notes 1 and 4, 370, note 1, 374-375, note 2.

Cn(aeo) Val(erio), Cn(aei) f(ilio), Quir(ina tribu), Pomp(eio) Valeriano, equo p(ublico) honorato a sacratissimis imp(eratoribus) 5 Antonino et Vero
Aug(ustis), auguri perpetuo, ob q(uem) hon(orem) s(estertium) c(entum milia) n(ummum) r(ei) p(ublicae) dedit,
agonothet(ae) agoni(s) M[el]lobiani, profet(a)e optime
10 de se merito, centonari corp(orati) Massil(iensis) patrono d(ono) d(ederunt) d(edicaverunt)

The inscription is dedicated to Cnaeus Valerius Pompeius Valerianus of Marseilles by the city's corporation of fabric makers, of which he was the patron. The dedication is easily dated between 161-169 A.D. in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (line 5). Like Titus and his father Porcius of the previous inscription (no. 87), Cnaeus Valerianus was of the tribe Quirina in Marseilles but, unlike the two former men, he seemed not to have left the city.
In addition to his having been made a knight, Valerianus also held the titles of augur, agonothetes, and profetes (prophetes), the last office also belonging to Titus' father Porcius. The title seems to indicate that Valerianus, like Titus and Porcius, was perhaps a prophet of a special Isis cult in Marseilles, and that the cult in question is that of Isis whose principal devotees in Marseilles appear to have been sailors and soldiers. It should be noted that Jullian suggests Jupiter (?) (from Iobiani or Ioviani) as a possible reading of the first word in line 9 of the inscription, while Froehner understands Melobianus (from M[e]lobiani, a Greek named Μηλόβιος). If Jullian's assumption is correct, it could indicate that Valerianus not only was a prophet of Isis in Marseilles but also presided over a cult of Zeus. On the evidence thus far presented for the Egyptian cults in Marseilles, it is possible that the reference to Zeus indicates a cult of Zeus-Sarapis and that Valerianus presided over a common cult of Isis and Zeus-Sarapis in the city.

89. C.I.L. 12, 489. (plate LX, nos. 170-171) Ca. 1st-mid 3rd c. A.D.

Marble Latin funerary inscription (H. 0.49 m.; L. 0.74 m.) from around the 1st-mid 3rd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Bassin de Carénage (ancient necropolis of Lakydon), around 1837. Marseilles, Museum Borély.

Bibl.: D. and G. Drocourt, Saint-Victor de Marseille, no. 4, and plate; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 404-411, and fig. 73.
The inscription is dedicated to (?) Valerius (? Satrius, ? Sentrius, ?Atrius--all three names are found in Narbonne, west of Marseilles, according to Jullian) Volusianus and Fortunatus by their mother (?) Hygia. The inscription has been the subject of much interpretation as to whether it belongs to the Christian or pre-Christian period. The only reason this inscription is proposed as a testimonium is the restoration of lines 3-7 by W. Froehner: [Iovis pater] refrigeret nos qu(am) potest (lines 5-7); vim [fluminis] passi sunt (lines 3-4), a supplication to Jove (Jupiter) to refresh (comfort, assist, revive) young boatmen who drowned in the Rhône. Others, especially E. Le Blant, believe that lines 3-4 should read vim [ignis] passi sunt, indicating that the two men died as martyrs for the faith. An anchor appearing at the end of the inscription may indicate the nautical profession of the two deceased (according to Froehner), or it may represent known symbol of hope, assurance, or salvation adopted by the Christians (according to Le Blant).

As to refrigeret (line 6), Clerc attests to its Christian significance and finds its precise meaning and origin in Egypt. According to Egyptian beliefs in death and the afterlife, the soul, once separated from the body, must undergo a long and painful journey in order to appear before Osiris. During the course of the voyage the soul traverses dismal
regions where it suffers from terrible hunger and unrelenting thirst. It is Isis and Osiris who succor it and 'refresh' it. Very often on Egyptian monuments there appear ardent petitions for running water to quench the thirst and soothe the heart. In mystical terms, this water becomes the fountain of life which fills the soul with eternal tranquility and gives it immortality. The Latin refrigerium (a cooling, revivification, comfort, consolation) has very nearly the same symbolic significance in Christian belief as it has in Egyptian. (See Clerc, Massalia, 2: 407-408, on this view.)

Among the most recent interpretations of the inscription is that of J. Rougé who feels that Volusianus and Fortunatus were not martyrs who died by burning (qui vim [ignis] passi sunt [lines 3-4]), but were sailors who perished at sea (or in the Rhône?): qui vim [flumini]s passi sunt. (See J. Rougé, "A propos d'une inscription de Marseille: Martyrs ou persis en mer?," Revue des Etudes Anciennes 71 [1969]: 85-99.)

Whatever the cause of their death, burning or drowning, it seems that their mother intended the epitaph to reflect a current belief that the soul would become immortal after death. That this notion coincides with similar convictions about the soul in Egyptian worship may not be accidental. Both Isis and Osiris, whose cults are known to have existed in Marseilles in the first-third centuries A.D., were worshipped by sailors and soldiers as protectors of a successful navigation or journey (test. 81, 87-88) and also by others who believed that they watched over the soul of the deceased as it made its voyage from this life to the next. In this respect, it may be that Isis and Zeus-Sarapis are both being called upon
in the inscription to guide and protect the souls of Volusianus and Fortunatus and give them relief (refrigerium) from their suffering.

Christianity, of course, was also a cult. If the subject of refrigeret (line 6) were Christ or God, the presence of Christianity in Marseilles would be documented.
Marble statuette (term) of triple Hekate (H. 0.30 m.) dating 3rd-2nd c. B.C. The statuette is composed of three women standing back to back, with feet together, each clothed in a long peplos. The heads and the arms of the statuette are missing, but long plaits of hair fall down over the shoulders. Around the trunk of the statuette below the arm sockets are represented three draped female dancers holding each other's hands as they move around the central figure. Found at Marseilles, Bassin de Carénage. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1734.

Bibl.: GAB, no. 59, inv. no. 1734; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 452, notes 2-3, and fig. 104, 2: 479; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 95-96, no. 234.

Hekate, the apotropaic goddess of ghosts, is here depicted as the terrifying triple-faced goddess whose multiple personality most often was thought to represent Selene in heaven, Artemis on earth, and Hekate in Hades. Since she was believed to appear at night, she became associated with the moon and with crossroads where ghostly activities were thought to take place at night. Hekate, as the triple goddess, is also identified with Artemis as a moon-goddess, with Demeter as an earth-goddess, and with Kore-Persephone as an underworld-goddess. In her aspect as goddess of the crossroads the Romans identified her with Trivia. (See Farnell, Cults, 2: 501-519, for further details on the Greek cult of Hekate.)

The statuette also represents the three decades of the lunar month, with the three female dancers (possibly the Charites or Graces) symboliz-
90. Hekateion (cont.)

ing the waxing, full, and waning moon.

Pausanias (II, 30, 2), in his description of Corinth, believed that Alkamenes, a contemporary of Phidias, was the first to represent Hekate with three bodies.

Only this Hekateion and a second whose provenance is unknown are in Marseilles. The latter, a marble Hekateion (H. .275 m.) of uncertain date also in the Museum Borély (inv. no. 4366), represents three young ladies standing back to back. One is holding an umbilical patera, the second a purse, and the third, with her hand folded over her breast, appears to be holding a flower. All three are leaning on a thyrsos or torch. (See GAB, no. 60, inv. no. 4366.) Since the provenance of this second Hekateion is unknown and its date uncertain, it has not been considered as a separate testimonium.
HEPHAISTOS

Evidence for Hephaistos, god of fire and patron of smiths and of all handicrafts, has not been found in Marseilles. As a god of the crafts, he may have been worshipped with Athena who generally shares this distinction with him in Greek cult. The workshops of bronze artisans were apparently quite numerous in Southern France during the Gallo-Roman period, as the many bronze cast statuettes which have been found in Gaul can attest. The late Roman bronze statuettes of Athena (test. 35), Eros (test. 55), and Harpokrates (test. 79) may have come from a workshop in Marseilles which has not yet been located. If such a workshop is discovered or a bronze statuette of Hephaistos or a dedicatory inscription to him is ever found in Marseilles, it will be possible to locate his cult in the city. In Roman Gaul Vulcan (Hephaistos) frequently was identified with Mars (Ares) with whom he shares many attributes. This close connection between the two gods was expressed in Gallic bronze imitations of Roman originals. (See Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 106, 141; Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 86-89; MacKendrick, Roman France, pp. 152, 156, 174-176, 187, and ill. 7.4, concerning the existence of the Gallo-Roman cult of Hephaistos in France.)
HERA

There is no evidence of a cult of Hera, either alone or with her consort Zeus, in Marseilles. Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 63, and note 153) says that Juno, as the Greek goddess was known to the Romans, was represented with Apollo and Diana on a triangular altar in Marseilles: Juno cum Apolline et Diana in ara triquetra efficta est. The whereabouts of this altar is not known other than in this reference to it by Ternaux.

The seated figure which appears within the forty-one limestone archaic and classical shrines or chapels found in Marseilles, Rue Négrel, in 1863 may perhaps represent Hera, although the positive identification of the figure has remained moot ever since the monuments were discovered. The seated figure (plate LXI, no. 173) has been identified as Artemis, Athena, and Kybele, and other conjectures have been made which suggest Aphrodite or Rhea. (See test. 27, 36, 103.) Two additional similar monuments dating from the Roman period, also found in Rue Négrel, with a figure standing between two pilasters surmounted with capitals are thought to represent Attis (test. 38 and plates XXVI-XXVII, nos. 88-91), thereby allowing with some assurance that the other forty-one figures represent Kybele, the consort of Attis. (See TMB, inv. no. 1544, and photo; GAB, nos. 1-43, inv. nos. 1523-1563, 3970-3972, and photo; Trezin, "Marseille et l' économie," photo; Baratier, Histoire de Marseille, pp. 21-22; Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 11-13, and pl. 4, nos. 1-2; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 224-240, and figs. 47-56; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 11-14, nos. 23-63, on the subject of the Rue Négrel shrines.)
Hera (cont.)

Although Clerc thinks that the seated female figure within the forty-one sixth-fifth century B.C. monuments could represent Kybele, Artemis, or Athena, he does suggest stylistic similarities between the figure and the archaic statue of Hera at Samos. By comparison, two Greek bronze medals (plate LXII, nos. 174-175), one struck during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.), and the other bearing the name of Herennia Etruscilla, the supposed wife of the Emperor Decius (249-251 A.D.), bear the likeness of Samian Hera (Juno), whose cult statue is thought to have been made by the Aeginetan sculptor Smilis (ca. 580-540 B.C.). The Samian statue bears a close resemblance to the idol of the Ephesian Artemis (plate XIX, no. 57) and may have been an imitation of it. The famous "family group" from the Sanctuary of Hera at Samos (ca. 560 B.C.) by the artist Geneleos offers a further comparison with the seated figure from Marseilles (plate LXIII, nos. 176-177). Of the six figures which make up the marble group, the seated one at the far left (identified as Phileia) shows a remarkable likeness to the seated figure of the monuments from Marseilles. (See Clerc, ibid., pp. 229, 232; Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, pp. 86-87 and plates 22-23; Head, Historia Numorum, p. 606; Lacroix, Reproductions de statues, pp. 206-216; E. Homann-Wedeking, The Art of Ancient Greece [New York, 1966] pp. 93-94 and fig. 17; Hanfmann, Classical Sculpture, p. 309, and ill. 62; Cook, Greeks in Ionia, pp. 103-104 and fig. 31; Richter, Korai, pp. 1, 3-4, 37-38, 45-46, 49-50, no. 67 and photo, on the Samian Hera.)

It is certainly possible that in Marseilles Hera was worshipped under the aspect of some other goddess with whom she is often associated,
Hera (cont.)

such as Aphrodite, Eileithyia, or Leto, although of these only Aphrodite seems to have been venerated there (test. 1-3). Hera is also identified with Isis. (See Apuleius, Metamorphoses, XI, 16, where Isis announces herself to Lucius and says that she is known by many goddesses' names, including Juno.) For Isis there is much documentary evidence in Marseilles (test. 78, 81-83, 87-89). Zeus (Jupiter), Hera's consort, was frequently associated with Osiris-Sarapis, especially in the Roman period. There is evidence for this too in Marseilles (test. 84-86, 88-89). That Isis and Sarapis were venerated together in Marseilles seems likely (test. 82). The Egyptian goddess may have been worshipped there in a common cult with Zeus-Sarapis (test. 78, 88-89.) Because of this connection between Isis and Zeus (Jupiter)-Osiris (Sarapis) in Marseilles, Hera (Juno), identified with Isis, may also have been venerated there with Zeus (Jupiter) and Osiris (Sarapis). (For Hera identified with Isis, see Legge, Forerunners and Rivals of Chrisitanity, 1: 56; Dunand, Le culte d'Isis, 1: 69, 2: 13, note 4, 111, note 11, 3: 43, 80, note 1, 277.)
HERAKLES

91. Silver obol of the Herakles-type. Ca. 5th c. B.C.

Massaliote silver obol from around the 5th c. B.C. Head of Herakles (?Apollo), to r., with letters HPAK. Reverse with M in one of the spokes of a wheel.

Bibl.: Muret and Chabouillet, Catalogue, p. 12, no. 538.

Since most of the issues from Marseilles have the type of either Apollo, Artemis, or Athena represented on the obverse, it follows that Apollo should be identified on the obverse of the obol. The letters HPAK in the obverse field, however, seem to indicate that the figure should be recognized as Herakles and that HPAK signifies his name, HPAK[ΔΗΣ].

Benoît (Art et dieux, p. 143), although pointing out that the head of Herakles appears on the earliest coins of Marseilles, does not refer to this particular coin nor does he cite the Catalogue of Muret and Chabouillet in his comprehensive bibliography (p. 157), where a reference to this coin would be most expected to be found. The M on the reverse is a known abbreviation of Μ[ΑΣΕΑΛΗΤΩΝ], showing it to be a coin of the people of Marseilles. (See de la Saussaye, Numismatique Narbonnaise, p. 61.)

This silver obol is the only direct evidence of Herakles' veneration in Marseilles. An accumulation of a quotation from Strabo, a popular identification of a place connected with Strabo's account, a restoration of an inscription by Hirschfeld, and a bronze statuette now lost, offer the only other ancient testimonia which may lead to some cumulative support of Herakles' presence in the area. Though these testimonia are not by any means conclusive, they must be reported as background.

204
91. Silver obol (cont.)

The origins of Herakles, the most popular and widely worshipped of Greek heroes, are very ancient and probably go back to at least the Mycenaean Age or possibly earlier. The Twelve Labors, which he performed for Eurystheus of Argos, Tiryns, and Mycenae, have given him universal celebrity. It was while he was en route to his last three Labors (Cattle of Geryon, Apples of the Hesperides, and Kerberos) that Herakles, according to one version, journeyed southward through France (probably in the vicinity of Marseilles), Spain, and across northern Africa. To commemorate his journey to the western edge of the world, he set up the *Herakleous Stelai* (Pillars of Herakles) which have been identified with the promontories of Kalpe (Gibraltar) in Spain and Abyla (Ceuta) in Africa, where the Atlantic enters the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar.

Strabo (IV, I, 7) quotes Aeschylus (*Prometheus Unbound*, Frag. 199) in which Herakles will pass through the territory of native Ligurians dwelling around Marseilles while on his way to fetch the Apples of the Hesperides:

... φησὶ γοῦν

Προμηθεὺς παρ᾿ αὐτῷ, καθηγούμενος Ἦρακλεὶ τῶν ὀδῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Καυκάσου πρὸς τὰς Ἑσπερίδας.

... δὲ λιγὺν εἰς ἀτάρβητου στρατὸν,
ἐνθ’ οὗ μάχης, σάφ’ οἶον, καὶ θοῦρός περ’ ὄν,
μείψεσ’ πέρπωται γὰρ σε καὶ βέλη λυπεῖν
ἐνταθ’· ἐλέσθαι θ’ οὗ τὸν’ ἐκ γαῖας λύθον
ἐξεργήσει, ἐπεὶ πᾶς χῶρος ἐστὶ μαλακὸς.

... ἀμηχανούντα σε Ζεὺς οἰκτερεῖ,
νεφέλην δ’ ὑποσχὼν νυφᾶς γογγύλων πέτρων
ὑπόσκολον θῆσει χθόν’, οἷς ἔπειτα σθ’

βαλὼν διώσει βραδὺς Λὺγυν στρατὸν.
The place where Herakles encountered the Ligurians is today identified with a plain located between Marseilles and the Rhône which is called Λευκώδες, 'Stony Plain.' The people of Southern France now refer to this spot, situated northwest of Marseilles and southeast of Arles near the Rhône delta and littered with round stones, as La Crau. Pliny (Natural History, III, 33) refers to the same incident and similar place: Campi Lapidei, Herculis proeliorum memoria. The actual route followed by Herakles is supposed to have extended from Monaco (up the coast, east of Marseilles) to Cadix (Gades) in southwestern Spain and was called the Via Heraclea (όδος Ἡρακλεία, in Pseudo-Aristotle, De mirabili ascul- tatione, 85, relying probably on Timaeus). The ancient name of Monaco, Portus Herculis Monoeci (Ἡρακλέους Μονούκου λυμή, in Ptolemaeus, III, 1, 2, who ascribes it to Marseilles), reflects its association with the hero, whose cult at Monaco was most likely preceded by an older indigenous one. Strabo (IV, 6, 3) says that Herakles had a temple at Monaco and conjectures that the city probably belonged to Marseilles: Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Μονούκου λυμήν . . . . ἔχων άεραν Ἡρακλέους Μονούκου καλομένου. ἔσωκε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνοματος καὶ μέχρι δεύτερο διατείνειν ὁ Μασσαλιωτικὸς παράπλους . . . . Pliny (Natural History, III, 5 and 33) mentions another town located near the Rhône bearing the name of Herakles: Heraclea ad Rhodanum; Heracleam oppidum in ostio Rhodani. This town has been identified with Saint-Gilles or Saint-Blaise in the Rhône delta. Although Heraklea may have belonged to Marseilles, it is generally agreed that it was not originally one of its colonies. The town, probably pre-Phokaian and founded by Rhodians,
91. Silver obol (cont.)

was at a much later date (ca. after the sixth century B.C.) occupied by
Marseilles. At any rate, Herakles' encounter with the Ligurians, while
he was passing through the plain of La Crau en route to his final Labors,
may symbolize the native resistance in the area around Marseilles to for­

eign penetration. (See Jones, Strabo, 2: 266-269, notes 6-8; Cougny,
Gallikön, 1: 282-283; Jannoray, Ensérune, pp. 282, notes 1 and 2, 285,
note 8, 287, notes 4 and 5, 290, 300, note 6, 338, note 1; M. Pezet, Sur
les traces d' Hercule [Paris, 1962], pp. 8, 18, 20, and passim; Clébert,
Provence antique, 1: 198-209; Benoif, L' art primitif, pp. 8, 13; Baratier,
Histoire de Marseille, p. 22; idem, Histoire de Provence [Toulouse, 1973],
pp. 46-47; Reymond and Dugand, Monaco antique, pp. 131, 226, and passim;
T. Cook, Old Provence, pp. 19-21; Dontenville, Histoire et géographie
mythiques, p. 32; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 32, 47, 247, note 1, 262, note 6,
320-321, 453, 2: 271, note 1; Properzio, "Rhodian Colonization in Iberia,"
pp. 94-95, note 12, on the Herakles-myth in Provence and the rest of Gaul.)

At Nîmes, northwest of Marseilles, there was one of the oldest
sanctuaries of Herakles. The ancient city of Nîmes, called Nemausos or
Nemausus, was built at the foot of the ancient sanctuary of Nemausos, a
local Kelto-Ligurian divinity, whose origins go back to the sixth century
B.C. The Greeks of Marseilles are considered to have assimilated this
god into their religion, perhaps identifying him with Herakles himself.
Stephanus Byzantius (Appendix II, 38 B, s.v. Νέμαυσος), relying on
Parthenios of Nice, says that in the first century B.C. Nemausos is called
a son of Herakles. Identified then either as the son of Herakles or with
91. Silver obol (cont.)

the hero himself, Nemausos probably was worshipped both in Nîmes and Marseilles in connection with the Greek hero, whose already well-known encounter with the Ligurians in the plain of La Crau became the basis of many myths about the foundation of cities in the Rhône valley such as Nîmes. (See Clébert, Provence antique, 1: 204, 2: 253; Duval, La Gaule, 1: 290; de la Saussaye, Numismatique Narbonnaise, pp. 160-161, concerning the worship of Herakles at Nîmes.)

Galata and Galates, Kelto-Greek divinities, are connected in myth with Herakles in Gaul and in Marseilles (test. 59-61). Both Duval and Benoît claim that during the Gallo-Roman period in France Herakles was identified with Ogmios, an indigenous Keltic divinity, with whom he shares many attributes (test. 69). An infernal god usually armed with a club, Ogmios, like Herakles, was considered a super-hero. The killing of the Nemean Lion, for which Herakles used his club, is also attributed to Ogmios. (See Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 80-85; Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 11, 56-57, on the relationship between Ogmios and Herakles.)

A Latin inscription on a large limestone base (for a statue ?) from around the first century A.D. found at Marseilles, Bassin de Carénage, in 1831 may point to a cult of Herakles (plate LXIV, no. 178):

Etrilia. Laeta. Syriaci
M. Via Aquensi(s)

The last five letters of line 2 and the first letter of line 3 have been restored as follows: h(ic) l(ocus) p(ublice) d(atus) e(st) M(assiliae), by Froehner; h(oc) l(oco) p(ermissu) de(curionum) M(assiliensium), by Hirschfeld: H(erculi) l(ibens) p(osui) de m eo, by Mommsen; (milia)
91. Silver obol (cont.)

*p(assuum) de M(assilia)*, by Herzog. Froehner's, Hirschfeld's, and Herzog's readings indicate that the inscription is a Massaliote dedication, while Mommsen indicates that it is a dedication to Herakles under his Roman name, Hercules. (See Froehner, *Catalogue*, p. 19, no. 71; Clerc, *Aquae Sextiae*, pp. 232, note 3, 233, 553, no. 187, and pl. 38; C.I.L., 12, 412, pp. 48, 412, for additional information on this inscription.)

A bronze statuette of Herakles found at Marseilles, Rue de l'Evêché, in 1856 may be further associated with his cult in Marseilles. The date and provenance of the statuette are unknown. Unfortunately it is lost, although Clerc reports he had a drawing of the statuette. (See *Massalia*, 1: 216, note 1 of p. 215.)

The Latin inscription and bronze statuette are offered only tentatively as evidence for a cult of Herakles in Marseilles and therefore are not reported as separate testimonia.
92. Hermes identified with Anubis on a Roman lamp (Hermanubis). (plate LVII, no. 160) 1st-2nd c. A.D.

For the discussion of this terracotta lamp with Isis and Anubis in relief, see test. 83. The lamp was found at Marseilles.

On the discus of the lamp jackal-headed Anubis is holding a caduceus. Anubis, when he is represented with the caduceus or herald's staff, is often identified with Hermes Psychopompos, the chthonic deity who conducts souls to the underworld. Anubis performs the same duty for Osiris. Because of this similarity of function to Hermes, Anubis was given the name Hermanubis. (See test. 81, where a relief-figure on a Gallo-Roman altar from Marseilles has been identified as Anubis and may also represent Hermanubis; test. 69, where Hermes has been identified with a male figure on the mutilated left side of the same altar discussed for Hades [cult of the dead].)


Painted local limestone two-headed Hermes (H. 0.20m.; L. 0.28 m.) found by H. de Gerin-Ricard in the excavations of the Kelto-Ligurian sanctuary of Roquepertuse (Velaux), northwest of Marseilles, 1920-1923. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 6017.

Bibl.: GAB, room 3, no. 16, inv. no. 6017; TMB, inv. no. 6017; Benoît, L'art primitif, p. 40, and plates 34, no. 1, 35; idem, Art et dieux, p. 42, and ill. 45; Pezet, Traces d'Hercule, pp. 62, ill. 66, 129; Piggott, Daniel and McBurney, France before the Romans, pp. 176, ill. 79, 189.
This sculpture has been identified as a Hermes by Benoît, Boulard-Collin, and Pezet.

The limestone figure, two beardless heads fastened at the nape of the neck, has large eyes surrounded by a bulging lid, straight, projecting cheekbones, large mouths with well-defined thin lips, and no ears. The two heads are separated at the top by what appears to be a bird's beak. Roquepertuse, the Kelto-Ligurian religious sanctuary, expresses the influence of Greco-Roman Marseilles on the native back country. In Southern France fine stone masonry was first introduced by the Greeks of Marseilles. A new phase of art had started under this Greek influence producing before the arrival of the Romans the celebrated sculptures of Roquepertuse and other sites around Marseilles. (See Benoît, *L'art primitif*, pp. 7-11; Piggott, Daniel and McBurney, *France before the Romans*, p. 205, for more about the Greek influence on native sculpture in Gaul.)

Hermes in Gaul is more closely associated with the Greek Psychopompos than to the Roman Mercury. When the Romans came to Gaul, they found an already powerful and widely worshipped unnamed native divinity associated with the arts more similar to the Greek Hermes than the Roman Mercury. The Romans oversimplified the matter by applying the name Mercury indifferently to the Gallic gods Teutates, 'father of the tribe,' Esus, perhaps 'master,' Cernunnos, 'the god with stag's antlers,' and Lug, who is the embodiment of the total divinity. In Roman times, Lug is most often associated with Hermes in France. The god, frequently represented beardless and double-headed (as here), sometimes triple-headed, and rarely
93. Double-headed Hermes (cont.)

four-headed, is the god of the crossroads, an apotropaic function he
shares with Hekate. (See MacKendrick, Roman France, p. 158; Benoît,
Art et dieux, pp. 54, 57-58, 99, 114, 116, 146; Duval, Dieux de la Gaule,
pp. 44-45, fig. 15, 67-70, fig. 26, concerning Gallo-Roman Hermes.)

Numismatic evidence for Hermes is not yet certain. Habel, accord­
ing to Clerc (see reference below), says that the fifth-century silver
obols of Marseilles, with a helmeted male head generally to the right
although sometimes to the left on the obverse, and a four-spoked wheel
on the reverse, represent Hermes. Clerc argues against this simply
because he maintains that there is no evidence of Hermes' cult in
Marseilles while that of Apollo is well-documented. Consequently, Clerc
identifies the helmeted figure on the silver obols as Apollo. Besides
Habel, Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 63) identifies Hermes on the
coins of Marseilles: Mercurii . . . . signa nonnumquam conspiciuntur
in nummis, but makes no further mention of them. It is possible that Habel
based his information of the helmeted figure on Ternaux's testimony. That
the figure represents Apollo has not yet been finally determined. Both
Head (Historia Numorum, p. 6, note 1, 434, 436) and de la Tour (Monnaies
gauloises, p. 5, note 1, and pl. 2, no. 520) inconclusively identify the
helmeted head as Apollo (?), basing their assumptions on Pausanias'
description of the archaic statue of the Amyklaian Apollo (III, 19):
εχει δὲ ἐπὶ την κεφαλην χρόνος. Muret and Chabouillet (Catalogue, p. 12,
no. 520) are also uncertain, merely describing the figure as a helmeted
head to the right with a wheel on the helmet without any mention of Apollo.
It is certainly puzzling, however, that Clerc, after already having remarked that he sees no evidence of a Hermes-cult in Marseilles, says that some coins of Marseilles have the caduceus represented on them, undoubtedly indicative of a cult. It should be noted that he furnishes no evidence for the existence of such coins. (See Clerc, Massalia, 1: 360-361, note 2, fig. 88, nos. 2-3, 453; de la Saussaye, Numismatique Narbonnaise, p. 54, notes 2-4, for further discussion on these coins of Marseilles.)
HYGIEIA

94. Drinking cup with inscription to Hygieia. Ca. 2nd c. B.C.
(plate LXIV, no. 179)


Benoît thinks that the inscription on the drinking cup represents an invocation to Hygieia, the goddess of health. Drinking cups of this type are among the various kinds of dinnerware uncovered from the shipwreck of the Grand Congloué. It is likely that this vessel belonged to a wealthy Massaliote family. Most of the cups are inscribed with the similar invocation to Hygieia, which drinkers in Greece in classical times made after washing the hands at the end of a meal while emptying the last cup (µετανιπτρίς). It is possible that the inscription on this drinking cup identified it as a metaniptris and that the name of the potter also appeared as part of the invocation. Ariston, the name of a potter, is inscribed inside the wide shallow bowl of another drinking cup (plate LXIV, no. 179) which was found in the same shipwreck with the Hygieia cup. The inscription on the Hygieia cup, therefore, may have read: ΤΗΣ ΨΥΛΗΣ [ΜΕΤΑΝΙΠΤΡΙΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΑΠΙΩΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣ].

If the invocation to Hygieia on the drinking cup indicates that
there was a cult of this goddess at Marseilles, it may be that she was
venerated there in conjunction with another deity who had a more
established cult. The cult of Hygieia in Marseilles could have been
associated with that of Athena, Apollo, Asklepios, Isis, and Sarapis who
are deities of health. The Latin funerary inscription from Marseilles
(test. 89), dedicated to Volusianus and Fortunatus by their mother and
considered to be an invocation to Isis, may possibly be invoking the
salutary goddess Isis-Hygieia. The mother's name may have been the same
as the health goddess' (? Hygia), thereby making the invocation to Isis
much more personal and appropriate. (See Farnell, Cults, 1: 297, 316-318;
Dunand, Le culte d' Isis, 2: 112, note 6, 142, note 4, 143, 155-156, note
1, 162, notes 2-3, 3: 258-259, notes 1-8, for Hygieia identified with
Athena and Isis.)
IMPERIAL CULT

95. Latin inscription from the Maison Carée, Nîmes. 1st c. A.D.
(plates LXVI, nos. 182-183)

Latin inscription of the 1st c. A.D. in bronze cut-out letters run-
ing along the front of the Maison Carée above the columns. Nîmes.
The inscription is lost.

Bibl.: Cook, *Old Provence*, pp. 203-204, note 1, 205-218;
MacKendrick, *Roman France*, pp. 75-76, and ill. 3.6; see also

C. CAESARI AUGUSTI F. COS. L. CAESARI
AUGUSTI F. COS. DESIGNATO PRINCIPIBUS
JUVENTUTIS

One of the best preserved and most famous religious monuments of
the Roman world, and surely one of the finest and most elegant edifices
outside the limits of the Greek world, the celebrated Maison Carée with
its graceful Corinthian columns originally was dedicated by Agrippa to
Rome and Augustus in 16 B.C., and then again in 1 A.D. to Gaius and
Lucius Caesar, Augustus' grandchildren, whom Augustus had adopted as his
heirs. The earlier dedication makes the Maison Carée one of the earliest
monuments of Roman Imperial cult in Western Europe.

Upon Gaius' death in Lykia and Lucius' at Marseilles, the empire
passed to Tiberius, but the memory of the two youths whom Augustus had so
dearly loved lived on in Provence. Gaius was official patron of Nîmes
and Lucius had died in nearby Marseilles. It was to their deified memories
that this temple was rededicated. The inscription, of which the put-holes
for attaching the letters are still visible, was deciphered by Séguiier.

216
95. Latin inscription from the Maison Carée (cont.)

This testimonium is not direct evidence for the Imperial cult in Marseilles. The reason this inscription is included is that one would reasonably expect a similar veneration of Lucius with the Imperial cult in Marseilles, a city close to Nîmes and the one in which he actually died.

96. C.I.L., 12, 406. 1st c. A.D.


Germanico Caesari. Ti. (Aug. f)
L. Valerius.
L. Tonneius. L. (f.)
A. Mevius. (A. f.)
magistri. Larum. Aug(ustorum)
anno. V. Ti. Caes(aris Aug)

The inscription is dedicated to Germanicus Caesar, (adopted) son of the Emperor Tiberius Augustus, by L. Valerius, L. Tonneius, and A. Mevius, magistri Larum Aug(ustorum), officials charged with the celebration of the Lares, tutelary deities of the house, land, and state. It seems here that the three men are overseers of the public cult of the Lares Augusti, the Lares of the Imperial house. The inscription can be dated in the fifth year of the reign of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), or 19 A.D. the year Germanicus died at Antioch in Syria.

The Imperial cult of the Lares Augusti was instituted by the Emperor Augustus himself (27 B.C.-14 A.D.). Augustus had encouraged the
worship of Roma et Augustus in the provinces, had initiated it in Gaul and Germany, and many provincial and non-provincial cities had erected altars or temples in his honor (test. 95). He did not promote this new worship in Italy, but nevertheless temples were erected to him or to the Genius Augusti in most of the towns. Although in Rome itself his Lares were worshipped in many private houses with the cult of the Lares Familiaries, Augustus permitted no public worship of himself except among the poorer people whom he allowed to sacrifice to the Lares Augusti in small chapels on street corners.

After the death of Augustus, the Imperial cult of the Lares Augusti does not appear to have lost its popular appeal, especially in the provinces, as the dedication to Germanicus from Marseilles testifies.

97. C.I.L., 12, 408. (plate LXVII, no. 184) Ca. 1st c. A.D.

Latin inscription from around the 1st c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Bassin de Carénage, on a tombstone in the garden of M. Clément. Avignon, Museum Calvet.

Bibl.: C.I.L., 12, 408, pp. 58, 412; Clerc, Aquae Sextiae, pp. 298, note 3, 299-300, 553, no. 186, and pl. 38.

L. Dudistio L.F. Vol
Novano
pontif. Laurentinorum
orn.flamin colon. Aquens
exorn. praef Alae Hispaniae
adiutori ad census provin(c)
Lugudunens . proc Aug Alpium
Cottian Dudisti Eelectus et
Aphonetus patrono optimo

The inscription is dedicated to L. Dudistius Novanus, a native of Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence), by Dudistia, Eelectus, and Aphonetus,
his freedwoman and freedmen (liberta, liberti). Probably of the equestrian order, Dudistius seems to have discharged his civil and military duties outside of his native city. One of his religious offices is that of pontifex Laurentinorum (line 3), which identifies him as a member of a priestly college seated at Rome whose members, mostly of the equestrian order, were charged with the celebration of the ancient cult of the Penates, tutelary deities of Latium, first introduced by Aeneas. The Penates, as the Lares (test. 96), had special importance to the state as well as to Roman households and were venerated as the Penates Publici. Pontifex Laurentinorum seems to be an honorary title bestowed upon Dudistius. His other title, flamen coloniae Aquensis (line 4), conferred upon him by his city and probably also honorary, designates him as a priest of the Imperial cult of Roma et Augustus (test. 95-96). Because the dedication was found at Marseilles, one may suppose that Dudistius after he retired from public office lived in Marseilles where Dudistia, Eglectus, and Aphonetus erected this funerary monument to him.

The dedication to Apollo made by L. Aelius Nymphicus, a Sevir Augustalis corporatus, is further testimony of the Imperial cult. This inscription, found at Marseilles, was discussed already under Apollo in test. 16.

The funerary altar-tomb dedicated to Quintus Gallius Euphemius, a member of the Seviri Augustales of Marseilles, discussed earlier in test. 76 under Hades (cult of the dead), is evidence of the Imperial cult in Marseilles.
98. Silver obols of the Lakydon-type. Ca. 5th c. B.C.
(plate LXVII, nos. 185-186)

Massaliote silver obols from around the 5th c. B.C. Youthful head, to r., beardless (sometimes slight whiskers), the hair dishevelled, with a small horn sprouting from the forehead. In front of the figure runs the legend, ΛΑΚΥ∆ΩΝ. Reverse with wheel.

Bibl.: Drawings from Clerc, Massalia, 1: 361, fig. 88, note 4, 363-365, and from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, pp. 5-6, pl. 2, nos. 528, 534-535; see also de la Saussaye, Numismatique Narbonnaise, pp. 61, notes 2-4, 62, notes 1-6, and pl. 1, no. 21; Muret and Chabouillet, Catalogue, p. 12, nos. 334-335, 528; Grosson, Recueil, pp. 29-30, and pl. 1, no. 17.

These rare specimens are generally considered to represent the ancient port of Marseilles (deified? heroised? personified?) under its local name. This identification was first made by C. Jullian. (See Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille," p. 134, and note 5; C. Jullian, "Le port du Lacydon et le ruisseau sacré des Marseillais," Provincia 1 [1921]: 1-6.)

Although these coins bear a close resemblance to some other silver obols with the head of Apollo on the obverse and the wheel on the reverse of relatively the same period, the legend ΛΑΚΥ∆ΩΝ on these silver obols seems to symbolize the city's divinized port, according to Clerc (Massalia 1:363) who also noted this. It is possible that the head on the obverse represents not only Lakydon but also Apollo Delphinios or Apollo Rhodanos, protectors of navigation in Marseilles. Lakydon appears to be the name of
98. Silver obols of the Lakydon-type (cont.)

A fountain or spring which flowed into the harbor. To the left of the harbor there was a well-known fountain, later transformed into a well. As the only such water which flowed into the harbor, the harbor seems likely to have inherited its sacred character and name. Lakydon is not a Greek but a Ligurian word. On some specimens of the obol the place of the whiskers (which do not appear on the specimens here) is taken by letters (ΠΑΠ, ΜΑ, ΑΤΠΙ) which, from their inconspicuous position, may possibly be artists' signatures. (On ancient Lakydon, see also Benoît, *Art et dieux*, pp. 78, 84.)
Greek inscription. Ca. late 2nd c. B.C.-early 2nd c. A.D.

on a marble base (H. 0.70 m.; W. 0.39 m.). Found near the ruins of ancient Phokaia, Ionia.


The inscription, first published by Reinach, is a dedication to T. Flavius Varus Calvisianus Hermokrates, son of Stratonicus, of the tribe Quirina, by the council and the people of Phokaia. (See test. 87, for another inscription mentioning the tribe Quirina in Marseilles.) Among the important titles of Flavius Hermokrates is Ιερέα τῆς Μασσαλίας (lines 13-14), priest of Massalia, indicating that there may have been a cult of the deified and personified Phokaian colony in the mother-city.
Clerc has pointed out that if lines 13-14 meant 'priest from Marseilles,' the inscription would read ξερεύς ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ without the article and the name of the deity whose cult was venerated would be indicated. In this inscription, according to Clerc, the wording can signify nothing but the priest of the goddess Massalia. The mention of this priesthood in the dedication may also indicate that there was a similar cult of the goddess in Marseilles.

Three other Phokaian inscriptions naming a priesthood of Massalia are discussed below under this testimonium, rather than under separate testimonia, because this office was held by members of the same family.

The first dedication (C.I.G., 2, 3415) names Flavia Ammion Aristion, daughter of Moschus, and wife of Flavius Hermokrates (honored in the above inscription) as a priestess of Massalia: ....... Φλαουύαν Μόσχου ὑγατέρα, Ἀμμινοῦ, τῆς καλουμένην 'Αριστίνον, ....... ξερέων τῆς Μασσαλίας, ....... τὴν Φλαουύου 'Ερμοκράτου γυναῖκα.

The second inscription (C.I.G., 2, 3413) is a dedication by the people of Phokaia to Demetrius Gallus, son of Demetrius, Priest of Massalia: ὁ δῆμος Δημητρίου Δημητρίου Γάλλου, ....... ξερέα τῆς Μασσαλίας τὸ γάλι
(plate LXVII, no. 187).

The third dedication (Clerc, Massalia, 2: 364, note 1) honors Gaius Flavius Julius Domitianus Hermokrates, son of Stratonicus, of the tribe Quirina, priest of Massalia, who may be the brother of Flavius Hermokrates in the first inscription. Four members of this Phokaian family at some time held the priesthood of Massalia in their city.
99. Greek inscription (cont.)

It may be that the cult of a goddess Massalia was sent by Phokaia to Marseilles and that the priesthood of this cult was being fulfilled there by both Phokaian and Massaliote citizens. The cult of Massalia existing in Marseilles may perhaps also be seen in the epithet 'Ιερήν πόλις which Oppian (Halieutica, III, 542) gives to the city.

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, pp. 38, note 94, 67, notes 165-167), referring to 'Ιερεύς et Ίέρεια ης Μασσαλίας and mentioning only Flavia (Flavonia, according to Ternaux) and Demetrius of the second and third inscriptions discussed above, says that the titles seem to indicate priesthoods of Diana and Apollo in Marseilles. He makes no reference to a cult of the goddess Massalia there.

100. Bronze coins of the Massalia-type. Ca. 1st c. B.C.

Massaliote small bronzes from around the 1st c. B.C. Head of a woman, to r., turreted; legend MA (occasionally) on either side of head. Reverse with dolphin, legend MA, crescent ? or galley.

Bibl.: Drawings from Clerc, Massalia, l: 373, fig. 93, nos. 5 and 6, 375, notes 1-2, 382-383; see also de la Saussaye, Numismatique Narbonnaise, pp. 87, note 10, 88, and pl. 12, nos. 430-431; Muret and Chabouillet, Catalogue, p. 39, no. 2051; de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, pl. 4, no. 2051.

The turreted figure represented on these bronze coins from Marseilles can reasonably be identified as the personified city-goddess Massalia. The available evidence for the existence of her cult in Phokaia
and probably in Marseilles has already been presented in test. 99. The appearance of Massalia on these bronze coins, which are of relatively the same date as the epigraphical evidence from Phokaia, is further testimony that she was venerated in the Phokaian colony. It has also been suggested that the turreted figure may represent Artemis, Kybele, or Copia, special protectresses of cities, who can be seen wearing turreted crowns. Copia, the Roman goddess of abundance, is one of the official titles of the city Lugdunum (Lyons, on the Rhône, north of Marseilles): Colonia Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum (Inscr. Orelli, 194, 2325). The obverse head also may represent the Tyche of the city of Marseilles, i.e., its good fortune or destiny personified.

A head found in 1827 at Nîmes was considered by F. Lenormant to represent the city of Marseilles. Clerc, who did not see the statue or the report in which it was published, did not doubt that it might represent Marseilles, or possibly Demeter or Kybele, though he thought that it might not be ancient. Therefore, this head is doubtful evidence and is not included as a testimonium. (See Clerc, Massalia, 2: 261, note 3, 262.)
101. Mithraic relief. (plate LXVIII, no. 190) Roman period.

Roman relief depicting a Mithraic initiation. Found at Marseilles, somewhere near the Old Cathedral, before 1773. The relief is lost.

Bibl.: Drawing from Grosson, Recueil, pp. 108-111, and pl. 10, no. 1; Al. N. Oikonomides, Mithraic Art: A Search for Unpublished and Unidentified Monuments (Chicago, 1975, pp. 41-44, and fig. 18. Oikonomides (in chapter four of Mithraic Art, "Mithraic Initiation and a Lost Relief from Marseilles," pp. 41-44) proposes that the relief scene represents a Mithraic initiation in Marseilles. He identifies the three young men, wearing Phrygian hats and cloaks, as initiates of the Mysteries of Mithras who are dressed in typical ceremonial uniform.

Oikonomides disagrees with the earlier interpretation of the relief scene by de Peyresc that it represents the three angels who foretell the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The wife of Lot changed into a pillar of salt stands behind them. According to Oikonomides, the badly damaged bearded figure behind the three initiates is possibly a fourth participant in the Mithraic ceremony or perhaps a decorative sculpture of a Mithraeum in Marseilles which has not yet been found.

If the relief actually was found near the Old Cathedral in Marseilles, it is the first evidence indicating an established cult of the god in the city. A Mithraeum could possibly be located nearby. There is, however, scarcely any evidence of Mithras' cult in Southern France, except for two Mithraic dedications known from outside Marseilles at Bourg Saint-Andeol and Arles. The proximity of these two places to Marseilles

Oikonomides (*Mithraic Art*, p. 95, Appendix) introduces additional evidence of this cult from Marseilles. He identifies a Roman bronze statuette from the Massaliote necropolis of Carénage as a Cautopates (Plate LXVIII, no. 191). A frequent attendant of Mithras in the taurobolion, Cautopates symbolizes the setting of the sun by virtue of the lowered torch he carries. Oikonomides feels that the statuette is new evidence supporting the existence of a Mithraic cult in Marseilles. Clerc and Froehner, however, have identified the statuette as Eros (test. 55). Vermaseren (*Attis*, p. 54) has argued that Cautopates is not easily recognizable in artistic representations. (For further information about Cautopates, see idem, *Mithras*, pp. 15, 72-74, note 13, 95. On Cautopates in Gaul, see Duval, *Dieux de la Gaule*, p. 104.)
If Oikonomides' identification of this statuette is correct, the earlier claim made by Froehner and Clerc that it represents Eros would be incorrect. It is, however, not reported here as a separate testimonium but only offered as tentative evidence for the cult of Mithras at Marseilles.
102. C.I.L., 12, 405. (plate LXIX, no. 194) Roman period.

Latin dedicatory inscription on a marble slab. Found just outside of Marseilles, in the village of Les Pennes, before 1700.

Bibl.: C.I.L., 12, 405, pp. 57, 812; Drawing from Grosson, Recueil, pp. 157-159, and pl. 20, no. 2; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 371, notes 3-4, 372.

MATRIS DEVM
MAGNAE IDEAE PALATINAE
EIVSQ.M . RELIGIONIS ADPARITOR
NAIVVS IANVARIVS

The marble inscription and its relief scene are a dedication to the Mother of the Gods, the Great (Mother) of (Mount) Ida, the (Great Mother) of the Palatine by Navius Ianuarius. Although not found in the city proper of Marseilles but just outside its limits, the dedication indicates that this goddess was venerated in and around Marseilles. In the center of the relief are a pine tree, from whose branches are hung cymbals, a flute, and a sistrum. Beside the pine a plowshare is crossed with a shepherd's crook which is topped with a Phrygian cap. Behind the tree is a lion moving to the right. These emblems represent cult-instruments and attributes of the Phrygian Kybele and her consort Attis. (See test. 38.) It is possible that it is to Kybele, often identified as the Great Mother of the Gods, and Attis that the dedication was made. The Phrygian Kybele is frequently identified with the Cretan Rhea. Together they represent the Creto-Phrygian Rhea-Kybele who may be another aspect of the Great Mother of the Gods. It is not surprising that the people of Marseilles
would have chosen a site outside of their city to worship this goddess, to whom pine trees and forests, indeed all nature, were sacred. Les Pennes may be the site where the Massaliotes erected altars and a temple to her. (See map, plate XII, no. 26.) ADPARNOR (Symeon, Pigh, Nostradam, and Grosson: C.I.L., 12, 405, p. 57); ADPANOR (Pingon, Bouche: C.I.L., 12, 405, p. 57); APPARITOR (Bimard: C.I.L., 12, 405, p. 57); and ADPARITOR (Balthasar, Burle: C.I.L., 12, 405, p. 812) have been suggested as readings of the fourth word in line 3 of the inscription. According to Grosson (Recueil, pp. 158-159), ADPARNOR may indicate worship of Rhea-Kybele at Mount Parnes near Attica (ad Parnorum montes), or it may indicate that Navius Ianuarius was an attendant or priest (adpar[i]tor = apparitor) of the goddess of Marseilles. (For this view, see Clerc, Massalia, 2: 372.)

Other details of the cults of Rhea, Kybele, and the Great Mother are found in Farnell, Cults, 3: 289-306; Showerman, Great Mother of the Gods, pp. 10, 13, 16-18, 31, 50, 78, 89, 93, and passim.

An ancient altar with a crouching lion and sphinx on its base, presumed by Grosson to be from Marseilles, was considered by him to be an altar of Kybele (plate LXVIII, no. 192). In his discussion Grosson, assuming that the lion and sphinx are special attributes of Kybele, says that the inscription (C.I.L., 12, 405, cited above) belongs to that altar (plate LXVIII, no. 192). He later refers to the same inscription as belonging to another dedication (plate LXIX, no. 194). Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 64, note 156), although he could be referring to the inscription cited above when he says that the cult of Kybele was introduced
102. C.I.L., 12, 405 (cont.)

into Marseilles (Sero Cybeles, 'Matris Idaeae Palatinae,' cultum Massiliae introductum, omnia suadent), seems to agree with Grosson by assigning the inscription to the ancient altar with the lion and sphinx in relief. He also cites Grosson's second reference to Kybele (the marble inscription and relief with pine tree, lion, etc., reported here as test. 102) without mention of the inscription, indicating only that its relief represents her attributes (insignium ejus imaginem). It is now generally agreed that the ancient altar (plate LXVIII, no. 192), which Grosson supposed to belong to the cult of Kybele, belongs to a group of epigraphical and archaeological monuments of disputed provenance which have been identified with the Phoenician cults of Baal and Astarte. (For further discussion on the Phoenician dedication, see Grosson, Recueil, pp. 111-1112, and pl. 10, no. 2; Clerc, Massalia, 1: 54-56, and fig. 14; Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 7-10, no. 22. On Baal and Astarte, see R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Etudes sur les dieux, phéniciens hérités par l'empire romain, EPRO 40 [Leiden, 1970]; idem, Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan, EPRO 33 [Leiden, 1973].)

A curious passage of Valerius Maximus (II, 6, 7), cited by Clerc (Massalia, 1: 442, note 1, 443), may be important ancient literary evidence for the cult of Kybele at Marseilles in the first century A.D.:

... Omnia autem, qui per aliquam religionis simulationem alimenta inertiae quaerunt clausas portas habet, (et) mendacem et fucosam superstitionem submovendam esse existimans.

The meaning of this passage is not entirely clear. Clerc (ibid., p. 442), however, supposes that Valerius Maximus is probably referring to
102. C.I.L., 12, 405 (cont.)

some Eastern rite connected with the cult of Kybele and practiced by the metragyrtai, or begging priests, of the goddess. Whatever the religious practice may have been, it seems not to have been welcome in Marseilles: (Massilia) clausas portas habet. Because of the passage's doubtful meaning it is not given as a separate testimonium.

Among the prominent ministers of Kybele's cult in the West were the Galli (Gallus is also the name of a river in Phrygia) and the dendrophoroi, woodcraftsmen who carried her sacred pine in processions. Taurobolic sacrifices were also important in her rituals in Gaul. A badly defaced Latin inscription, thought to be from Marseilles and now lost, mentions a group (collegium) of dendrophoroi from Marseilles who erected a statue of their patron, a dendrophoros, pontifex, and flamen, and dedicated it to him (C.I.L., 12, 411, p. 58): (ponti)f.flami(ni) . . . . (p)atr. (d)e(ndrophor)orum . . . . (de)ndroph(ori) Massil(ienses cui)us statuae . . . . (See Clerc, ibid., 2: 297, note 6, 298, note 1. On the taurobolion associated with Kybele's cult in Gaul and Provence, see R. Duthoy, The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology, EPRO 10 [Leiden, 1969], pp. 38-52.)

A well-known passage of Lucan (Pharsalia, III, 339-449), too lengthy to cite here, alludes to a sacred grove near Marseilles where strange rites involving tree-worship are known to have been celebrated in the time of Julius Caesar. Many who have studied this passage think that Lucan is referring to the worship of a local divinity, while others consider that he is alluding to an ancient ritual of the Great Mother and her consort Attis. Attis castrated himself and died, after Kybele learned that he had
broken his pledge of fidelity to her. His spirit eventually passed into a pine tree located near the spot where he had mutilated himself and died. To commemorate his death the emasculated priests of Kybele carried a felled pine wrapped in a shroud adorned with flowers, a symbol of the departed Attis. Lucan describes how trees resembling gods are hewn, perhaps recreating the myth of Kybele and Attis. (See Clerc, _ibid._, pp. 105, 230-242, for further details about this sacred grove mentioned by Lucan; also Clébert, _Provence antique_, 1: 253-254.)

Three inscriptions, one found in the ancient port of Marseilles, the others discovered outside of the city, are dedications to certain mother-goddesses who may be local conceptions of Kybele. Since no clear reference to Kybele is made in any of them, they are not reported in this study as separate testimonia.

Matribus
........
vsln
....
Severus
........
Sutionis F
·
pro Severa
·
filia

The first inscription, found on a small altar in the port of Marseilles between 1967-1969, is now in the Archaeological Institute of Aix-en-Provence. (See Rougemont, "Inscriptions trouvées à Marseille," pp. 10-11, no. 272.) The other two inscriptions, found at Plan d' Aups and Saint-Zacharie near Marseilles, represent earlier dedications to local (Gallic) mother-goddesses whose cult in Provence possibly reflects the worship of Kybele as the Mother
102. C.I.L., 12, 405 (cont.)

of the Gods. (See C.I.L., 12, 330 and 333.) The second inscription is
dedicated to the Matres Almahae:

Matribu(s) Almahabu(s)
Sex(tus) Vin(d)ius Sabinus
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eritis)

The third is a dedication to the Matres Ubelnae:

Matribus Ubelnabus
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eritis)
Sex(tus) Licinius Successus

Both the Matres Almahae and the Matres Ubelnae may symbolize the natural
forces of earth and water. It seems that the Matres Ubelnae have given
their name to the Huveaune River east of Marseilles. The Keltic goddess
Epona was worshipped with the Matres Ubelnae at the Huveaune River. (See
test. 54; also Clerc, Massalia, 2: 397-400; idem, Aquae Sextiae, pp. 279-
284, 529, nos. 53-54, and pl. 30. On the worship of the matres in Gaul
and Provence, see Duval, Dieux de la Gaule, pp. 52-55; Clébert, Provence
antique, 2: 254.)

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, pp. 63, note 155, 64), referring
to Lucan's passage (cited above) and the unknown tree (woodland)-goddess,
considers that she was created by Lucan from the hearsay of the Gauls:
Ignotam deam sylvestrem . . . . e vago rumore de Gallis Lucanum
procreavisse arbitror. He claims that this goddess may be Diana (Artemis)
of the Grove (Diana Nemorensis). Ternaux also refers to Grosson's identi-
fication of a marble altar, found on a hill near Marseilles in 1586, as a
dedication to Kybele (plate LXVIII, no. 193). The altar, resembling a
tree trunk and adorned with a wreath, may have commemorated the myth of
Kybele and Attis. (See Grosson, Recueil, pp. 205-206, and pl. 32, no. 4,
concerning this altar.

103. Monolithic shrines (chapels) with seated goddess. Ca. 6th-5th c. B.C. (plate LXI, no. 173)

The forty-one limestone archaic and classical monolithic shrines found at Marseilles, Rue Négrel, in 1863 have already been discussed in test. 27, 36, and 38. (See the accompanying bibliographies.)

The seated figure within the shrines has been inconclusively identified as Artemis, Athena, and Hera. The general opinion, however, is the seated figure represents Kybele. (See test. 38, where this view and others are reported.) The argument for Kybele is more convincing than those for other goddesses because two other similar monuments from the Roman period also found in Rue Négrel, with a figure standing between two pilasters, are thought to represent Attis (test. 38). The cult of Kybele is thought to have penetrated into Gaul by way of the Rhône valley. In Roman times altars were dedicated to her in Marseilles (test. 102), Arles, and Nîmes where her temples are thought to have stood next to those of Isis. The monolithic shrines may have been votive offerings to Kybele in her yet-to-be-discovered temple at Marseilles. The shrines may also have been brought to sacred spots located outside of the city (Les Pennes ?; test. 102) and dedicated to her and Attis there. (On the cult of Kybele in Gaul and Provence, see Cook, Old Provence, pp. 193, 195-196; Duval, Dieux de la Gaul, pp. 102-104; Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 9-10, 90, 108, 112, 114; idem L' art primitif, pp. 13-15, and pl. 1. Other important works on Kybele and Attis are Vermaseren, Cybele and Attis: The Myth and Cult [London, 1977]; idem, Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque, 3, 4, 7, EPRO 50
104. Seated Kybele. (plate LXX, no. 195) Roman period.

Badly mutilated Roman marble statuette (H. 0.18 m.) of Kybele on a square throne. Found at Marseilles, Rue des Carmes. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 1729.

Bibl.: GAB, no. 64, inv. no. 1729; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 94, no. 229; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 372, note 5, fig. 68, 373.

The Phrygian goddess is seated on a square throne with posts decorated with two crouching lions. She is wearing a chiton and a mantle. Her head, left arm, and forearm are missing. A lion cub, which probably lay on her lap, and the heads and front legs of the lions are lost. Kybele may have worn a polos on her head.

A similar statuette of Kybele of unknown provenance is also in the Borély Collection. (See GAB, no. 61, inv. no. 1737; Froehner, Catalogue, p. 96, no. 237; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 372, note 3.) Because of its doubtful origin, it is not made a separate testimonium.

Like the monolithic shrines of test. 103, this statuette of Kybele (test. 104) flanked by lions, among her most common attributes, probably served as a temple or altar dedication. It provides positive evidence that the cult of the Phrygian goddess was observed in Marseilles.
105. Lamp with trident and dolphin in relief. Roman period. (plate LXX, no. 196)

Clay lamp from the Roman period (L. 0.715 m.; W. 0.077 m.) with a dolphin swimming around a trident in relief within the discus of the lamp. Found at Marseilles, Bassin de Carénage.

Bibl.: Clerc and d' Agnel, Découvertes, p. 75, no. 2, and pl. 7, no. 2.

Basing his argumentation on the potter's treatment of the dolphin's fins, the coiled position of the mammal around the trident, and the trident being a cruciform symbol, Clerc locates this lamp in the Christian period. He does not, however, deny that it could be Roman; he even suggests that another Christian lamp of this same series (no. 1) may also be Roman (Découvertes, p. 74.)

This author, nevertheless, argues that the lamp is Roman and may represent a cult of Poseidon in Marseilles. There is a connection not noticed by Clerc (ibid., p. 75) between the relief on this lamp and a strikingly similar representation on the reverse of a fourth-century B.C. Massaliote bronze coin. The coin has the head of Apollo Delphinios on the obverse and the rear portion of a dolphin and a trident on the reverse (test. 11). The dolphin, especially sacred to Apollo Delphinios as a maritime deity of Marseilles, is also a known emblem of Poseidon, the principal maritime god of the Greeks. The trident is probably the most recognizable attribute of Poseidon. That the dolphin and trident appear together on both the bronze coin and the lamp may suggest a common worship
105. Lamp with trident and dolphin (cont.)

of both Apollo Delphinios and Poseidon as maritime divinities in Mar­seilles.

Although Clerc remarks that the trident appears on certain coins of Marseilles, he did not connect it with a cult of Poseidon there. (See Massalia, l: 453.) It is possible that the obverse head on the Massaliote bronzes represents both Apollo Delphinios and Poseidon as maritime deities, while the dolphin and trident on the reverse clearly indicate this associa­tion.

Ternaux (Historia Massiliensium, p. 61) reports that there is no extant monumental or literary evidence of the maritime deities worshipped at Marseilles: Deorum marinorum, Massiliae cultorum, neque monumenta nobis supersunt, neque scriptorum loci. What of Apollo Delphinios, the principal maritime god of Marseilles? Ternaux, (ibid. p. 58-59) refers to Apollo Delphinios as a maritime god and adds that he is not represented on many coins of Marseilles: Deinde Apollinem Delphinium . . . . deo marino . . . . verum non adeo multis in nummis ejus caput expressum invenimus. Did he fail to see his image as well as Poseidon's on the fourth-century bronze coins?

Grosson, on whom Ternaux relies for much of his evidence, points to a bronze medal from Marseilles on which he recognizes a head of Poseidon bearded on the obverse and a dolphin coiled or swimming around a trident on the reverse (plate LXX, no. 197). This reverse-type is nearly identical to the emblem which appears on the lamp and on the reverse of the bronze coin of the Apollo Delphinios-type. The bearded head on the
Lamp with trident and dolphin (cont.)

The bronze medal which Grosson identifies as Poseidon may be a different version of the same head which appears on the bronze coin in test. Grosson's specimen is but a drawing of the medal which he is describing. Since he might not have seen the obverse head of the bronze coin, he might not have realized that the two heads appear to be almost the same. He may also have seen another bronze coin like the one in test, which was so badly damaged that he thought he recognized a bearded and not a beardless head. (See Grosson, *Recueil*, p. 42, and pl. 4, no. 1.)

It seems, nevertheless, that Apollo Delphinios and Poseidon may have been portrayed in a similar way on the obverses of Massaliote coins while the reverses of the coins bearing their images could have had the same type of a dolphin swimming around a trident, indicating that both gods were venerated in Marseilles as maritime deities. (On the Gallo-Roman cult of Poseidon in Gaul, see Duval, *Dieux de la Gaule*, pp. 89-90.)
Carrara marble bas-relief of Zeus fullface on the top part of a stele from around the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. The god is bearded, his face majestically framed by an abundant head of hair. He holds a sceptre in the right hand. Found at Marseilles, Rue de l'Araignée, in the excavations of the Docks in 1947-1948. Marseilles, Museum of the Roman Docks and Ancient Commerce, inv. no. 2312.

Bibl.: Benoit, Docks romains, pp. 6, 14, 25, and plate 4.

Evidence for the cults of Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon at Marseilles is scanty. Monumental evidence, such as a temple or votive dedication, for any one of them has yet to be found. Nevertheless, what is presently known of their cults does not necessarily mean that these divinities were not worshipped at Marseilles. The bas-relief of Zeus, found during the excavation of the Roman Docks, is an indication that his cult existed in the city. Other supportive archaeological evidence has already been presented that the cult of Zeus-Sarapis may have been represented in Marseilles. (See test. 84-86.) Additional documentation is provided in test. 110-111 where the cults of Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus and Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis are discussed.

That the figure of the bas-relief represents Zeus as Sarapis or Dolichenus is likely, because in Roman times both Sarapis and Dolichenus are occasionally portrayed in the manner of the bas-relief figure: a majestic standing bearded figure, holding a sceptre in the right or left hand, the wavy hair falling to the shoulders. (See plate LVII, nos. 161,
106. Bas-relief of Zeus (cont.)

164-165.) That the bas-relief figure can be identified as Zeus-Sarapis or Zeus-Dolichenus merits consideration, because it was found in the ancient port of Marseilles where one would expect the cult-monuments from the East arrived first before being transported elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean.


(plates LVII, nos. 161, 165; LV, no. 158)

The lamp-relief, statue, and bust (test. 84-86) are thought to represent Zeus-Sarapis. Additional evidence for his cult in Marseilles was given in test. 78, 81, 88-89.

It seems, at least in Roman times, this and other Eastern cults found wide acceptance in the Western Mediterranean. The appearance of Egyptian cults in Marseilles demonstrates the infiltration of Oriental religions in the West with the worship of the Egyptian deities Isis, Sarapis, Harpokrates, and Anubis firmly established there at this time. The bas-relief in test. 106 may be a representation of Zeus-Sarapis.

110. Monumental dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus: 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

C.I.L., 12, 403. (plate LXXII, nos. 199-200)

Cararra marble monumental dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus from the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. Found at Marseilles, Vieux-Port, in the 17th or 18th century. The original is in the Museum of Stuttgart, Germany; a cast is found in the Museum of the Roman Docks and Ancient Commerce, Marseilles, inv. no. 8516.

Bibl.: Benoît, Docks romains, pp. 5, 14, 27, and plate 6; Gros- son, Recueil, pp. 152-154, and pl. 19, no. 2; Clerc, Massalia,
The inscription, on the base of the monument, is a dedication by Octavius Paternus to Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus. Above the inscription the god, in Roman military attire, is standing on a bull. He probably held a thunderbolt in the missing raised right hand and a shield or double-axe in the lowered left. In front of the bull is an eagle. Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus, local god of Doliche (modern Tell Duluk) in Commagene, Syria, became popular in the second and third centuries A.D. in the West, especially among the soldiers of the Roman army. A god of the universe, he usually is depicted wearing Roman military dress, standing on a bull, and holding a thunderbolt and shield or double-axe. The introduction into Marseilles by Syrian merchants of the cult of Dolichenus shows the penetration of Eastern religions in this area during the second and third centuries.

Grosson (Recueil, pp. 137, 154) says that this dedication of Paternus probably was placed near the statue of Zeus in the Temple of Athena at Marseilles. (See also Ternaux, Historia Massiliensium, pp. 60, note 146, 61.) Zeus himself may have had a temple at Marseilles, although there is not evidence of this. In the Roman period Zeus (Jupiter)-Sarapis and Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus are often identified with each other; they may even have been worshipped together at Marseilles. The bas-relief in test. 106 may possibly represent Zeus-Dolichenus or Zeus-Sarapis.
110. Monumental dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus (cont.)

M. Speidel (The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army, EPRO 63 [Leiden, 1978], pp. 26-28, passim, and map), writing on the Roman cult of Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus, shows Marseilles on a map among Dolichenian sites having inscriptions. Nowhere else in his book does he refer to any inscriptional or other evidence of the cult of Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus in Marseilles. (See also Hornbostel, Sarapis, p. 224, note 3, on the cult of Jupiter-Dolichenus.)

111. Monumental dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis: 1st-3rd c.

C.I.L., 12, 404. (plate LXXII, nos. 201-202) c. A.D.

White marble altar (H. 0.28 m.; L. 0.18 m.; W. 0.18 m.) and stele (H. 0.58 m.; L. 0.28 m.; W. 0.08 m.) dedicated to Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis from the 1st-3rd c. A.D. The provenance of the altar is not certain, but it may have come from Palmyra, Syria. The stele was found at Marseilles in 1838. The altar is in the Museum Borély, Marseilles, inv. no. 1723; the stele is in the Museum Calvet, Avignon, inv. no. 41.


Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) prop[itio] Philip(p)a. Hotarzabadi. filia. y(otum) [s(olvit)]
The altar and stele may both belong to the same dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis by Phillipa, daughter of Hotarzabadus, although some have attributed the altar's dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus. On the four sides of the altar are badly mutilated busts in relief, probably representing deities connected with the Heliopolis worship. On the stele is a relief-figure of Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis standing on a raised plinth flanked by two bull protomes. The god's raised right hand brandishes a whip while the missing lowered left hand must have held a thunderbolt and ears of corn, symbols of the power of Zeus and Helios. The god is beardless, the hair neatly arranged falling to the shoulders. On his head he wears a kalathos. His body is clothed in a sheath-like garment divided into six sections with relief-busts of divinities associated with the Heliopolis cult.

Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis, local god of Heliopolis (modern Baalbek) in Syria, who became popular in the first through the third centuries A.D. in the West, found special favor among the Roman legions. He is often identified with both Zeus (Jupiter)-Sarapis and Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus. Although his cult seems to have been particularly strong in Provence, this dedication is the only evidence of it in Marseilles. It can reasonably be assumed that the cult was introduced into Marseilles by Syrian trade. It seems possible to this author that the Greco-Roman cult of Zeus in Marseilles became so closely connected under the Empire with those of Sarapis, Dolichenus, and Heliopolis, that Zeus was often worshipped as Zeus-Sarapis-Dolichenus-Heliopolis. (See Hajjar, Héliopolis-
111. Monumental dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis (cont.)

Baalbek, pp. 31, 196, 323-324, 330, 336, 348, 400, 409, 413, 516, 549-550, where both Sarapis and Dolichenus are associated with the cult of Heliopolis.)
THREE MISCELLANEOUS MYTHS

Since this dissertation studies myths as well as cults, the following three myths are included, although they have no cult-connection at Marseilles.

112. Pediment of a sarcophagus. Ca. 4th c. A.D.
(plate LXIII, nos. 203-204)

Large white marble pediment of a sarcophagus lid (L. 1.58 m.; W. 0.90 m.) from around the 4th c. A.D. Found at Marseilles.

Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 172.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, pp. 71-72, no. 172; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 365-367, and fig. 60; Cahen, Bouches-du-Rhône, 4: 105-106, and pl. 21, no. 5; Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 101, 120, and ill. 252.

The pediment is one of the most interesting and elaborate of the sculptured funerary monuments found in Marseilles. The inscription is lost.

The tympanum of the pediment depicts Medea contemplating the murder of her children, Pheres and Mermeros, who are pitifully imploring their mother. In a rage, Medea is moving towards her right and holding a sword in its sheath beneath her left arm. To the right and left of the tympanum are two akroteria decorated with other subjects from Greek mythology. The right akroterion represents Oidipous before the Theban Sphinx. (See Sophokles, Oidipous Tyrannos, Argument.) The left akroterion depicts the recognition of Odysseus by his nurse Eurykleia; Odysseus' dog Argos lies at his feet. (See Homer, Odyssey, XIX, 357ff.)
113. Fragment of a sepulchral monument. Roman period.
(plate LXXIV, nos. 205-206)

Fragment of a limestone sepulchral monument (H. 0.63 m.; W. 0.58 m.) from the Roman period. Found at Marseilles, Cimetière de Carénage, near Saint-Victor. Marseilles, Museum Borély, inv. no. 86.

Bibl.: Froehner, Catalogue, p. 25, no. 86; Clerc, Massalia, 2: 368-369, and fig. 63; Grosson, Recueil, pp. 199-200, and pl. 12, no. 2; Benoît, Art et dieux, pp. 120-121.

Both Froehner and Clerc identify the relief-figure on the fragment as a female Triton, facing left, with dishevelled hair, the left arm lowered, the right hand lifted and holding an indeterminable object, possibly a conch (plate LXXIV, no. 205). In Greek mythology, however, Triton was a merman, son of Poseidon and Amphitrite.

Grosson, on the other hand, identifies the fragment as a marble bas-relief. He distinguishes among the figures the head of a horse, part of a horseman, the head of a wild boar, and traces of an infant. He suggests that the fragment was part of an ex-voto (plate LXXIV, no. 206). If his interpretation of the relief scene is correct, perhaps the scene represents young Odysseus and Autolykos, his maternal grandfather, in the boar hunt in which the youth was wounded. (See Homer, Odyssey, XIX, 386-475.)

The long, flowing hair of the major figure on the relief is not necessarily and indication that it is a female, since male deities in Greek art are often portrayed with long, flowing hair. (See test. 10-11, where Apollo is depicted in this way on Massaliote bronze coins.)
114. Sarcophagus. (plate LI, nos. 141-142) 3rd-4th c. A.D.

For the discussion of this marble sarcophagus, the front of which is decorated in relief, see test. 73. The sarcophagus was found at Marseilles.

In the center of the relief scene the deceased, a Massaliote, is being assisted in holding a scroll by a muse, probably Klio, Muse of history. The scroll, which she and the Massaliote are holding, seems to indicate that he pursued a literary career and was honored as an intellectual in Marseilles by those who dedicated this monument to him after he died. The literary life of the deceased is likewise signified by a stack of scrolls at his feet and at the feet of two other figures carved at each end of the sarcophagus. Klio herself is usually represented with a scroll in her hand.
The purpose of this study was to furnish an up-to-date collection of extant literary, epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological evidence for the ancient cults and mythology of Marseilles. This has been done. The bibliographies provided under each entry indicate the material published since Clerc's Massalia. A list of the original contributions made by this writer is here presented.

Summary of new contributions

Aphrodite

The author has noted in this study the import of Payne's correct identification of an archaic female statue. Payne's significant discovery has not been included in any work about Marseilles since his publication in 1936.

Benoît's identification of a classical statuette also has not been acknowledged in any publication about Marseilles. Furthermore, this writer has first pointed out the similarity of the terracotta statuette to Apelles' painting of the goddess.

Apollo

It has been reasoned here for the first time that the cult of Apollo Delphinios at Marseilles was celebrated by the Massaliotes also at Delphi.

The portrait of Apollo on the bronze coins issued by Marseilles is in this study first recognized as Apollo Delphinios. It has also been argued for the first time that the reverse with dolphin and trident on certain bronze issues of this type indicates a common maritime cult in
Marseilles of Apollo Delphinios and Poseidon.

An inscription found in Marseilles has been further restored by the writer as a dedication to Apollo Apotropaios. Another inscription with a dedication to Apollo is here first recognized as evidence also for the Imperial cult in Marseilles.

It has also been proposed that the Massaliote Apellis mentioned in an inscription found in Delphi may have been a Massaliote representative who made the dedication at Delphi of the Apollo Delphinios statue mentioned by Pausanias.

Ares

The head on a Massaliote bronze coin has been newly identified as that of Ares instead of Athena as formerly thought, and thus is new evidence for a cult of Ares in Marseilles.

Artemis

The author has suggested that it is reasonable to think that the cult of Artemis Ephesia was observed at Olympia.

An inscription from Marseilles has first been interpreted in this study as a dedication to Artemis Diktynna. In the inscription, -δημος may be part of a personal name and not refer to the people of Marseilles.

The author has proposed that the goddess represented on certain silver coins of Marseilles is Artemis Diktynna, and that the Artemis portrayed on a Roman lamp found in Marseilles is the same goddess.

A statuette identified as Artemis found by the writer uncatalogued in the Museum Borély has been identified by him as Artemis-Diktynna-Britomartis.
Asklepios
The writer is the first to propose a cult of Asklepios at Marseilles. He has interpreted a passage of Strabo to suggest that there may have been a medical school at Marseilles. A statuette of Asklepios found at Marseilles is located in the Museum Borély. The existence of the statuette and the tentative interpretation of Strabo suggest that a cult of Asklepios may have been practiced at Marseilles.

Athena
The author has shown that the identification made by Grosson, Froehner, and Clerc of the cult-statue of Athena as a standing xoanon is inconsistent with Strabo's account of it.

Attis
The writer first proposes that the figure portrayed on a Roman lamp is Attis.

Demeter and Kore-Persephone
The author has argued for the first time that a passage of Justin may not be referring to a celebration of the Roman Floralia but to the Greek Thesmophoria in honor of Demeter and Kore-Persephone.
A Roman altar of Demeter and Dionysos in Marseilles may possibly be connected with the celebration of the Thesmophoria honoring in Marseilles Demeter and Kore-Persephone.

Dionysos
The writer has further restored a Massaliote inscription by the addition of the iota for the dedicatory dative and a dedicatory verb, and
proposed that the dedicant's name was probably also inscribed.

He has also first connected two Greek vases having funerary scenes and also a sepulchral pediment relief of panthers and dolphins with Dionysos' chthonic cult. He has also suggested that the theater at Marseilles was likely dedicated to Dionysos.

He has further refuted the identification by Ternaux and Grosson of Dionysos on certain bronze coins.

**Dioskouroi**

For the first time in this study the Dioskouroi under their epithets Amyklaioi and Lacones have been associated with Marseilles.

**Epona**

The author is the first to suggest that a sculpture from Roquepertuse may be connected with the cult of chthonic Epona.

**Eros**

The writer called attention to a bronze statuette in Marseilles which could be related to a chthonic cult of Eros.

**Galata and Galates**

The relationship of Galata and Galates with Herakles in and around Marseilles is first noted here.

**Gorgo-Medusa**

The writer has first observed that two vases, four masks, and a series of obols of the Gorgoneion-type may have served apotropaic and funerary functions in Marseilles and may have been associated with the
worship of Athena there.

Hades (cult of the dead)

It has been argued for the first time in this study that a Gallo-Roman altar could be connected with the cult of Hades.

The author has first associated a Greek vase with a funerary scene on it with the cult of Hades.

He has also for the first time related a votive stele with a funerary meal scene, a bas-relief with a funerary meal scene, and the relief on a marble sarcophagus with the cult of the dead.

It has been suggested that the statues of the men and the sculptures of non-human forms of life at Roquepertuse may tenuously suggest a cult of the dead at Marseilles propagated by the Greek artisans.

A pine cone found in a cemetery at Marseilles is here first connected with a possible cult of the dead.

Harpokrates and other Egyptian deities

The writer has first proposed that two bronze statuettes of Harpokrates, a Roman lamp with Isis and Sarapis in relief, and a Roman lamp with Isis and Anubis may have been votive offerings in a temple common to Isis, Sarapis, and Harpokrates at Marseilles.

He has corrected the identification on the dice-box of the bird perched on Harpokrates' right shoulder as a falcon or hawk, one of the most important attributes of the Egyptian god. On the same box he has identified the staff in Harpokrates' left hand as a thyrsos, an attribute of both Harpokrates and Dionysos. He has further suggested that Harpokrates'
portrait on the dice-box may have been a talisman against cheating at dice.

On the basis of Jullian's identification of the figures in the upper portion of a Gallo-Roman altar relief as Isis and Anubis, the author has first proposed that the middle portion of the relief can be connected with the cult of Isis and Sarapis in Marseilles. He has also pointed out that Hirschfeld's reading of the inscription's abbreviation may support the dedication of the altar to Isis.

He has for the first time in this study tentatively suggested that the figure of Zeus on a lamp, a statue or statuette of Zeus, and a bust of Sarapis may all represent Zeus-Sarapis.

Finally, he has proposed that a Greek inscription may be a dedication to Isis-Leukothea, while two Latin inscriptions may be dedications to Isis and Zeus-Sarapis.

**Hephaistos**

It has been suggested that Hephaistos may have been worshipped in Marseilles in association with Athena or Ares.

**Hera**

The author has first noted that the seated figure in the forty-one shrines found in Marseilles may represent Hera.

**Herakles**

Herakles has been identified on a silver obol of Marseilles.

The writer has first synthesized the accumulation of literary, epigraphical, and archaeological data which links the mythology of Herakles
to the area in which Marseilles existed.

**Hermes**

The figure on a Roman lamp of Anubis with a caduceus is here newly identified as Hermanubis.

The double-headed Hermes from Roquepertuse may indicate that he was venerated also at Marseilles from where the artisans probably came.

**Imperial cult**

The author has argued from a lost dedicatory inscription to Lucius Caesar at the Maison Carée in Nîmes that it is quite likely that he was venerated in Marseilles where he actually met death.

It was here first noted that a dedication to Germanicus Caesar and another to a *Pontifex Laurentinorum* indicate an Imperial cult in Marseilles.

In this study the title of *Sevir* found on a funerary altar-tomb and on a dedication to Apollo likewise indicates the Imperial cult.

**Mother of the Gods/Kybele**

The author has proposed that an inscription to the Mother of the Gods from Les Pennes may point to the Massaliote worship of this goddess.

He has also suggested that the mother-goddesses to whom three dedicatory inscriptions were made may have been local conceptions of Kybele/Mother of the Gods.

**Poseidon**

The writer of this study has first proposed that a Roman lamp with
a trident and dolphin in relief is testimony of Poseidon in Marseilles. He has further argued that the relief of this same lamp and similar images on the reverse of a fourth-century B.C. bronze coin may point to a common cult of Poseidon and Apollo Delphinios in Marseilles.

Zeus

In this study the image of Zeus on a bas-relief has been tentatively identified as Zeus-Sarapis. It has also been suggested that a lamp relief, a statue, and a bust of Zeus may all represent Zeus-Sarapis.

The author has likewise proposed that a monumental dedication to Zeus (Jupiter)-Dolichenus and another to Zeus (Jupiter)-Heliopolis may indicate a common cult of Zeus (Jupiter)-Sarapis-Dolichenus-Heliopolis in Marseilles.

The new and old evidence for the cults and mythology of Marseilles from its foundation to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West has been presented in this chapter. The next chapter will discuss aspects of Marseilles' religions upon which the evidence has cast light.
CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION: THE RELIGIONS OF MARSEILLES

In Chapter II the extant evidence for the cults and mythology of each deity associated with Marseilles was presented. Although the purpose of this study is fulfilled in that chapter, conclusions can also be drawn from the new and old material presented concerning the religious history of the Massaliotes. In this final chapter three areas of this history will be considered: the interaction between Ionian (Massaliote) and native religion, religious syncretism perceived in the city, and the circumstances which produced the distinctive religious aspect of the colony. Any new material brought forward in Chapter III will be properly documented.

The interaction between Ionian (Massaliote) and native religion

Before the arrival of the Phokaian Greeks in Provence in the early sixth century B.C., little is known of the ancient inhabitants of this area and their society except for what has been told us by classical historians and geographers who sifted through a mass of confused legends. A few things can be said with reasonable certitude. The region was inhabited by tribes who had not even the most rudimentary form of agriculture. Sporadic explorations of Provence by Phoenicians and Rhodians in the eighth and seventh centuries had not successfully implanted any lasting type of civilization, although these seafaring peoples paved the way for the Ionian Greeks. The first identifiable signs of the commercial
and economic development of Provence can be detected with the establishment of the Phokaian colony of Marseilles around 600 B.C. In regular competition with Carthaginians and Etruscans over the use of the waterways and having to contend with constant resistance from the native tribes around it, Marseilles existed for almost three centuries in a forced isolation in the Gulf of Lyons. Maintaining its rich Ionian cultural heritage, Marseilles little by little began to civilize the native Kelto-Ligurians. When the Carthaginians were rendered temporarily powerless at the battle of Himera (480 B.C.) and their Etruscan allies were defeated by the Greeks of Kyme (474 B.C.), Marseilles started to prosper.

Marseilles remained culturally a Greek city, even after Roman occupation in the mid-first century B.C. Some indications of the early and later character of Marseilles come from the cults of the city. Despite recent discoveries and researches which have provided new and valuable evidence for the overall history of the city, its religious character still remains obscure in many details.

The testimonies used to compile this study have provided information not otherwise known about the religion of Greco-Roman Marseilles. The Ionian culture of the original Phokaian colonists was inherited by the Massaliotes who gradually shared it with the native population. This Ionian civilization was a brilliant one. While the rest of Greece was recovering from the Dark Ages that followed the Dorian invasion, the Ionian cities were laying the foundation of Greek literature, science, philosophy, and religion.

The Ionian cults of Apollo Delphinios and Artemis Ephesia, held
in special regard by the Phokaians, were established early in the history of Marseilles. That these deities retained their original character is revealed by the evidence at hand for their cults. Apollo was chiefly a god of sailors and maritime cities, and in this context his epithet Delphinios reveals that he was worshipped as the dolphin-god. His temple, probably located on Butte St. Laurent, was a landmark which guided sailors towards Marseilles. Artemis was the personification of the fertility of nature in Oriental worship, and this aspect was carried over to her cult when it was adopted by the Ionian Greeks. Her temple, probably situated between Butte des Moulins and Butte des Carmes, dominated the akropolis of the city and faced the local tribes.

Other deities, known to have been worshipped in Phokaia, whose cults have been identified in Marseilles at different periods, are Asklepios, the Dioskouri, Hermes, Kybele, Massalia, and Poseidon. The cults of Aphrodite, Ares, Attis, Dionysos, Eros, Europa, Gorgo-Medusa, Hades, Hekate, Hephaistos, Hera, Herakles, Hygieia, Kore-Persephone, and Zeus are also known in Marseilles. Although it is not clear how much of their Greek character these deities retained, it is reasonable to assume that a considerable amount was preserved through the Massaliotes' strong adherence to the Greco-Ionian religious tradition.

There seems to have been little interaction between Marseilles and the natives in the early period. Two incidents involving the Massaliotes and local tribes indicate that the natives were at most curious about the religious habits of their Greek neighbors. In one, a hostile tribal king named Catumandus was moved to make a dedication to Athena in her temple
at Marseilles when he realized that the Massaliotes were under her divine protection (test. 32). In the other, another unfriendly local king named Comanus decided to make a surprise attack on the city during a festival of Demeter, but he was slain during the siege (test. 39).

In fact, what interaction there was between the Massaliotes and the Kelto-Ligurians of Provence in the first centuries was hostile. The natives were threatened by the presence of their new neighbors while the Massaliotes were unfamiliar with the culture of those whose territory they had settled. Marseilles was typically Greek from the beginning. (See Introduction, pp. 11-18.) It maintained laws and customs similar to those of other Western Greek colonies. Since the city also supported cults which were familiar to its citizens, the Greco-Ionian influence was especially strong.

Before the Roman penetration into Gaul, little is known about Kelto-Ligurian religion. It is, however, known that Greek and native religion developed independently of each other in Provence until Marseilles began to extend its influence over the area towards the end of the fourth century B.C.

Before the influence of Marseilles on the native religion, the inhabitants of Provence worshipped for centuries the natural forces and wild animals which they associated with deceased members of their tribes. (See test. 77.) It was a religion without theology, with no written records, and with scarcely any figured monuments. Gradually it appears to have developed into a system which distinguished between natural and supernatural beings. (See test. 54, 77, 93.) To the latter were attributed
certain functions relating to industry, commerce, science, magic, war, medicine, and crafts. No attempt seems to have been made, however, to distinguish one divinity from another, except that certain ones were grouped together according to the common function they performed. (See test. 69.) A hierarchy of deities developed eventually with a sky-god who presided over the more important areas of war and agriculture; simultaneously, a group of mother-goddesses developed who performed virtually the same functions as the sky-god. Not until the Gallo-Roman period did the mass of native gods evolve into a stereotypical arrangement of individual functionaries.

Before the influence of Marseilles on local religion, the Kelto-Ligurians worshipped in sanctuaries dedicated to the memory of their tribal ancestors. This seems to be an advancement over the earlier primitive form of venerating mere natural forces and wild animals. The finds of the sanctuaries of Roquepertuse and Entremont provide examples of the evolution of the native religion. The sculpture and architecture are peculiar: pillars decorated with cut-off heads, birds, fishes, horse protomes (considered to be zoomorphic representations of the native horse goddess Epona), and seated Buddha-like figures within porticoed enclosures. Though these monuments do not express traditional Greek religious attitudes, they seem to have been remotely influenced by the Greek way of representing deities plastically. The sanctuaries were erected to honor the heroised or apotheosized dead who were under divine protection in the next life.

As the Greek culture of Marseilles began to spread through Provence
at the end of the fourth century B.C., the Massaliotes and the natives became more accepting of the religious beliefs of each other. But it was not until the Roman occupation of Gaul that many divinities were assimilated to Roman gods because of some resemblance of their attributes.

**Religious syncretism in the city**

Although some of the Gallic divinities are not known by name, they are able to be identified with their Roman counterparts by virtue of a shared function. This identification can be seen in the association of the following Gallic and Roman divinities: Lug and Mercury, god of the arts, Teutates and Mars, god of war; Taranis and Jupiter, god of the sky; Belenos and Apollo with Aesculapius, god of healing; Sucellus and Silvanus with Pluto and Dispater, chthonic god; Ogmios and Hercules, warrior-hero; Gallic goddesses of arts and crafts and Minerva; Gallic god of smiths and Vulcan; Gallic gods of the waters and Neptune; Gallic brother-gods and the Dioscuri; Gallic tutelary gods and Genii; Gallic goddesses of the hunt and Diana; Matres, Matrae, Matronae, and Ceres with Terra Mater and Juno, mother-goddess. The process of associating Gallic deities with Roman tended to anthropomorphize the Gallic gods, although they continued to be represented by native artists with almost primitive features. Gallo-Roman art was nevertheless not greatly influenced by Greco-Roman myths, except possibly in the case of the Labors of Herakles which provided a popular theme for relief sculpture.¹ Moreover, the Gauls did not have the rich historical and mythological traditions of the Greeks who could trace their lineage to the gods of Olympos or to the great houses of

¹See Benoît, *Art et dieux*, pp. 100-102, and ills. 198-201.
Athens, Mycenae, Thebes, or Tiryns. They had to be content with borrowing what they could from the Greek culture and applying it to their own. After many centuries of hostilities between the Massaliotes and the natives, a basic understanding of each others' cultures was reached in time through an understanding of one another's religion.

Besides the syncretism evident in the association of Gallic and Roman deities, the syncretism typical of cults in Ionian Greek cities can be perceived in Marseilles. This is not surprising since Marseilles, an Ionian Greek colony, naturally supported cults common to the Ionian communities of coastal Asia Minor. For example, the cults of Apollo, Artemis, and Athena at Marseilles witness to the assimilation of elements of similar Cretan, Egyptian, and other Eastern beliefs.

Athena, most often connected with Athens, was not purely Attic and possibly pre-Hellenic in origin. Her worship was not confined to Greece proper but was also found in the colonies and in the islands. Her usual cult-statue, a fully armed female resembled the Mycenaean shield goddess and indicated that she was once the tutelary goddess of Cretan and Mycenaean palaces, later becoming associated with cities in general. She was also associated with water, although her connection with water has not yet been established in Marseilles. Though primarily a virgin-goddess she was often perceived as a fertility-goddess, concerned, however, only with the productivity of the land. She was a war-goddess in general and also a patroness of arts and crafts. As a goddess of many functions,

1Farnell, Cults, 1: 258ff.
Athena was connected through these functions with Aphrodite (test. 27, 38), Artemis (test. 27, 37-38, 103), Demeter, Gorgo-Medusa, Hygieia, and later with Isis. For example, the apotropaic symbol of the Gorgoneion may have been associated with the Massaliote worship of Athena. Although in Marseilles Athena was worshipped mainly as a city-goddess, her cult, one of the oldest in the city, was typically syncretistic.

Artemis, universally worshipped in Greece, was also originally pre-Hellenic. A fertility-goddess, she was associated with uncultivated aspects of nature, especially with wild beasts. This twin-sister of Apollo was often a city-goddess, a huntress, and a birth-goddess. Blood sacrifices were occasionally offered to her; it has even been alleged that human sacrifices were made in her honor at Phokaia. (See Pythokles in Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, 32, 7.) She was associated in various ways with Aphrodite, Athena, Demeter, Europa, Hekate, Hera, Kore-Persephone, Kybele, and later with Isis. The most important of her identifications was with the great goddess of Ephesos, a fertility-goddess of Asiatic origin whose worship was adopted by the Ionian Greeks. The cult of the Ephesian Artemis was brought by the Phokaians to Marseilles, and from there it made its way to Rome where the Aventine temple of Diana later had a statue modeled on the Ephesian statue in Marseilles. (See test. 20-21.) The cults of Artemis Ephesia and Apollo Delphinios were among the first to be introduced into Marseilles. The Massaliote worship of Artemis Ephesia included certain aspects of the Cretan goddesses Diktynna and Britomartis. Artemis may also have been venerated in Marseilles as an apotropaic goddess along with Hekate.
Apollo, worshipped as the god of civilization by all Greeks, had close cult connections with his twin-sister Artemis. He may have been pre-Hellenic too, coming from northern Greece or from Lykia in Asia Minor. (See Introduction and test. 4.) As a god of the country, his functions included shepherding, music, archery, prophecy, and medicine. Although his chief cult-sanctuaries were at Delos and Delphi, he had important shrines at Branchidae and Klaros in Ionia. The cult of Apollo Delphinios, the dolphin-god, the patron of sailors and ports, was celebrated at Athens and Aegina, and in most Ionian cities and their colonies. His Delphinian worship was connected with Delphi and probably originated in Crete. Apollo Delphinios was worshipped in Marseilles as a protector of navigation and a patron of the founding of colonies. The Massaliotes worshipped him as a maritime deity with the Dioskousi, Poseidon, and later with Sarapis. A cult of Apollo Apotropaios may also have been observed there.

Other Massaliote cults, in which typical Ionian syncretism can be perceived, are those of Asklepios, Dionysos, Hades, and Kybele. Asklepios, god of medicine, shared this function with Apollo. Dionysos was identified with Hades and the underworld as a chthonic deity (test. 41, 44-45, 47, 69). Kybele, the great mother-goddess of Phrygia, shared some of her fertility functions with Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Hera, Kore-Persephone, and later with Isis.

Syncretism at Marseilles can be seen in the association of Eastern gods with Greek deities. In Hellenistic times, and particularly during the first through the third centuries A.D., the Orient was exerting a
profound influence on the religious life of the West. At Marseilles, this influence was especially strong in the Roman period. It is seen both in the establishment of the Imperial cult, which originated in the East, and in the multiplication of Eastern worships. The most important of these Eastern gods at Marseilles were Anubis, Horus-Harpokrates, Isis, Osiris-Sarapis, Mithras, Dolichenus, and Heliopolis, as the number of monuments and inscriptions shows. (See test. 78-79, 101, 106-111.) These Eastern cults contributed to the syncretistic character of the cults in Marseilles. Anubis and Hermes were venerated as Chthonic deities. Horus-Harpokrates in his various forms was at times associated with Apollo, Eros, and Herakles. Isis, worshipped at Marseilles mainly as a chthonic goddess (test. 81-82, 89) and a protectress of navigation, shared attributes with many goddesses worshipped in Marseilles, including Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Hera, Hygieia, Kore-Persephone, and Kybele. Osiris-Sarapis, worshipped primarily as a chthonic god and a patron of sailors and seafaring, shared these functions with Dionysos, Herakles, Poseidon, and the Syrian Dolichenus. The Syrian gods, Dolichenus and Heliopolis, were likened to Zeus as gods of the universe and of fertility. The Persian god Mithras retained his own identity without recognizable syncretism as an Eastern mystery god, whose devotees were found chiefly among the Roman army.

The number of the Eastern cults at Marseilles at this time is not surprising in view of the fact that the city was then one of the greatest seaports. To her harbor from all parts of the Mediterranean came merchants and sailors who were evidently instrumental in spreading the distinctive
Oriental religions. For example, Egyptian and other foreign merchants trading in the area may have erected a Serapeion at Marseilles, although such a temple has not yet been found. (See test. 78-79.) Perhaps Sarapis was worshipped in conjunction with Zeus at Marseilles, since the latter was commonly called Zeus-Sarapis at this time.

Nevertheless, the mere presence of transient merchants, sailors, and Roman soldiers in Marseilles by no means sufficiently explains the importance of Eastern religions there. For instance, it seems that Syrian merchants, who had no shrines at Marseilles, and Roman soldiers returning from the East were responsible for introducing the Syrian cults of Dolichenus and Heliopolis into Marseilles. Only two dedications to these gods, however, have been found there. (See test. 110-111.) Marseilles and other Western Mediterranean ports may have chosen to venerate these deities in temples erected to them in Rome.\(^1\) Even the important cult of Mithras was not strongly supported at Marseilles, probably because his cult would not be practiced by a people primarily seafaring. The cult of Mithras indeed may not have been introduced into the city directly from the East, for epigraphical evidence supports the fact that Mithras was venerated at Rome before he appears at Marseilles.\(^2\) The relative importance of the Oriental cults at Marseilles is to be explained, therefore, not by

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\(^1\) For this evidence, see Speidel, Dolichenus, pp. 12, 19ff., 33-34; Hajjar, Héliopolis-Baalbek, 1: 357ff., 2: 551ff.

the presence of passing foreigners, but more likely by the nature of the population of the city.

The nature of Marseilles' population during the influx of the Eastern cults can be described in the following way. Before the influx, while the Greco-Roman cults still flourished at Marseilles, the inhabitants feared renewed attacks by the native tribes and therefore preferred not to erect temples which might be looted. After Marseilles was annexed to Rome and under its protection, the threat of these attacks was allayed, many harbor improvements were made, and the city steadily grew. At Marseilles, however, as was commonly the case elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean, the people were losing interest in the traditional Roman gods. It seems, moreover, that Marseilles' Roman population, which might be expected to foster Roman cults, was gradually beginning to be outnumbered by entrepreneurs from the East, probably for the most part freedmen, arriving at the city's harbor along with their exotic cults. For instance, two inscriptions from Marseilles may witness to the influence these foreigners were exerting on the economic and religious life of the community. They are dedications by two of the city's professional collegia to their patrons. The first dedication (test. 88) was made by a collegium of fabric makers to their patron who probably presided over a common cult of Isis and Zeus-Sarapis; the second dedication (test. 102, p. 232) was made by a collegium of woodcraftsmen to their patron who perhaps served in the cult of Kybele. The perceivable importance of the Oriental cults at Marseilles in this author's opinion would appear therefore to result from the increasing number of foreigners residing in the city.
Nevertheless, nearly all of the Greco-Roman cults survived in Marseilles throughout the second and third centuries A.D. in spite of the appearance of the new religions. In addition, the local divinities Belenos, Epona, Galata, Galates, and Lakydon continued to be worshipped. High-ranking military and public officials continued to discharge old priestly offices, such as pontifex and flamen (test. 97), and apparently were not in the service of the Eastern deities. As the followers of these foreign cults became more numerous and more wealthy, however, the regular inhabitants of Marseilles became more accepting of them and their religions. As a result, during the later Empire, a provincial governor (test. 87) and a Roman knight (test. 88) both apparently held special priesthoods of Isis at Marseilles. The Oriental cults thus seem finally to have found support even among the elite.

The distinctive religious character of Marseilles

The distinctive religious character of Marseilles as a Western Ionian colony can then be attributed to syncretization arising from various factors. The earliest Ionian cults and myths which were introduced into the city were already a mixture of Greek and Asiatic elements, notably the cults of Apollo Delphinios, Artemis Ephesia, and Athena, as pointed out earlier, and, to a lesser extent, those of Aphrodite, Athena, Demeter, Dionysos, Gorgo-Medusa, and Kybele. Other cults and myths seem to have been affected by a certain amount of blending of Greco-Roman, native, and Eastern beliefs, such as have been found in the worships of Attis, Belenos, Kore-Persephone, the Dioskouroi, Epona, Europa, Hades, Hekate, Herakles, Hermes, Poseidon, and Zeus. This syncretism does not
appear to have aroused any opposition among the Massaliotes, because earlier movements had tended in that same direction. As has been seen, Phokaia, the mother-city of Marseilles, had maintained a cosmopolitan attitude towards religion throughout its history.

The testimonia presented in this study of the cults and mythology Marseilles have provided important information about the city's religious history, which has been noted as it appeared in Chapter II. The testimonia have provided evidence that many of the cults and mythologies were a mixture of Greco-Roman, native, and Eastern elements. For example, Apollo Delphinios, Belenos, Dionysos, the Dioskouri, Hades, Poseidon, and Sarapis were all worshipped as salutary and chthonic gods having close connections with the sea and navigation. Dolichenus, Heliopolis, Harpo-krates, and Zeus were venerated as military and maritime gods with salutary functions. Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Kore-Persephone, Epona, Europa, Gorgo-Medusa, Hekate, Hera, Hygieia, Isis, Kybele, and Massalia all shared chthonic, fertility, and salutary qualities. (For possible evidence of Europa's fertility quality, see test. 57.)

The Massaliotes' support of many different cults gave the city a cosmopolitan atmosphere hardly equalled anywhere in the ancient world except in Athens, Corinth, Alexandria, and in Rome. The testimonia presented in this study have provided new information about the city's religious history which enfleshes the old. The total panorama which comes to light shows that "la cité antique sans antiquité" was indeed rich in ancient cults and mythology.
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PLATE I

GENERAL MAP

Aegean Turkey (Bean, Aegean Turkey, facing page 272)
PLATE II

Plan of Phokaia

(Bean, Aegean Turkey, p. 122, fig. 21)

Phokaia

(Bean, Aegean Turkey, p. 118, fig. 20)
Ancient France and Spain (Properzio, "Rhodian Colonization," *Antipolis* 1.2 [1975]: 82)
Ancient Marseilles, with present Vieux-Port marked by dashes (Euzen­nart, "Ancient Marseille," AJA 84.2 [1980]: 134, Ill. 1)

Marseilles, plan (MacKendrick, Roman France, p. 11, Ill. 1.5)
Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille," AJA 84.2 [1980]: 135, Ill. 2)
Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille," AJA 84.2 [1980]: 137, Ill. 3)
Elevation of the Treasury of Massalia at Delphi, showing leaf-capital and mouldings. After Fouilles de Delphes (Cook, Greeks in Ionia, p. 85, fig. 27)

Remains of the Aiolic Treasury of Massalia at Delphi, on the right (Clerc, Massalia, 1: 193, fig. 32)
(Piggott, Daniel and McBurney, France before the Romans, ill. 67—bronze krater from Vix, France)
General view of the excavations, 1970

Archaic pit

Layers of amphorae beneath causeway

Funerary terrace B2

View of the Hellenistic wall and Roman harbor (Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille," AJA 84.2 [1980]: Pl. 22, figs. 1-5)
Attic hydria (Kertsch style) from the nekropolis

South tower of the city gate

Roman harbor in winter 1970

(Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille," AJA 84.2 [1980]: Pl. 23, figs. 6-9)
21 West quay of the Roman harbor

22 Decanting basin D2

23 Roman harbor, watertight wooden frame

24 Roman shipwreck found in harbor

25 Marseilles, Hellenistic city wall

(Euzennat, "Ancient Marseille," AJA 84.2 [1980]: Pl. 24, figs. 10-14)
Roquepertuse and Entremont (Benoît, Entremont, facing page 7)
Archaic statue found in Marseilles—so-called Aphrodite with dove (nos. 27-31 from Clerc, *Massalia*, 1: 219-221, figs., 43a-c, 44-45)

Grosson, *Recueil*, pl. 25, no. 2)—drawing of statue in nos. 27-29
33 34

35 36 37

(nos. 33–37 from Richter, *Korai*, figs. 275–279) —statue in nos. 27–29 restored. After Payne
(nos. 38-39 from Richter, Korai, figs. 280-281)
—statue in nos. 27-29 restored. After Payne
Espeyran Aphrodite
(Benoit, Art et dieux, fig. 276)

Bronze coins of the Apollo-type
(de la Tour, Monnaies Gauloises, pl. 4, nos. 1495, 1481, 1673, 1515, 1476, Musée de Marseille E)

Bronze coin of the Apollo-type
(de la Tour, Monnaies Gauloises, pl. 4, no. 2086)
PLATE XVII

48

Archaic Ionic capital
(Restoration of L. Ducaruge in Benoît, Recherches, fig. 16)

49

Ionic capital in no. 48
(Photo from Trezin, "Marseille et l' économie")

50

(Benoît, Art et dieux, fig. 121)
—Ionic capital in no. 48

312
Inscription from Marseilles
in test. 13 before restoration

Dedication to Belenos
from Chantier de la Bourse

Dedication to Belenos
from St. Just

Inscription from Delphi
(Author's drawing [no. 54] from a photo [no. 55] in Clerc, Massalia, 1: 185, fig. 28)
56
(de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, pl. 4, no. 2053)
—Bronze coin of the Ares-type

57
(TM.B, inv. no. 1741)
—Archaic statuette of Ephesian Artemis
PLATE XX

58

(Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, pl. 24)
—Bronze medal of Claudius representing temple or tabernacle of Artemis of Ephesos

59

(Lacroix, Reproductions de statues, pl. 16, no. 1)
—Bronze coin of Hadrian with Artemision at Ephesos

60

(Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, pl. 6)
—Bronze medal of Gordian III with Artemision at Ephesos
(nos. 61-69 from Lacroix, Reproductions de statues, plates 15, nos. 12-15; 16, nos. 8-12)
—Coins of Roman emperors representing Artemis of Ephesos
Silver drachmas of the Artemis-type
(nos. 70-78 from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, plates 2, nos. 785, 786, 794; 3, nos. 864, 851, 916, 944, 1274; 4, no. 992)
Bronze coins of the Athena-type
(nos. 79, 81 from Clerc, Massalia, 1: 373, fig. 93, nos. 3-4; nos. 80, 82 from de la Tour, Monnaies gauloises, pl. 4, nos. 1914, 2110)
Statuette of Athena from necropolis of Carénage
(Clerc, *Massalia*, 1: 453, fig. 105)

Drawing by Ruffi of statue in no. 84
(Clerc, *Massalia*, 1: 215, fig. 41)

Drawing of statue from Rue des Consuls
(Grosson, *Recueil*, pl. 15, no. 3)
(Benoît, *Art et dieux*, ill. 266)
—Sigillata vase from Marseilles

(Clerc and d' Agnel, *Découvertes*, pl. 7, no. 8)
—Roman lamp with Attis in relief from Rue de la République
Standing Attis from Rue Négre—nos. 88-90

(Clerc, Massalia, 1: 239, fig. 56)

(Bourlard-Collin, GAB, fig. 43)

(Benoît, Recherches, pl. 1, no. 7)
(Trezin, "Marseille et l' économie")
—Standing Attis from Rue Négrel
PLATE XXVIII

(Farnell, Cults, 3: coin pl., no. 7)
—Altar of Demeter and Kore-Persephone on a coin from Kyzikos

(Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, pl. 43)
—Bronze medal representing the altar of Kore-Persephone at Kyzikos
Dedication to Dionysos in no. 94

(Drawing from Rougemont, "Inscriptions trouvées à Marseille," EC 3: 2, fig. 1)
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(Grosson, Recueil, pl. 3, no. 3)
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LEVDISTICEIPVCE
NOVANO
PONTIFLAVRRENTRTORVM
ORNIFAMINCOLONAQVEN.
ORNIPRAEFIAMAEHISPANAE.
ADIVTORIADCENSVSQVINO.
LVCVBVNIEPSRCAVGLTVM.
COECLASSDQVST.
NIONETSAPTRONOORTUMO.

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MATRIS DEVUM
MAGNÆ IDEÆ PALATINÆ
EIVSQ M. RELIGIONIS AD PARNOR
NAVIVS IANVARIVS

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