

AKTI VIII. MEĐUNARODNOG KOLOKVIJA O PROBLEMIMA RIMSKOG PROVINCIJALNOG UMJETNIČKOG STVARALAŠTVA

AKTEN DES VIII. INTERNATIONALEN KOLLOQUIUMS ÜBER PROBLEME DES PROVINZIALRÖMISCHEN KUNSTSCHAFFENS

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON PROBLEMS OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL ART

LES ACTES DU VIII^{ÈME} COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL SUR LES PROBLÈMES DE L'ART PROVINCIAL ROMAIN

ZAGREB 5.-8. V. 2003.

RELIGIJA I MIT KAO POTICAJ RIMSKOJ PROVINCIJALNOJ PLASTICI

RELIGION UND MYTHOS ALS ANREGUNG FÜR DIE PROVINZIALRÖMISCHE PLASTIK

RELIGION AND MYTH AS AN IMPETUS FOR THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL SCULPTURE

LA RELIGION ET LE MYTHE COMME INSPIRATION POUR LA SCULPTURE ROMAINE PROVINCIALE

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Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb
Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
Sva prava pridržana

Nakladnik
Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga
Jurišićeva 10, Zagreb

Za nakladnika
Ana Maletić

Sunakladnici
Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Arheološki muzej, Zagreb

Recenzenti
prof. dr. sc. Aleksandar Durman
prof. dr. sc. Tihomila Težak Gregl

Motiv na naslovnici
Reljef Dijane kipara Maksimina iz Prološca kod Imotskog. Arheološki muzej – Split
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PROVINCIALE

UREDNICI
MIRJANA SANADER
ANTE RENDIĆ MIOČEVIĆ

SURADNIK
DOMAGOJ TONČINIĆ

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ANTAIOS, AN EGYPTIAN GOD IN ROMAN EGYPT: EXTRACTING AN ICONOGRAPHY

BY DONALD BAILEY

A reconsideration of a miniature terracotta shield in the British Museum, made in Egypt and decorated with relief figures, has prompted the following discussion. On one side of the face of the shield (fig. 1) is a figure in military dress, threatening with a sword a captive held by a rope; the prisoner wears antelope horns and holds a double-axe; the proper left side of the shield is largely lost, with perhaps part of a human foot remaining of the relief. A fuller description is found below. A second-century date for this object was argued by the present author¹ and this still seems likely to be the case.² It was put forward that a Roman emperor was depicted: Hadrian seemed most likely, but one of the Antonines or Septimius Severus was also possible. I have changed my mind and now believe that the armed figure is the god Antaios.

SACRIFICE SCENES, SMITING SCENES, MARTYR SCENES AND ANTELOPE SCENES

Although mentioning the object,³ I did not take up Marc Rosenberg's suggestion that a stone relief in his (Rosenberg's) collection represented Antaios.⁴ In his very

full discussion of this apparently lost sculpture, which has a figure in Roman military garb with a captive who wears antelope horns (fig. 2), Jan Quaegebeur came to the conclusion that it represented, not Antaios, nor a Meroitic king, as had also been put forward, but a Roman emperor.⁵ His important paper ranges widely and encompasses various related sculptures, paintings and stone reliefs, and also examples of terracottas figures of cuirassed personages about to kill an enemy prisoner. He discusses aspects of the lion-headed greaves that are to be found on some representations of what I believe to be Antaios and which he prefers to see as Roman emperors: it is these greaves, amongst other things, that led to the suggestion that a Meroitic king was depicted.

But it is the antelope motif that is, it now seems to me, vital in the interpretation of the scene. It is worth while, therefore, to separate the 'smiting scenes', where the victim is a kneeling human, from the 'antelope scenes', where the victim or captive is either an antelope or a human wearing antelope horns, and is not kneeling. Some objects showing the 'smiting scene' were brought together and discussed by Bailey with the relevant published references and need not be pursued here overmuch,⁶ other than to mention that a raptor on the shoulder of several of them, probably an Imperial

¹ D.M. Bailey, *Little emperors*. In: D.M. Bailey (ed) *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1996) 210–12.

² In a recent paper, Zsolt Kiss suggests that the captive is perhaps a Parthian rendered in an Egyptian fashion (Z. Kiss, *Un pharaon romain*. In: J. Aksamit et al. (eds), *Warsaw Egyptological Studies i, Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska* (Warsaw 1997) 294). He is also uncertain about the presence of a beard and does not exclude the possibility that the emperor is Trajan. The surface of the face is very abraded and a beard is not easily seen, but one side of a moustache appears to be present, and this would naturally lead to a beard being depicted.

³ Bailey (note 1) 209.

⁴ M. Rosenberg, *Badische Sammlung 13. Badische und ausserbadische Steindenkmäler, Architekturen, Naturendenkmäler* (Frankfurt 1913) no. 10.

⁵ J. Quaegebeur, *Dieu égyptien, roi méroïtique ou empereur romain?* In: C. Berger/G. Clerc/N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant ii* (Cairo 1994) 333–49. For the suggestion that figures wearing lion-headed greaves can be Meroitic kings, see S. Wenig, *Das Relief eines meroïtischen Königs aus der ehem. Sammlung M. Rosenberg*. *Meroitic Newsletter* 3 (1969) 18–23.

⁶ Bailey (note 1) 207–10. These objects included a sculpture: Liverpool Museum 1971.180, and Egyptian terracotta groups: British Museum GR 1983.7–23.1, Berlin Museum 22737 and Pushkin Museum, Moscow 2741. In addition to these, Kiss (note 2) 295 lists further terracottas: Boston Museum



FIG. 1 TERRACOTTA SHIELD SHOWING ANTAIOS THREATENING AN ANTELOPE-HORNED MAN WITH A DOUBLE AXE. PHOTO © BRITISH MUSEUM.



FIG. 2 THE ROSENBERG RELIEF OF THE GOD ANTAIOS.

eagle in the 'smiting scenes', appears also, but is probably a falcon, in two of the major objects with 'antelope scenes' (figs 2-3).

A thrusting-sword is used in both 'smiting scenes' and 'antelope scenes', but is wielded by an emperor in the former and, I would argue, by the god Antaios in the 'antelope scenes': the sword is always held horizontally. The emperor is perhaps also the leading protagonist (he wears a simple tunic and not armour) on a late Roman stele in Leiden which may depict a martyrdom: the vic-

tim is naked,⁷ and a painting from Edfu with a similar subject has also been regarded as a 'martyr scene'.⁸ Here the smiter wears armour and the victim a plain tunic. The painting was found in a corridor or court belonging to a house in the south-west of the Edfu mound, but it was uncertain whether it was a Roman house or a house attributed to the Christian epoch. Such 'martyr scenes' must celebrate the victim, whereas 'smiting scenes' are in praise of the smiter. A cuirassed and armoured emperor or possibly a Ptolemaic king is shown on two

86.449, from Naukratis, in M.B. Comstock, et al., *Romans and Barbarians* (Boston 1976) 31, no. 39 and Benaki Museum, Athens 12830 (S. Pingiatoglou, *Μουσείου Μπενάκη, Η κοροπλαστική της Αιγύπτου κατά τους ελληνιστικούς και ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους*, (Athens 1993) no. 278); others who have discussed these smiting scenes are I. Hofmann, *Der bärtige Triumphator*. *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 11 (1984) 585-91 pls 31-2 and L. Castiglione, *Diocletianus und die Blemmyes*. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 96 (1970) 90-103.

⁷ Quaegebeur (note 5) 346, fig. 9 A figure perhaps praying stands behind the smiter.

⁸ H. Henne, *Les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1923-1924)* (Cairo 1925) 25-6 pl. XXX.



FIG. 3 LUXOR RELIEF OF ANTAIOS AND NEPHTHYS (CAIRO MUSEUM NO. 27572). PHOTO © CAIRO MUSEUM.

wall-paintings in the extraordinary Bes Chambers at Saqqara, excavated by James Quibell in 1905–6: in only one does the victim remain (in part) and is a bearded male held by his hair in a classic ‘smiting-scene’ man-

ner and is threatened by a sword.⁹ Quibell tentatively dates the Bes Chambers to the Ptolemaic period and Montserrat suggests the mid-second century BC.¹⁰ I am uncertain whether Bes holding snakes, as do the Bes figures at Saqqara, survives into the Roman period and cannot be sure whether the paintings are Ptolemaic or Roman. These Hellenistic and Roman-period Egyptian ‘smiting scenes’ reflect pharaonic examples, but in the early dynasties a mace normally was used, a sword being more common later,¹¹ and the scenes show kings or emperors, not gods.¹² Scenes depicting the killing of antelopes occur in pharaonic and Ptolemaic times. These show, not a god, but a king, not smiting, but sacrificing the animal with a knife, for example, Amenophis III at Luxor offering to Amun-Re Kamutef; Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II at Edfu sacrificing to the god Anty/Nemty; also an unnamed but late Ptolemaic king (temp. Cleopatra VII and her father) at Dendera, sacrificing before Bastet.¹³ These ‘sacrifice scenes’ are not to be regarded as ‘antelope scenes’, which appear to be confined only to the god Antaios in Roman times.

ANTAIOS (ANTIWIY/NEMTIWIY), GOD OF THE ANTAIOPOLITE NOME

The god Antaios, as a Greek assimilation of the Egyptian nome god Antiwy,¹⁴ was probably first identified in modern times from the now lost repair inscription erected by Antonine emperors on the pronaos of his temple in the mid-second century AD (infra). K.J. Seyfried has usefully collected together most of the ‘sacrifice scenes’, ‘smiting scenes’ and ‘antelope scenes’ which seem to concern Antaios.¹⁵ The ‘antelope scenes’, as mentioned above, are more likely than the others to show this particular god.

⁹ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–6)* (Cairo 1907). The most complete scene comes from Room 13 in the Bes Chambers (plan, pl. III), a painting on flat plaster adjacent to a relief figure of Bes holding a snake and with a female companion (pl. XXVIII, 1; drawn on pl. XXIX, 3). The other painting is lost from the waist up, and comes from Room 11 (pl. XXIX, 2).

¹⁰ Quibell (note 9) p. 14. – D. Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London 1996) 125.

¹¹ Compare A. Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile* (London 1995) 13–39 passim for maces, and for swords, *ibid.*, 102, with Queen Nefertiti using a scimitar; Tuthmosis IV also wields a scimitar in T. Schneider, *Sacred kingship*. In: R. Schulz/M. Seidel (eds), *Egypt, the World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne 1998) 322.

¹² E.S. Hall, *A continuation of the smiting scene*. In: H. de Meulenaere/L. Limme (eds), *Artibus Aegypti*. Studia in Honorem Bernard V. Bothmer (Brussels 1983) 75–9.

¹³ P. Derchain, *Rites égyptiens i, Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussels 1962) respectively p. 9 fig. 1; p. 42 and pl. 1a = É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara v* (Cairo 1952) pl. 372. Anty, a falcon god, Lord of the Twelfth Upper Egyptian Nome, is described at Edfu as the son of Osiris: E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou iii* (Cairo 1928) 278 and pl. 77, third row, right-hand scene; see also E. Otto, *Anti*, Helck and Otto (note 26) 318–19.

¹⁴ Antiwy/Nemtiwy, ‘he of the two claws’, ‘the Two Falcons’, ‘the Two Gods’, Lord of the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome, differs from Anty/Nemty, ‘he of the claw, Lord of the Twelfth Nome, although both are syncretic with Seth. But Antiwy can be called Anty, as in a stele at Gebel el-Haridi, where Ramses III stands between Seth and the falcon-headed Anty, both Lords of Tjebu (Antaiopolis): L. Habichi, *Three large rock-stelae*. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 11 (1974) 73–4. See P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne ii* (Paris 1961) 118–9 in his discussion of the Nome of the Cobra, the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome, and Brunner (note 26) 299–300. For the adjacent Nome of the Viper Mountain, the Twelfth Nome, see Montet, *op. cit.*, 129–34.

¹⁵ K.J. Seyfried, *Zu einer Darstellung des Gottes Ἀνταῖος*, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* (1984) 461–72.

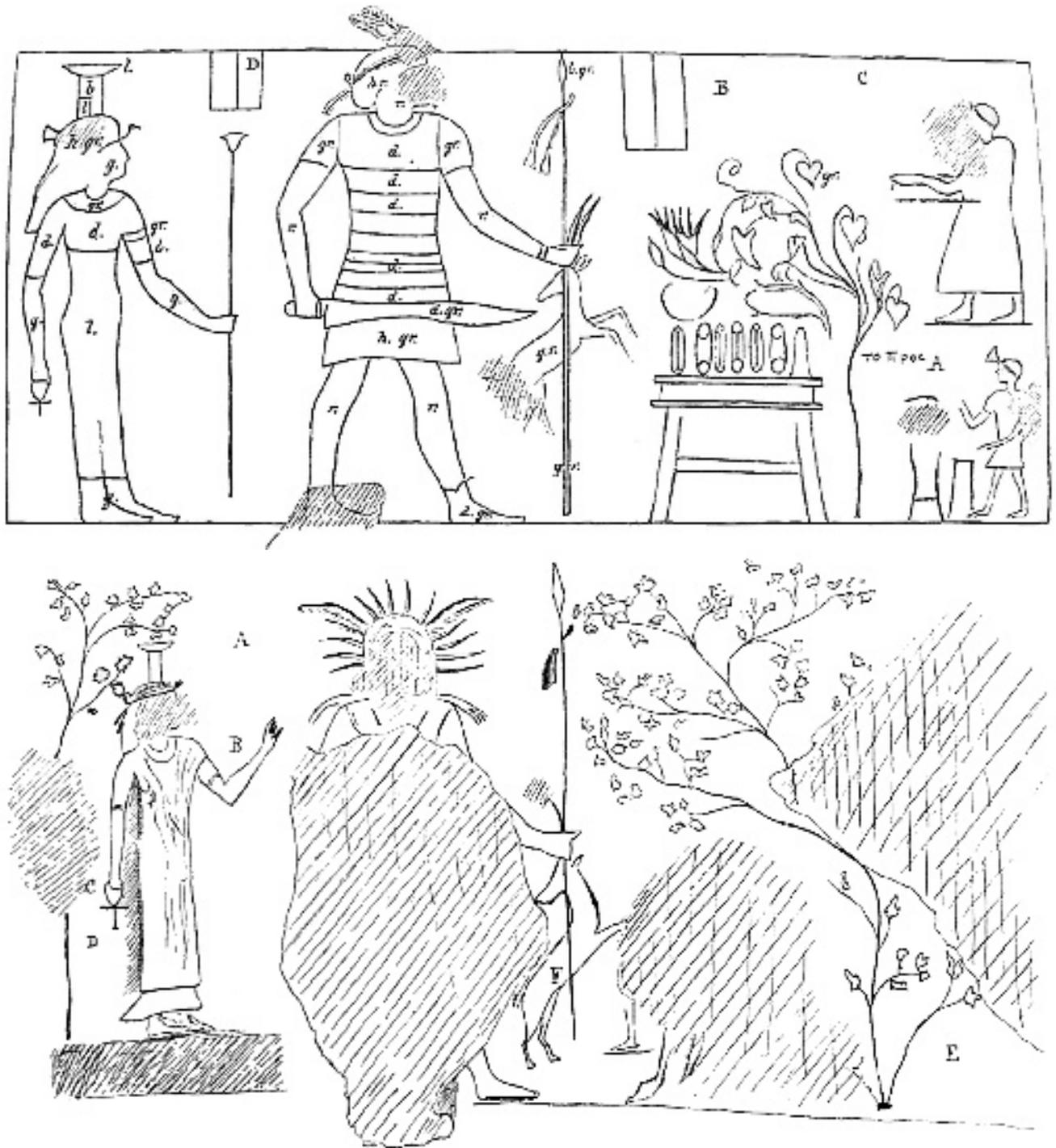


FIG. 4 GOLENISCHEFF'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF PAINTED SCENES OF ANTAIOS IN A QUARRY AT ANTAIOPOLIS.

Wladimir Golenischeff in 1882 published two important wall-paintings of the god Antaios in 'antelope scenes' (fig. 4) from a Roman quarry at Qau el-Kebir

(Antaiopolis), one of which has a Greek inscription where a man makes a proskunema (obseance) to the god Ἀνταίω.¹⁶ In this painting the god is cuirassed and

wears a fillet with two feathers, and threatens with a sword an antelope held by the horns in his left hand, which also holds a tasselled spear; behind him stands the goddess Nephthys. The other painting shows the god almost totally destroyed, but he is probably cuirassed. The head is apparently turned to front, again with two feathers, but with radiating rays; he, too, holds an antelope and a tasselled spear, and has Nephthys standing behind him. In neither of these murals is it possible to determine whether the god is bearded, although he probably is not in the first painting. Both these paintings show Nephthys in Egyptian style, with her normal hieroglyphic name on her head, and holding an *ankh*. In the first, the goddess wears a very tight-fitting garment, a broad collar and a vulture headdress, and she has a papyrus-headed sceptre; the second shows her in a much looser dress; her diadem may be a misunderstood vulture headdress. Golenischeff discusses the possibility of equating Antaios with Dionysos and Reshef. A date in the second century AD for the paintings is probable.

Golenischeff also illustrates two nome coins, both issued by Trajan in his thirteenth year (about AD 110–11), each showing Antaios with two feathers on his head, holding, in one case a beribboned spear, in the other a long sceptre. One is dressed in military clothing and has a falcon on his extended right hand.¹⁷ The other shows the god, apparently beardless, and wearing a low-draped himation, with Nike on his extended left hand; this figure on a closely similar coin has been erroneously described as Isis.¹⁸ A photograph of the same coin with Antaios in military gear has recently been published. Antaios in the photograph appears to be bearded. Because of the falcon he is thought perhaps to be Horus, but because of the two feathers and the beribboned spear he must be Antaios.¹⁹ Antaiopolite nome coins are extremely rare and some small denominations

show just a crocodile, also sacred in the nome. In the Cologne collection is a coin of Hadrian showing Antaios, too worn to see if he is bearded (he is described as a ‘jugendlicher Gott’) and is apparently draped with a himation. He is said to be wearing a lotus-crown, but this is more likely to be two feathers; he holds a crocodile.²⁰

It is Golenischeff also who drew attention to the most major surviving depiction of the god Antaios, a large limestone relief found at Luxor,²¹ which shows a cuirassed Antaios and a draped Nephthys in Roman style, both looking to front (fig. 3). Again, an antelope is threatened with a sword and the god holds a beribboned spear; he wears a radiate crown and a laurel-wreath, but apparently no feathers. He has a Sarapis-like hairstyle and heavy beard. His cuirass is of mail, with shoulder-pieces decorated with thunderbolts, and supports a heavy kilt of *pteryges*; a *cingulum* is tied round his waist and a baldric crosses from his right shoulder to hold the sheath of his sword on his left side. A *paludamentum* over his shoulders is clasped by a gorgoneion on his chest. He has a bracelet or wears a long-sleeved tunic with a tight wrist band. Greaves with lions’ heads at the knee are tied to his legs and sandals are laced high at the ankle. Nephthys has a crown of Hathor-Isis, but with misunderstood or stylised horns, feathers and disc, placed before a diadem and surmounting neatly rendered rows of small curls surrounding her face; her feet point to her left. She wears a long tunic swathed with a himation, and a broad necklace. Antaios has a falcon displayed, holding a wreath in its talons, on the left side of his head, and Nephthys holds a sceptre in her right hand, the top of which is lost; between her head and that of Antaios is a small representation of Harpokrates on a lotus: this is presumably yet another Egyptian triad, in which Horus the Child is the

¹⁶ W. Golenischeff, *Über zwei Darstellungen des Gottes Antaeus*. Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde 20 (1882), 135–45 pls. III–IV. – Seyfried (note 15) 465–6, figs 5–6. – Porter and Moss (note 26) 14. The last refers to pencil and watercolour drawings of the two paintings, made by Gardner Wilkinson in 1855 (Bodleian Library, Wilkinson Papers dep.e.67, 46–7). Wilkinson’s drawings and Golenischeff’s engravings differ in several ways, but not in substance. A much damaged tomb painting to the west, copied by Wilkinson (dep.e.67, 44–5), ‘of the same date and.... style’, shows Antaios in a funerary setting, probably with a falcon’s head with a feather above, behind Osiris, flanked by a vine and a dog. Petrie mentions the quarries in which the paintings were found, but, in error, refers to the Luxor relief: W.M.F. Petrie, *Antaeopolis, the Tombs of Qau* (London 1930) 15 pl. XIX.

¹⁷ Golenischeff (note 16) pl. IV; this coin was first illustrated in Description de l’Égypte v, Antiquités, 2nd ed. (Paris 1823) pl. 58, 11. A closely similar coin was in the Dattari Collection, and the two feathers and the ribbons on the spear are more emphatic: G. Dattari, *Monete imperiale greche: Nummi augg. alexandrini* (Cairo 1901) pl. XXXIII, 6192.

¹⁸ Golenischeff (note 16) pl. III. – J. de Rougé, *Monnaies des nomes de l’Égypte* (Paris 1873) 19 pl. 1, 10. The Isis identification (certainly wrong) is F. Feuerdent, Collections Giovanni di Demetrio: Numismatique Égypte ancienne ii, Domination romaine (Paris 1872) 301, 3514. A further Antaiopolite coin where the reverse figure is identified as Isis, described as wearing two feathers between ears of wheat, is the very worn Dattari (note 17) pl. XXXIII, 6190: this is less certainly an error.

¹⁹ M. Sartre, *Le préfet, le stratège at le nome*. In: J. Yoyotte (ed.), *Égypte romaine, l’autre Égypte* (Marseille 1997) 73 no. 55.

²⁰ A. Geißen/W. Weiser, *Katalog alexandrischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung der Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln 4* (Opladen 1983) no. 3378. This is close to Dattari (note 17) pl. XXXV, 6194 (should be 6193).

son of these two gods. Although Edgar²² suggests that Nephthys holds something between her breasts with her left hand (this area is mostly lost and drapery is the most likely interpretation) it seems more likely that the Harpokrates figure (below which is the head of a female antelope) is the top of a second sceptre held by the goddess. Quaegebeur puts forward a possible late third-century AD date for the Luxor relief, envisaging a cult-chapel in the Luxor Temple/Fortress in the time of Diocletian, whereas Kiss regards the male deity as perhaps representing a victorious Septimius Severus, and (a colourable hypothesis) the female modelled on Julia Domna, of a century earlier than Diocletian.²³

Other scenes of the god Antaios include the Rosenberg relief (fig. 2), where he threatens a man with antelope's horns, and he has an antelope as his victim on fragments of sandstone relief sculpture from the Asasif, in western Thebes. The Rosenberg relief is of the second or third century AD, but the Asasif relief cannot be dated closer than to the Ptolemaic or Roman periods, but is almost certainly Roman. The Asasif fragments show the legs of Antaios, wearing a short garment, probably the skirt of a military tunic, and lion-headed greaves, with the scabbard of a sword behind.²⁴ An antelope is held up to be threatened; another block has part of the spear of Antaios, with a cross-piece and attached ribbons. Seyfried suggests understandably that this fragmentary beribboned spear is a kerykeion (caduceus) and compares it, as a victory device, with what he regards as a thunderbolt on the spear of Antaios on the Cairo/Luxor relief.²⁵

Seyfried also includes in his study a relief cut into the wall of an underground chamber in a quarry at Wadi Sarga, not far from Antaiopolis, discovered by R. Campbell Thompson in 1913-14. It is very damaged and difficult to interpret.²⁶ Seyfried has made a creditable effort to have a restored drawing made from

the not surprisingly poor photograph in Campbell Thompson's note,²⁷ but some of it may be due to the eye of faith and Campbell Thompson's description. The latter no doubt could see much more than his photograph discloses. The scene does seem to show a Horus-like figure in his Typhon/Seth-spearing pose, with Nephthys standing behind him, but there is something above the panel of unread hieroglyphs in front of Horus that is not included in the drawing; it may, however, be damage to the wall. The figure on the left, thought by Campbell Thompson to be Antaios threatening an antelope, is difficult to discern in the photograph, and he was drawn for Seyfried as wearing a *hemhem* crown, and this is probably correct. The antelope does seem to exist, and the most likely interpretation of the scene is that it shows, not Antaios, but a king on the left, killing an antelope before Antaios/Horus, who also spears the animal. The Wadi Sarga relief can thus be placed with the 'sacrifice scenes'. No date can be positively suggested for this relief (see note 26), which is one of the few surviving (if it still does!) representations of Antaios in Egyptian form.

The 'antelope scenes' include the terracotta model shield, Reg. no. GR 1843.5-7.1039 (fig. 1), which was the spur for this paper; it is 19.4cm high and was purchased by the British Museum in 1843 from the Earl of Belmore, traveller in the East between 1816 and 1818, who spent much time in Egypt.²⁸ The shield is rectangular, and divided into two by a vertical spine extending up and down from a central knobbed boss; there is a simple moulding at top and bottom, and a substantial vertical handle is applied to the rear. One side is largely lost, only a 'ghost' of a foot remaining; on the surviving side is a relief of Antaios, standing frontally (except for his feet), in military garb, with a cuirass over a short-sleeved tunic, and *pteryges* protecting his thighs; a knotted *cingulum* encircles his waist. He is bearded and

²¹ W. Golenischeff, *Eine neue Darstellung des Gottes Antaeus*, ZÄS (note 16) 32 (1894) 1-2, pl. I; C.C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Greek Sculpture* (Cairo 1903; reprint, Osnabrück, 1974) 57-8 pl. XXVII. - Tran Tam Tinh, Nephthys, LIMC vi, 1, 784, 9 and vi, 2, pl. 454, 9. The relief is 2.81m high and 2.16m wide. Golenischeff reports that the major part was found when the so-called 'French House' on the roof of Luxor Temple was being cleared out; the other part was in the hands of a Luxor dealer, but G. Daressy, *Notes sur Luxour de la période romaine et copte*, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 19 (1920) 160-62 has a more complex description of the find-spots.

²² Edgar (note 21) 57.

²³ Quaegebeur (note 5) 343; Z. Kiss, *Septime Severe - pharaon et dieu*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* 31 (1982) 226.

²⁴ Seyfried (note 15) 471, fig. 11 and pl. 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 467.

²⁶ R. Campbell Thompson, *An Egyptian relief at Wadi Sarga*. *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* 36 (1914) 198 pl. XI. B. Porter/R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings v. Upper Egypt: Sites* (Oxford 1937) 4, suggest a Graeco-Roman date for the relief, and H. Brunner puts forward a Roman date: Antaios, W. Helck and E. Otto, eds, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie i* (Wiesbaden 1975) 299.

²⁷ Seyfried (note 15) 466, fig. 7

²⁸ The shield is discussed in Bailey (note 1), Kiss (note 2) and Quaegebeur (note 5).

wears a fillet holding an indistinct feather (probably two feathers, but the details are worn). He threatens with a sword a diminutive captive held, almost hanging, by a rope in his left hand. The captive has a headdress adorned with antelope's horns and holds a double-axe in his left hand. The lost figure facing Antaios may be his consort Nephthys. The shield was made in a one-piece mould, and is of a micaceous orange-brown Nile silt, with white and dark inclusions and traces of a white dressing. It very probably dates to the second century AD.

Another 'antelope scene' is to be seen in the Rosenberg relief (fig. 2), acquired in Cairo and once in the collection of Marc Rosenberg.²⁹ It seems that its present whereabouts is unknown: it may have been destroyed in a fire. This stele, some 60cm high, is an intricate and complex piece of carving. As Rosenberg suggests, it shows the god Antaios, standing with his body frontally depicted, but his head and legs to right. He wears military clothing, with a cuirass over a tunic with long, tight, armoured sleeves; *pteryges* protect his thighs and a knotted *cingulum* encircles his waist; above the knot is the head of a falcon with a Double Crown. The god is bearded and wears a radiate fillet, the ties of which fall on his right shoulder. The fillet bears no feathers, but rather unconventionally, a royal uraeus serpent (very few gods have a cobra on the brow). The uraeus wears a rayed Isis crown. Lion-headed greaves encase his legs and his boots are tied with looped laces. A pendant of naos shape hangs round his neck and a crowned raptor, presumably the falcon of Horus, stands on his left shoulder. He holds his thrusting-sword in a threatening way, and his left hand grasps a decorated spear, one of the ribbons of which is fastened to a captive, shown at small scale. The prisoner wears a short draped and perhaps knotted tunic and has a headdress adorned with antelope's horns; his arms are tied above his elbows behind his back. In the field are a small lion, seated behind the god's head, and a personage, unidentified and holding up a key(?), sits on a stool between Antaios'

face and the head of his spear. Between his left forearm and the tip of the sword is an uncertain scene, perhaps of a man with a loaded donkey; beside them a bunch of grapes hangs from his wrist. The stele is crowned by a cobra-frieze. Rosenberg puts forward a second to third-century AD date, which is no doubt correct. The style of the clothing, armour and footwear is very close to that of a painting of the god Heron found within the Temple of Pnephoros at Theadelphia in the Fayum, which has been dated no earlier than the second century AD.³⁰

Antaios, god of the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome, can be equated with the god Seth,³¹ whose consort Nephthys was, and the antelope was also regarded as an animal of Seth.³² A bronze statuette of Seth shows him in the pose of Horus striking an enemy.³³ But not only with Seth: Antaios was syncretic with the falcon god Horus and it was near Antaiopolis that Isis and her son Horus battled with Seth to avenge the murder of her husband and his father Osiris. D. Frankfurter emphasises the apotropaic character of Seth, and his protective and fertility-promoting nature, in pharaonic times and during the Roman period, when at the same time he was a being to be execrated.³⁴ It is manifest that this Antaios was not the Libyan giant, son of Ge and Poseidon, with whom Herakles wrestled, but was the Egyptian falcon god Antiwy/Nemtiwy, Lord of the Antaiopolite Nome, whose temple was at Antaiopolis, the modern Qau el-Kebir.

We have seen representations of the god Antaios threatening captive male figures wearing antelope horns and detained by a rope held by Antaios, or by a ribbon from the god's spear: the terracotta shield (fig. 1) and the Rosenberg stone relief (fig. 2). The antelope horns, and the double-axe held by the figure on the shield, may indicate that the captive is from beyond Egypt's southern borders. The antelope itself, as in figs. 3-4, and the antelope-horned men (figs 1-2), may represent one of the nomad tribes, the Blemmyes, the Nobatae or the Megabari, which so endangered the peace of the Romans in Egypt.³⁵ The captive in the Rosenberg stele

²⁹ Rosenberg (note 4).

³⁰ E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine i, 2, Teadelphia e il tempio di Pnepferòs* (Bergamo 1926) pls LVII-LVIII. – E. Will, *Heron*, LIMC v, 1, 392, where the dating is suggested, and v, 2, pl. 286.1.

³¹ Montet (note 14) 117–19; Brunner (note 26) 299–300.

³² See, for example, Golenisheff (note 16) 138.

³³ J. Leibovitch, *Une statuette du dieu Seth*. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 44 (1944) 101–7 pl. 13. Seth and Horus were together known as 'the Two Lords': Montet (note 14) 118.

³⁴ D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt, Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998) 112–15.

³⁵ F.M. Snowden, *Rome and the Ethiopian warrior*. In: G.E. Mylonas/D. Raymond (eds), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson ii* (Saint Louis 1953) 914–16. – Strabo 16.4.17 and 17.1.54. – Bailey (note 1) 210–12.

wears much the same costume as a terracotta figure of an African warrior in the Menil Foundation's collection, who carries a double-axe and a peltate shield.³⁶

THE TEMPLE OF ANTAIOS

Although no longer in existence, the Antiwy/Antaios Temple at Antaiopolis is remarkably well recorded, although little more than its very fine pronaos survived for early travellers to see. Richard Pococke visited it in 1737 and drew its plan and elevation, and other details.³⁷ About 1799, the savant Edmé Jomard, from the Napoleonic expedition, visited the metropolis of the Antaiopolite Nome and later described it at length, and published plans and illustrations of the temple.³⁸ A very full description of the temple, together with computer restorations of the huge pronaos, has been published by Dieter Arnold.³⁹ After the pronaos was lost to the Nile, Gardner Wilkinson reported that there were still blocks lying at the site with hieroglyphic inscriptions of Ptolemy IV Philopator and his wife Arsinoe III (221–204 BC).⁴⁰ The pronaos was later added to the temple and was dedicated by Ptolemy VI (185–145 BC) and Cleopatra II, and the cornice was restored by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in AD 164. J.A. Letronne has collected together the various versions of the inscription that were recorded (by Richard Pococke, Edmé Jomard and W.R. Hamilton) before it disappeared, and offers his own restoration and translation: Ptolemy Philometer's dedication inscription was to Antaios and the associated gods of the temple, and Letronne suggests it was cut by the Antonine restorers.⁴¹ He points out also (note 41) 32, that there was no Greek god called Antaios and that the name must have been derived from a local Egyptian deity. The temple was

washed away by the Nile, and of the many columns shown in the *Description de l'Égypte* iv, *Antiquités*, pls 39–42, only nine remained when William Bankes visited it late in 1815,⁴² and on a later visit in November 1818, only one remained which fell down shortly after. This single surviving column is also mentioned by the traveller de Forbin, who also saw it in 1818: "The temple formerly visible in this village [Qâou el Kebyr] is altogether in ruins; one erect column only remains; its base is undermined by the river, and sudden rise of which would doubtless overthrow this last vestige of a grand building."⁴³ Brunton's 1927 map of the Antaiopolis region,⁴⁴ shows the approximate position of the east bank of the Nile in relation to the temple c.AD 1820.

THE ANTAIOPOLITE NOME

The Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome was Wadjit, the Nome of the Cobra during pharaonic times⁴⁵ (and we have already noticed the Ptolemaic Temple of Antaios, which seems to have been at Antaios Village according to Diodorus Siculus I.21, not yet Antaiopolis), the Antaiopolite Nome as such before the Roman period is not found. A recent valuable discussion of this administrative area by Mohamed Abdel Ghani describes its vicissitudes during the first two or three centuries AD.⁴⁶ It appears that the first mention of the nome is in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (V. 49). It may have earlier in the Roman period been part of what was the Aphroditopolite Nome (nome-goddess Hathor) on the west bank of the Nile, from which it was detached to form a separate administrative district, but was subsequently combined with and then separated again from the Aphroditopolite. The latter later became the Heptakomia Nome, and later again the Apollonopolite Heptakomia

³⁶ F. M. Snowden, *Iconographical evidence on the black population in Greco-Roman antiquity*. In: J. Vercoutter et al., *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (New York 1976) 214 fig. 279.

³⁷ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries i. Observations on Egypt* (London 1743) 76 and 126 pl. XXV; LXVIIIc; LXIX, 23.

³⁸ E. Jomard, *Descriptions des antiquités d'Antaeopolis*. In: *Description de l'Égypte* iv, *Antiquités – Descriptions*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1821) 75–124; *Description de l'Égypte* iv, *Antiquités*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1822) pls 39–42.

³⁹ D. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (Oxford 1999) 184–6.

⁴⁰ J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes: being a Description of Egypt; including the Information required for the Traveller in that Country ii* (London 1843) 91–5, reporting also on earlier visitors to the site.

⁴¹ J.A. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte i* (Paris 1842) 24–33: his translation reads "Le roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée et de Cléopâtre, dieux Épiphanes et Eucharistes, et la reine Cléopâtre, soeur du roi, dieux Philométors, [ont construit] ce pronaos à Antée et aux dieux adorés dans le même temple; les empereurs Césars Aurèles, Antonin et Verus, Augustes, en ont refait à neuf la corniche, l'an 4, le 9 de Païni".

⁴² P. Usick, *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia, the Travels of John William Bankes (1786–1855)* (London 2002) 51.

⁴³ Count [Louis Nicholas Philippe Augustus] de Forbin, *Travels in Egypt, being a Continuation of the Travels in the Holy Land, in 1817–1818* (London 1819/20) 56. Wilkinson (note 40) reports that the last column fell in 1821.

⁴⁴ G. Brunton et al., *Qau and Badari i* (London 1927) pl. 1: Porter/Moss (note 26) 10 has a map adapted from this.

⁴⁵ For the Cobra Nome, see Montet (note 14) 114–23.

Nome, this all during the reign of Trajan and the earlier years of Hadrian; it reverted to be the Aphroditopolite in the last years of Hadrian or a little later. The eastern bank's Antaiopolite retained its name throughout, whether linked with the district on the west bank or not. The temple was restored in AD 164 by Antonine emperors. Documentary evidence for the nome after the third century AD appears to be missing, although Antaiopolis is known to be an Archbishopric in the seventh century AD.

CONCLUSIONS

Aspects of the Egyptian god Antiwiy/Nemtiwy, to whom the Greeks chose to give the name Antaios, and his temple (with associated gods), have been discussed here. The Libyan giant of the Herakles legends can be dismissed, although later Greeks confused the two,⁴⁷ but there have been various suggestions as to the identity of the protagonists of the material discussed above: pharaohs, kings, emperors and gods, but despite some superficial likenesses they do not all appear to relate closely one to another and can be divided into diverse scenes. The first group has various deities receiving the sacrifice of an antelope from a pharaoh: amongst them are Anty and Antaios/Horus. The second and third groups, 'smiting' and 'martyr scenes' can be removed from material concerning Antiwiy/Antaios. A fourth group, different in substance from the others, shows Antaios on Roman coins of the first quarter of the second century AD. We do not know how much sooner it may have occurred, but by the time of Trajan he had adopted his main Roman attributes: military dress, a decorated spear and two feathers in his hair. The last group, of the second or the third century AD, has Antaios in an active role, threatening an antelope or a man with an antelope-horn headdress. To be mentioned also is Antaios/Antiwiy in a funerary capacity in a tomb near Antaiopolis (see note 16).

1. Pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptian 'sacrifice scenes' of a religious nature: pharaoh, as

part of his allotted task to balance the universe and to ensure Right (Ma'at) prevails against the forces of chaos,⁴⁸ kills an antelope – an animal of Seth. The kings and gods are all dressed in normal Egyptian fashion. These include the following (in only one does Antaios appear): Amenophis III at Luxor offers various goods and sacrifices an antelope to Amun-Re Kamutef; Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II (170-163 and 145-116 BC) sacrifices an antelope to Anty/Nemty at Edfu; a late Ptolemy (c.80-30 BC) sacrifices an antelope at Dendera to Bastet: for these see note 13. A Pharaoh, a Ptolemaic king or a Roman emperor sacrifices an antelope to Antaios/Horus at Wadi Sarga: Campbell Thompson (note 26).

2. Hellenistic and Roman 'smiting scenes' of a celebratory nature (Pharaoh Triumphant): a king or an emperor kills an enemy. These have nothing to do with Antaios: wall-paintings in the Bes-chambers at Saqqara: Quibell (note 9); limestone sculpture in Liverpool Museum and terracotta groups the British Museum, Berlin Museum, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Boston Museum and Benaki Museum, Athens: Bailey and others (note 6).
3. Late Roman 'martyr scenes' (in memoriam): an emperor kills a saint. Again, these do not concern Antaios: Wall painting at Edfu: Henne (note 8); limestone relief in Leiden: Quaegebeur (note 5).
4. Antaios on Roman coins. Some nome coins of the twelfth and thirteenth years Trajan, and coins also of Hadrian, have Antaios depicted on the obverse. They are very rare and include the god in military dress, with a beribboned spear, holding out a falcon (note 17); or draped only in a himation and holding out a figure of Nike (note 18); and again draped in a himation and holding out a crocodile (note 20). All have or appear to have two feathers on their heads.
5. Roman 'antelope scenes', of a protective and apotropaic nature: Antaios threatens an antelope or a man with antelope's horns: relief from Luxor

⁴⁶ M. Abdel Ghani, *The Antaiopolite Nome and its administrative changes under Roman Rule*. In: Z. Hawass /L.P. Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists. Cairo 2002 (Cairo and New York 2003) 72–9. See also H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte depuis Herodote jusqu'à conquête arabe* (Cairo 1935) 122–4.

⁴⁷ For example Diodorus Siculus I, 21. It can be nothing but a coincidence that New Kingdom representations of Libyans (for example, O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London 1914, reprinted 1970) 129–30 pl. III, shows feathers (usually two) worn in the hair. Libya is the home of Antaios, the giant of Greek legend; Roman depictions of the Egyptian god Antaios often have two feathers in the hair as an attribute.

⁴⁸ S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London 1992) 70–103.

(**fig. 3**): Golenischeff (note 21); the Rosenberg stele (**fig. 2**): Rosenberg (note 4); the Asasif relief: Seyfried (note 24); wall-paintings from quarries at Antaiopolis, in one of which Antaios is named (**fig. 4**): Golenischeff (note 16); British Museum terracotta shield (**fig. 1**): Bailey (note 1), Kiss (note 2) and Quaegebeur (note 5).

Thus the Egyptian Antiwy/Nemtiwy had a human body and the head of a falcon, while the Greek-influenced Antaios, known only from Roman-period repre-

sentations, was wholly human in appearance, frequently full-bearded and he usually wore two feathers in his hair. He was more often than not dressed in the armour of a general officer, but occasionally adopted civilian dress. Except on coins, the surviving images show him threatening an antelope or a prisoner wearing antelope horns: he does not sacrifice or smite. Other attributes, among them the falcon and the decorated spear, are mentioned in the descriptions above; both paintings (**fig. 4**) show Antaios with a tree; his consort Nephthys often accompanied him.⁴⁹

PROFESSOR DONALD BAILEY

C/O THE DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, WC1B 3DG, UK
DMBPHYSKON@YAHOO.CO.UK

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Additional Note: While this paper was in press, a very pertinent article by A. Geissen and M. Weber was published (*Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Nomenprägungen III*, 8–16. *Oberägyptischer Gau*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 149 (2004) 283–306. A discussion of the cult of Antaios (pp 293–7) is very full, with details of the evolution of the name of the god, described as Netjerui/Antaios.